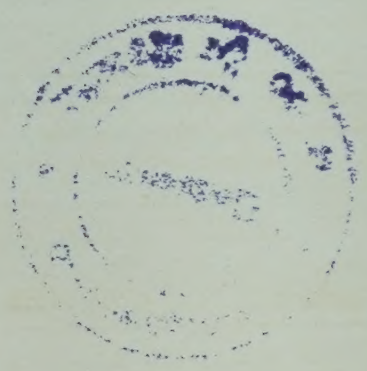
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Volume XXXII (1957–58)




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1987

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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

## VOLUME XXXII

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EDITED BY

**Dr. D. C. SIRCAR,** M.A., Ph. D., F. A. S., F. R. A. S., F. R.N. S.,
Government Epigraphist for India

(Parts I-III, VIII, and Articles 39-42 of Part VII)

&

**Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA,** M. A., M. O. L., Ph. D. (Lugd.), F. A. S.,
Government Epigraphist for India

(Parts IV-VI and Articles 34-38 of Part VII)




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# ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

## Volume XXXI

Page 55, foot-note, 3.—*Read* 1953-54 *for* 1954-55

„ 55, foot-note, 4.—*Read* 424-25 *for* 224-25

„ 230, line 23.—*Add note :* The year 108 when the Kailvan inscription was engraved undoubtedly relates to a date long before the rise of the Imperial Guptas and the foundation of the Gupta era in 319 A. D. This fact shows that the theories assigning the beginning of the Kanishka era to 248 A.D. and later are improbable and that it should better be ascribed to the second half of the first century A.D. and not to the second century. That the Kanishka era is identical with the Śaka era of 78 A. D. is further indicated by the following evidence. The Chorasmian archives from Toprakkala in Central Asia contain documents dated in the years 207 and 231 of some era. Archaeological data suggest that the local palace and the archives were abandoned at the end of the third century and the beginning of the fourth. The capital of Chorasmia was transferred from Toprakkala to the city of Kyat on the Amu Darya during the reign of the Chorasmian king Afrig who came to power in 305 A.D. according to Bīrūnī. Thus the era used in the documents started in the last quarter of the first century A.D. This must be the same as the Śaka era of 78 A. D. and the years in the said documents referred to dates between 285 and 309 A. D. The use of the Śaka era in Central Asia can only be satisfactorily explained if it is identified with the Kanishka era. See *Modern Review*, December 1959, p. 452.

## Volume XXXII

*N. B.*—We have ignored a large number of misprints in which the umlaut sign has been printed for the macron.

Page 2, line 11.—*Read* Brāhmī *for* Brāhmį

„ 8, line 12.—*Read* (XVI) *for* (XVII)

„ „ text line 21.—*Read* (XVI) *for* (XVII)

„ 9, line 22.—*Read* Rāshṭrika *for* Rāshtrika

„ 11, line 23.—Read °*piya*[*sā*] for °*piya*[*aā*]

„ 15, line 36.—*Read* Dharma *for* Dharms

„ 22, line 6.—*Read* ma[te]

„ „ line 7.—*Read* [yaṁ sa]ki°

„ 25, foot-note 6.—Read *bhūmikā*

Page 29, line 27.—*Read* boulders *for* slabs

,, ,, line 29.—Read *Devā-* for *Devā*

,, 30, foot-note 1, line 4.—*Read* in line 26

,, 31, line 6.—*Read* to know

,, 32, note 1, line 1.—*Read* °chandra *for* °candra

,, ,, foot-note 2, line 2.—Read °*rās=tē* for *rās=te*

,, 33, line 4.—*Read* Kākatīya *for* Kākatiya

,, ,, line 9.—Read °*kaumudī* for °*kaumuḍī*

,, ,, foot-note 3, line 2.—*Read* Siṅghaṇa *for* Singhaṇa

,, ,, foot-note 6.—Read *Jñānakōśa* for *Jñunukōśa*

,, 34 line 13.—Read *mṛitē* for *mṛite*

,, 37, text line.—Read °*m=ūrviṁ yath=ai*°

,, 38, text line 15.—Read at the end *nya*° for *ṇya*°

,, ,, foot-note 2.—*Read* 2 Read *for* Read

,, 39, foot-note 1, line 2.—*Read* Hammīra *for* Hammira

,, 40, text line 47.—Read *sthiti*° for *sthipi*°

,, ,, text line 55.—Read *uddhūta* for *uddhata*

,, ,, foot-note 4, line 5.—*Read* king's *for* kings

,, 41, foot-note 3, line 5.—*Read* to kṛishṭa *for* to kṛiṣṭa

,, 43, text line 110.—*Read at the beginning* : | *for* 1

,, 46, line 30.—*Read* 814-78 *for* 814-80

,, 48, lines 14 ff.—*Add note*—'The word *hañjamāna* occurs in Kannaḍa inscriptions in the sense of 'the five artisan classes'. (cf. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part ii, No. 459) Cf. Tamil *añjuvaṇam* in T. N. Subramaniam's *SITI*, Glossary. For Fleet's views on the subject, see above, Vol. XII, pp. 258-59.'

,, 52, text line 22.— Read *tarī-dvayēna*

,, 53, text line 41.—Read *dānāch=* for *danāch=*

,, 54, text line 60.—Read *samva*(*saṁva*) for *saṁva*(*saṁva*)

,, 55, line 8 from bottom.—*Read* 814-78 *for* 814-80

,, 56, foot-note 2.—*Read* p. 383 *for* p. 283

,, 58. foot-note 1. Read *Purāṇa* for *Purāna*

,, 63, line 4.—*Read* weak *for* week

Page 63 last line.—*Read* born *for* horn

,, 65, last line.—Read *maṭhikā* for *mathikā*

,, 69, line 23.—*Read* Kautuka *for* Kutuka

,, ,, text line 6.—Read *yu(yau)varājya* for *yuvarājya*

,, 70, foot-note 3.—*Read* Vasishṭha *for* Vasistha

,, 75, text line 20.—Read =*dhavalita* for *dhavaliīa*

,, 76, text line 38.—Read *ēva* for *eva*

,, 79, line 18.—Read *pratipālisi* for *pratipāḷisi*

,, ,, foot-note 3.—*Read* note 3 *for* note 2

,, 80, foot-note 1, line 4.—*Read* note 3 *for* note 2

,, 81, line 2.—*Read* Text[1] *for* Text[11]

,, ,, text line 3.—Read *Sthiravārada²llū* for *Sthiravārada¹llū*

,, ,, foot-note 3.—*Read* 1932-33 *for* 1232-33

,, 82, foot-note 1.—*Read* 1944-45 *for* 1944-55

,, 83, line 6.—*Read* Palnad *for* Paland

,, 87, line 31.—*Read* line 4 *for* line 5

,, 88, line 17 and 25.—*Read* propitiatory *for* propiciatory

,, ,, line 19.—Read *Jīva*° for *Jiva*°

,, 89, line 7.—*Read* Dharaṇikōṭa *for* Dharaṇīkoṭa

,, 91, last line.—Read *Taruṇ-* for *Tarnṇ-*

,, 92, lines 6 and 8.—*Read* Kūram *for* Kurram

,, 93, lines 2 and 7.—*Read* Kūram *for* Kurram

,, 94, foot-note 1.—Read *Sātavāhanas* for *Sātavahanas*

,, 95, line 12.—Read *Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ* for *Brāhmanēbhyaḥ*

,, ,, foot-note 1.—*Read* have *for* veha

,, 97, text-line 10.—Read [*Mu*] for [*Mul*]

,, 101, foot-notes 8 and 9.—*Read* 8 *for* 9 *and vice versa.*

,, 102, text line 11.—Read =*idu.* for =*idu-*

,, 104, foot-note 8, line 6.—*Read* rock *for* roke

,, 111, line 6.—*Read* Āḷappiṛandān *for* Āḷappirandān

Page 111, line 24.—*Read* Paṟaiyamāḷiyār *for* Paṟaiyamāḷiyar

,, ,, line 28.—*Read* Mēl-Vēḷūr *for* Mēl-vēḷūr

,, 117, foot-note 1.—Read-*ābhimukhaḥ...dattaḥ* for -*ābhimukhah...dattah*

,, 120, line 27.—*Read* Ūlhaṇa *for* Ūhēṇa

,, ,, line 40.—*Read* Ḍavēha *for* Davēha

,, 123, text line 41.—Read *Vāstavya* for *Vāsatvya*

,, ,, text line 42.—Read *Ūlhaṇō* for Ūhēṇō

,, 130, foot-note 3.—*Read* merely *for* Merely

,, 132, text line 28.—Read *bhrukuṭī* for *bhṛikuṭī*

,, 133, text line 49.—Read -*paramēśvara* for *para-mēśvara*

,, 135, foot-note 1.—*Read* does *for* dose

,, ,, text line 51.—Read (*kān*) for (*nakān*)

,, 137, text line 3.—Read *bhūpālaḥ* for *bhapālaḥ*

,, ,, text line 12.—Read *raṇō(ṇē)* for *raṇē*

,, 139, line 26.—*Read* considerable *for* consisderable

,, 141, line 10.—*Read* Ṭēṇī *for* Ṭēnī

,, 147, foot-note 2, line 13.—*Read* book. *for* book

,, ,, ,, line 17.—*Read* conquerors *for* conquerorrs

,, 151, foot-note 5.—Read *paṭṭa* for *patta*

,, 153, text line 100.—Read *padam=* for *padom=*

,, 154, text line 105.—Read °*śarmmaṇaḥ* for °*śarmmanaḥ*

,, ,, text line 107.—Read -*Pārāśary-* for *Pārāsary-*

,, 156, text line 145.—Read *harēta* for *hareta*

,, 160, line 4.—*Read* he figures *for* the figures

,, 161, text line 5.—Read -*āhavē* for -*ahavē*

,, 163, text line 48.—Read *taṭa* for *ṭata*

,, ,, foot-note 6.—*Read* Ed. *for* ED.

,, 164, text line 73.—Read *mah-āksha*° for *ma-āksha*°

,, 165, foot-note 2, line 2.—*Read* Vijñānēśvara *for* Vijñanēśvara

,, 167, foot-note 4.—*Read* Vol. III *for* Vol. II.

Page 171, line 10.—Read *Yēḷu-nūrvvara* for *Yēlunūrv-vara*

,, 172, foot-note 5.—Read *Naḷa* for *Naḷa*

,, 176, line 8.—*Read* Polikēśivallabha *for* Pōlikēśivallabha

,, 180, foot-note 8, line 1.—Read *Śākta* for *Sākta*

,, 182, line 14.—*Read* Vaṁgūravāḍi *for* Vaṁguravāḍi

,, ,, foot-note 3.—Read *tanayaḥ* for *anayaḥ*

,, 183, foot-note 4.—Read *dvaya* for *draya*

,, 188, line 22.—*Read* 1079-80 A.D. *for* 1078-79 A.D.

,, 193, line 17.—*Read* Āḍuturai *for* Âḍutturai

,, ,, line 7 from bottom.—*Read* Bellary *for* same

,, 194, line 2.—*Read* Guntur *for* same

,, 195, line 26.—*Read* Krishna *for* Guntur

,, 196, text line 4.—Read *ḷudaṇ* for *ḷuḍan*

,, 197, line 4 from bottom.—Read *-eṭṭu)mā* for *-eṭṭu mā)*

,, 198, foot-note 3.—*Read* letter *for* letters

,, 199, foot-note 3.—*Read* meaning *for* meanin

,, 200, page number.—*Read* 200 *for* 290

,, ,, line 15.—*Read* Tirukkuḷukkuṉṟam *for* Tirukkaḷikuṉṟam

,, ,, foot-note 4.—*Read* Ālavāyil *for* Ālavāil

,, 201 line 35.—*Read* bhaṭṭārikā *for* bhattārikā

,, 202, foot-note 6.—Read *A. R. Ep.* for *R. Ep.*

,, 205, text line 25.—Read *-vṛiksha°* for *vṛīksha°*

,, 216, text line 22.—Read -[*pau*]*rṇṇamā°* for [*pau*] *rṇṇama°*

,, 217, line 33,—*Read* caused *for* casued

,, 219, text line 8.—Read *=ānaya(yā)* for *=ānaya(yāl)*

,, 220, line 17.—*Read* records the grant *for* records of the grant

,, 228, foot-note 1.—*Read* Brāhmaṇas *for* Brāhmaaṇas

,, 231, line 41.—*Read* Chaitra *for* Chatīra

,, 234, foot-note 25.—*Read* clearer *for* cleare

,, 237, text line 22.—Read *=āga(gai)yil* for *=āga(gai)iye*

Page 237, foot-note 6.—*Read* revised ed. *for* reviseded.

,, 243, line 31.—*Read* Malik *for Nalik*

,, 244, foot-note 1.—*Read* taken *for* took

,, 245, lines 24-25.—*Read* Mussalmans *for* Eussalmans

,, ,, foot-note 4.—Read *Golachalama-* for *Golachalam-*

,, 253, line 19.—Read *-vāhinī-* for *-vāhini-*

,, 255, line 14.—Read *āgamas* for *āgames*

,, ,, line 15.—*Read* scholiasts *for* scholarists

,, ,, line 21.—*Read* subsequent to *for* subsequently to

,, ,, line 30.—*Read Tiliṅga- for* Tilinga-

,, ,, line 34.—*Read* Kōna-rāshṭra or *for* Kōna-rāshṭra of

,, ,, line 36.—*Read* Naṁdaṁpūṁdi *for* Naṁdaṁpūṁdi

,, ,, line 38.—*Read* Kṛishṇā *for* Kṛishṇā

,, ,, 256, line 6.—*Read* Warangal *for* Wārangai

,, 257, head line.—*Read* Vilasa Grant *for* A Grant

,, 269, lines 28 and 29.—*Read* -Ṇakkaṇ *for* -Nakkaṇ

,, 271, column 3, item 4.—*Insert a comma after* Simhaḷarāja

,, 288, line 7.—*Read* Kāmarūpa *for* Kamarūpa

,, 294, line 8 from bottom.—*Read* family *for* famiy

,, 296, foot-note 4.—*Read* Appendix B *for* Appendix A

,, ,, foot-note 5.—Read *-Bhaṭṭārikāyāḥ* for *Bhaṭṭārikayaḥ*

,, 301, line 2.—*Add note* : The reading of the name read *Sadhadēva* may also be *Sahadēva*.

,, 303, text line 1.—Read *-janma* for *-janmma*

,, ,, text line 3.—Read *Prithvībhaṭē* for *Prithvībhaṭe*

,, ,, foot-note 2.—*Read* Expressed *for* Ezpressed

,, 311, line 7.—*Insert full-stop after* Monday

,, ,, line 27.—*Add note* : The reading of the name read as *Apētana* may also be *Ayitama*.

,, 312, line 11.—*Add note* : The reading of the name read as *Apitama-nāyaka* may also be *Ayitama-nāyaka*.

,, 313, text line 25.—Read *-viṁśatiṁ* for *vīṁśatiṁ*

Page 316, text line 70.—Read *-chaturttha* for *=cha turttha*

,, 318, last line.—*Read* shrouded *for* shrounded

,, 319, line 26.—Read *-pralhā(hlā)dana* for *pralhādana*

,, 320, line 11.—*Read* -bund *for* - bound

,, ,, line 11.—*Read* Chāṇḍāla *for* chāṇḍāla

,, ,, text line 4.—Add *kshaṇa* after *-ēkshaṇa-*

,, 321 — *Add foot-note numbers* 1 *and* 2

,, 326, line 2.—*Read* are *for* is

,, ,, line 22.—Read *-vījaë-* for *-vijaē-*

,, 329, foot-note 1.—*Read* Darbhanga *for* Dardhanga

,, ,, page number—*Read* 333 *for* 33

,, 330, line 21.—*Read* 1108 *for* 1119

,, 331, line 7.—*Read* bright *for* dark

,, 334, line 29.—*Read* their *for* his

,, 335, line 15.—*Read* Brāhmaṇa dynasty of Champāraṇ *for* Karṇāṭa dynasty of Simraon (Samara-grāma)

,, 337, line 2.—*Read* Palni *for* Palrni

,, ,, line 8.—Read *Mārañjaḍaiyaṉ* for *Mārañjaḍaiyan*

,, ,, foot-note 5.—Read *Mārañjaḍaiyaṉ* for *Mūrañjaḍaiyan*

Plate facing p. 338.—*Read* 792 *for* 972

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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## No. 1—ERRAGUDI EDICTS OF ASOKA

*(5 Plates)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The village of **Erragudi** lies approximately at 77° 39′ E. and 15° 12′ N. in the Pattikonda Taluk of the Kurnool District of the Andhra State, near the southern border of the District. It is about eight miles to the north-west of Gooty, headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the Anantapur District of the same State, on the Gooty-Pattikonda road. Gooty is a station on the Madras-Raichur line of the Southern Railway. The name of the village is often written in English as *Yerragudi* in accordance with a peculiarity of regional pronunciation. The inscriptions of Aśoka[1] are incised on six large boulders in a range of low hills stretching towards the west from the neighbourhood of the village. The hill containing the boulders is locally known as Yenakoṇḍa (i.e. 'elephant hillock') or Nallayenakoṇḍa (i.e. 'black elephant hillock'). It is difficult to determine whether this name was due to the existence of the figure of an elephant in the vicinity of the inscriptions as in the case of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka on the hills at Dhauli, Girnār and Kālsī. No representation of an elephant could be traced on the hill near Erragudi.

About the end of the year 1928, A. Ghose of Calcutta, an officer of the Geological Survey of India, discovered the inscriptions on the rocks near Erragudi while prospecting for precious minerals in the Kurnool District. He recognised the letters *Devānaṁ....Piyadasi* in one of the inscriptions and realised that they belong to the great Maurya emperor **Aśoka** (*circa* 272-232 B.C.), whose records of the same kind are known from various places. In January 1929, Ghose communicated full information regarding the whereabouts of the inscriptions to H. Hargreaves, then officiating Director-General of Archaeology in India. A photograph of one of the inscribed rocks received from Ghose was supplied to D. R. Sahni, then Deputy Director-General of Archaeology for Explorations, who was deputed to examine and copy the inscriptions and submit a report on them to the Director-General. Sahni accompanied by H. Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, visited Erragudi in the second week of February and examined and copied all the inscriptions on the rocks excepting Rock Edicts VI and XII which were traced and copied in the following August by S. V. Viswanatha, then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, attached to the Madras Circle. The discovery was announced by the Director-General of Archaeology in the newspapers in a communiqué dated the 11th February 1929.

Sahni and Sastri prepared transcripts of the edicts from the rocks and it was proposed that Sastri would edit the records in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Sastri's article on the subject, however, was not complete before his retirement from the post of Government Epigraphist for India in December 1933. Sahni then wanted to edit the records ; but he passed away without finishing the work. N. P. Chakravarti, who succeeded Sastri as Government Epigraphist for India, then under-

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

took the responsibility of editing the inscriptions. Chakravarti also visited Erragudi and prepared fresh transcripts of the edicts from the original rocks. But he was transferred from the Epigraphic Branch in May 1940 before the completion of his article on the records. About this time, B. M. Barua of the University of Calcutta appears to have received from Chakravarti a set of impressions of the Erragudi inscriptions and possibly also his tentative transcripts of the edicts. Barua's translation of the records appeared in his *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1943. But he could not publish Part I of the said work (pp. 1-178), in which he had incorporated the text of the Erragudi version of Aśoka's edicts, as Chakravarti himself was inclined to publish them. After his retirement from the Department of Archaeology a few years ago, Chakravarti found time to complete his articles on the Hatun rock inscription of Patoladeva[1] and the Brāhmī inscriptions from Bandhogarh[2] and was going to take up the Erragudi inscriptions for study. In the meantime, in the first half of 1956, I was advised by the Director-General of Archaeology in India to arrange for the publication of all the unpublished inscriptions of Aśoka as early as possible. Consequently I began to write on the Rājula-Mandagiri and Gujarrā inscriptions myself and was pressing Chakravarti for his article on the Erragudi inscriptions. I received from Chakravarti for scrutiny a copy of his transcripts of the records, which he had prepared long ago. Unfortunately, before the completion of the article, the cruel hand of death snatched him away from us in October 1956. I then tried to secure from Chakravarti's table whatever notes he might have left on the inscriptions, but received only 2½ pages of sparsely typed matter dealing with the story of the discovery of the Erragudi records and the circumstances leading to the delay in their publication.

My association with the study of the Erragudi inscriptions of Aśoka dates back to my student days. About the end of 1929, shortly after I had been admitted to the post-graduate classes of the University of Calcutta in Ancient Indian History and Culture, my teacher, the late Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, showed me a copy of the Telugu periodical *Bhārati* for September 1929. That issue contained a rather unsatisfactory facsimile of an inscription on one of the Erragudi rocks and I was advised to transcribe the epigraph. My tentative transcript of this inscription, containing a version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II, was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 737 ff. B. M. Barua later published an improved transcript of the edicts in the same journal, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 113 ff. About this time, D R. Sahni's transcript of the same inscription appeared with a good facsimile in his paper on the discovery of the Erragudi version of the edicts of Aśoka in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1928-29*, 1933, pp. 161 ff. Barua again dealt with the inscription in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 132 ff. It will thus be seen that the text of the Minor Rock Edicts I-II found at Erragudi has been published, but that the Erragudi version of the fourteen Rock Edicts remains as yet unpublished.

For the sake of convenience the inscribed **boulders** have been designated A, B, C, D, E and F by Sahni who has provided us with a good account of the whereabouts of the inscriptions that are scattered on the hill. Boulder A is the largest in size and occupies the summit of the hill. The other boulders lie on its eastern slope. The inscribed surfaces of the boulders are very rough and there is no trace of any attempt to smooth them before the inscriptions were engraved. With the exception of the records engraved on Boulders A (northern face), B (right half), D and F, the others are very unsatisfactorily incised or preserved and parts of them can be deciphered with very great difficulty. Many letters of some of these records are unrecognisable on the impressions. Some letters may be somehow discerned on one impression but not on another.

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[1] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 226 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 160 ff.

Boulder A lies above a precipice about 20 feet high. Its lower portions are cut away at both the inscribed faces in the north and east. The eastern face is 17 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts I-II at the left end, Rock Edicts III and VI in the middle and Rock Edict XIV in a depression at the upper right corner. Rock Edicts I-III and VI are not separated from one another and, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing, it is difficult to determine the end of one edict and the beginning of another. The northern face of this boulder (designated A-1) is 15 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts XI, V and VII. Rock Edict XI is engraved at the left end. It comprises six lines of writing, of which lines 1-5 measure between 3 feet 3 inches and 4 feet in length while the last line is only 2 inches long. Rock Edict V, consisting of seven lines of writing, covers a rectangular space measuring 8 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, although the last line is only 3 feet long. A blank space, about 3 feet in width, separates this area from the space occupied by Rock Edict XI. Rock Edict VII is engraved on the upper right corner and is separated from Rock Edict V by a blank space only 6 inches wide. It consists of five lines of writing which cover an area measuring 3 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 2 inches. The preservation of the writing of these edicts is fairly satisfactory although a portion at the right end of Rock Edict V is defaced.

Boulder B lies a little to the east of the eastern face of Boulder A. The inscribed eastern face of this boulder is 13 feet in width from north to south. It is pointed towards the top and is divided by a roughly chiselled line, running from top to bottom, into two triangular sections. The portion at the right contains Rock Edicts IV, VIII and X. These edicts are well preserved although three letters at the beginning of line 2 of Rock Edict VIII are defaced. The three edicts contain respectively fourteen, four and five lines of writing and are separated one from another by short chiselled horizontal lines at the left end. The lines of writing are fairly straight in the upper part but irregular in the lower. There is a crack which runs from the left just above the last line of Rock Edict IV upwards to the right. This may have existed before the incision of the edicts as the letters appear to have been engraved outside it. The preservation of the writing on the triangular section in the left part of this boulder (designated B-1) is unsatisfactory. It contains the first 29 lines of Rock Edict XIII, the writing being continued on Boulder C which is 5 feet 6 inches wide and lies a few feet to the south of Boulder B. The lines of Rock Edict XIII on Boulder B are very closely engraved and difficult to decipher. The decipherment is also rendered difficult by the existence of the crack referred to above. Boulder C contains the last seven lines (lines 30-36) of Rock Edict XIII.

Boulder D stands 27 feet to the south-east of the eastern face of Boulder A. It contains Rock Edict XII written in twelve lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. Sahni speaks of faint traces of one line of writing below the last line of the edict at the right extremity.

Boulder E lies 27 feet to the east of Boulder B. It contains Rock Edict IX on its vertical face looking west. The lines of writing (lines 1-11) are not straight and parallel.

Boulder F is situated between Boulders C and E ; but its position is lower (i.e. nearer the ground) than that of the latter. It is the most easily accessible among the inscribed rocks near Erragudi and the inscription on it, representing a version of Minor Rock Edicts I-II, seems to have been engraved earlier than the series of the fourteen Rock Edicts engraved on Boulders A-E. It is indeed worthy of note that the Minor Rock Edicts, which appear to have been issued earlier than any of the known edicts of Aśoka, are engraved here on a boulder at the bottom of the hill while Boulder A, bearing the first few edicts (Rock Edicts I-III) of the series of fourteen Rock Edicts, stands on its summit. The Minor Rock Edicts on Boulder F are the most satisfactorily preserved among the edicts of Aśoka at Erragudi.

The **characters** employed in the Erraguḍi edicts are Brāhmī and do not call for any special remark. But the writing of Minor Rock Edicts I-II on Boulder F exhibits some unique characteristics not hitherto noticed in any inscription discovered in India. In the first place, while most of the lines have to be read from left to right as is usual in Brāhmī and its derivatives, some of them are to be read from right to left as in Kharoshṭhī. Secondly, there are some half lines to be read from left to right or from right to left. Thirdly, there are some lines, one part of which has to be read from the left but the other part from the right. Fourthly, there are several cases where a group of letters is engraved not in its proper place but elsewhere in a different line. Besides these peculiarities, the writing also exhibits several cases of the total omission of groups of letters. These irregularities show that the engraver of the inscription did not do his job carefully. The tendency to write passages to be read from right to left may have been due to the fact that the scribe or engraver was a person, who, like Chapaḍa[1] of the Mysore versions of the Minor Rock Edicts, hailed from North-Western Bhāratavarsha and was used to write in Kharoshṭhī.

As regards the Prakrit **language** of the Erraguḍi edicts of Aśoka, a remarkable difference is noticed between the Minor Rock Edicts on the one hand and the Rock Edicts on the other. This seems to be due to the fact that the two sets of edicts were received at the place separately on different occasions and dates.

In respect of language and **orthography**, the Erraguḍi text of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of some other South Indian versions of the same records, such as those in Mysore, while the text of the Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi resembles their Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions and also in many points the Kālsī version. There are some cases of inconsistency in the use of case-endings with reference to the number and gender of particular words in both the sets.[2] This feature is also noticed in other versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

The language of the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka is what is called the Magadha dialect. The Pillar Edicts and Pillar Inscriptions of Aśoka, the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions of his Rock Edicts and his Barabar Hill Cave Inscriptions are couched in this dialect, although the Kālsī text of the Rock Edicts also exhibits some features of the same dialect. But, while the chief characteristic of the Magadha dialect is the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l*, the consonant *r* is retained in the text of the Minor Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi as also at some other places in South India.[3] In this respect, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of the Girnār, Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehra texts of the Rock Edicts.

In spite of the close resemblance of the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts to that of their Mysore texts, referred to above, some differences are also noticed between the two. While the consonant *ṇ* is used in the Mysore versions in some places for Sanskrit *ṇ* or *n*, it is conspicuous by its absence in the Erraguḍi text of these edicts. In a few cases, the use of *ś* for Sanskrit *s* is noticed in the Mysore versions ; but *s* is invariably used for the three sibilants in our text. In these respects, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts is closer to the Magadha dialect, in which *ṇ* is replaced by *n* and *ś* and *sh* by *s*. The interesting case of *Sandhi* in the expression *hem=eva* (Sanskrit *evam=eva*), exhibiting the elision of *va*, is found in both the Erraguḍi and Mysore versions ; but the Erraguḍi text offers another similar case in the expression *hev=āha* (Sanskrit *evam=āha*) not found elsewhere excepting the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy of the same records.[3] The Brahmagiri text of the Mysore versions has *hevaṁ āha* in its place.

[1] This may stand for Sanskrit *Chapala* (cf. *mahiḍā* for Sanskrit *mahilā* in the Girnār version of Rock Edict IX, line 3).

[2] Cf. *chira-ṭhitikā..pakame* (Minor Rock Edict I, lines 9-10), *lipi likhita* (Rock Edict I, line 5), *osadhāni cha munis-opaka* (Rock Edict II, line 3), etc.

[3] The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text of the Minor Rock Edicts closely resembles their Erraguḍi version. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 211 ff.

The Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict I closely follows the text of the Mysore versions. But the passages *samānā, kāmaṁ tu kho, iyaṁ cha aṭhe* and *vaḍhisiti* are absent from our text (V, VIII and X), while we have *sakiye* (VIII) for *sakye* or *sake*, *etāya cha aṭhāya* (IX) for *etāy=aṭhāya*, and *khudaka-mahalakā* (X) for *khudakā cha mahātpā cha*. There is considerable difference between the Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict II and its Mysore versions, from which a number of sentences as found in the Erragudi copy (II-IV, X-XII, etc.) are omitted. For *rpā(prā)-ṇesu drahyitavyaṁ* of the Mysore texts, we have *rpā(prā)nesu dayitaviye* (VII). The sentence mentioning the scribe is wanting in the Erragudi version.

A marked difference between the **language** of the Minor Rock Edicts and that of the Rock Edicts at Erragudi is that the latter exhibits the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l* in all the cases. The Erragudi version of the Rock Edicts also exhibits other characteristics of the Magadha dialect.[1] It uses *n* for both *ñ* and *ṇ*, and *s* for *ś* and *sh*. The nominative singular case-ending for both masculine and neuter words ending in *a* is generally *e* and the locative singular case-ending for the same is *si*. In point of language, the Erragudi copy of the Rock Edicts closely resembles that of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions ; but its draft is in some places closer to the Kālsī text, although it does not exhibit the use of *ś* and *sh* and of the redundant subscript *y* noticed so often at Kālsī. An interesting fact about the **vocabulary** of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts is that the word *mana, mina* or *minā* standing for Sanskrit *punaḥ* occurs in it for no less than seven times.[2] In many of these cases, the corresponding passages in the other versions of the edicts have *pana* or *puna* for Sanskrit *punaḥ*.[3] But *pana* or *puna* (Sanskrit *punaḥ*) itself occurs several times in the Erragudi text of the edicts ; cf. Rock Edict XIII, line 30 (XX) ; Rock Edict XIV, line 4 (V) ; and Minor Rock Edict II, line 21 (XV). The word *mina* or *minā*, however, occurs in the third sentence of Pillar Edict III of Aśoka and it is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *manāk*.[4] But the sense of Sanskrit *punaḥ* in these cases would suit the context equally well.

The relation of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts with other versions of the records, especially the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts, and some of its linguistic features may be illustrated by an analysis of a few of the edicts. Rock Edict I at Erragudi generally agrees with the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts. But we have *ālabhisu* (lines 4-5, VI) and *ālabhisaṁti* (line 6, IX) instead of *ālabhiyisu* and *ālabhiyisaṁti* respectively. The forms of the verb in our text may be compared with those found in the other versions, such as *ārabhisu* (Girnār), *arabhisu* (Mānsehra) and *arabhiśaṁti* (Shāhbāzgaṛhī). Similar is the case with Rock Edict II. But we have *Satīka-pute* and *tasa sāmaṁtā Aṁtiyogasa* (lines 1-2, I) and not *Satiya-pute* (or *Sātiya-pute*) *Kelala-pute* and *tasa Aṁtiyogasa sāmaṁtā*, as also *munis-opakū cha pasu-opakā cha* (line 3, II) instead of *manus-opagāni pasu-opagāni cha*. The change of *g* to *k* in *upaka* (Sanskrit *upaga*), found also at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehra, is not a characteristic of the Magadha dialect. Our text (lines 4-5, IV) has *lukhāni lōpāpitāni udupānāni cha khānāpitāni* after Kālsī and not *udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni cha lopāpitāni* as in Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. In line 4 (III), we have *savata ata ata nathi* instead of the

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[1] In a few cases, our version exhibits the influence of the language of the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehra texts ; cf. the use of the word *upaka* noticed below.

[2] Cf. *mana* in Rock Edict XII line 8 (VIII), Rock Edict XIII, line 22 (XVII) ; *mina* in Rock Edict VI, line 5 (X), Rock Edict IX, lines 8 (XII) and 9 (XVI) ; *minā* in Rock Edict VI, line 3 (VI), Rock Edict IX, line 10 (XVIII).

[3] Cf. *pana* in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict VI, lines 14, 15 ; Mānsehra Rock Edict IX, line 7 ; Dhauli Rock Edict VI, line 5 ; Jaugaḍa Rock Edict VI, line 5 ; *puna* in the Girnār Rock Edict VI, lines 6 and 10, Rock Edict XII, line 6, Rock Edict XIII, line 10, Rock Edict XIV, line 4 ; Kālsī Rock Edict IX, line 26, Rock Edict XIV, line 21 ; Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict IX, lines 19 and 20, Rock Edict XII, line 6. Rock Edict XIII, lines 8 and 10, Rock Edict XIV, line 13 ; Mānsehra Rock Edict VI, lines 28 and 30, Rock Edict IX, lines 6, 7 and 8. Rock Edict XII, line 15, Rock Edict XIII, line 9, Rock Edict XIV, line 4.

[4] Above, Vol. II, p. 251, note 21 ; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 122, note 1.

expected *ataata nathi savata*. Rock Edict III of our version has *vijite* (line 2, III) instead of *vijitasi* after Girnār and Shāhbāzgaṛhī and *nikhamaṁtu* (line 2, III) after Kālsī in the place of *nikhamāvū* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The passage *imāye dhaṁm-ānusathiye athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane* in the Erṛaguḍi text (line 3, III) follows the order of the expressions as at Kālsī, while Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane imāye dhaṁm-ānusathiye*. But Kālsī has *kaṁmāye* for *kaṁmane*. Instead of the compound *māta-pitu-sususā* (line 3, IV), the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts have °*pitisu* separately. For *mita-saṁthuta-nātikānaṁ* (line 4, V), Kālsī has °*nātikyānaṁ* and Dhauli and Jaugaḍa °*nātisu*. Similarly our text has *samana-baṁbhanānaṁ* (line 4, V), while the order of the two words in the compound is the reverse in all the other texts, and Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *baṁbhana-samanēhi* (Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇebhyaḥ*). The word *pānānaṁ* (line 4, VI) follows Kālsī, while Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *jīvesu*. The order of the words in the expression *gananasi yutāni* (line 5, VIII) is the reverse at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

## TEXT[1]

## MINOR ROCK EDICTS[2]

### (Boulder F)

### Minor Rock Edict I

1 (I)[3] **Devānaṁpiye** hev-āha[4] [|*] (II) adh[i]kāni[5]

2[6] ya hakaṁ upāsak[e] [|*] (III) no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvachharaṁ pakā[ṁ]te[7]

3 husaṁ [|*] (IV) s-ātirek[e] ch[u][8] kho savachhare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayī-

4 (*a*)[9] te bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte [|*] (V) iminā chu kālena a-

(*b*)[10] misā [ye] munisā

5[11] devehi te dāni misibhūtā [|*] (VI) pakamasa hi

6(*a*)[12] [i]ya[ṁ][13] [|*] (VII) [14]mahapten-eva sakiye [|*] (VIII) khu-

(*b*)[15] dakena pi paka-

[1] From impressions. Chakravarti's readings have been quoted from his unpublished transcripts of the edicts. But in some cases his readings, originally preferred by us but discarded at a later stage on re-examination of the impressions, could not be indicated.

[2] While quoting variant readings, we have referred to Sahni's and Barua's transcripts of these two edicts published respectively in *ARASI*, 1928-29, pp. 166-67, and in *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 132-34. The text of these edicts quoted in my *Select Inscriptions* follows Barua's transcript.

[3] Before *de* there is a triscelos symbol as in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of these edicts. Sahni and Chakravarti take it to be the *akshara se* standing for Sanskrit *tat* or *saḥ*.

[4] Sahni : *hevaṁ ha*; Barua : *hevaṁ ha ā* (=*hevaṁ āha*).

[5] The words *aḍhatiyāni saṁvachharāni* appear to have been inadvertently omitted after this by the scribe or engraver.

[6] This entire line has to be read from right to left. [7] Barua : *pakate*.

[8] Sahni and Barua : *cha*. [9] The following sixteen *aksharas* have to be read from right to left.

[10] The following six *aksharas* are engraved slightly above at the left end of line 4(*a*) and have to be read from left to right. The *akshara ye* is not visible on the impressions. The last *akshara* of line 4(*a*) is contiguous to the last *akshara* of line 4(*b*).

[11] This line actually commences from below the last *akshara* (i.e. *sā*) of line 4. The six *aksharas*, viz. *dakena pi paka*, meant for the beginning of line 7 (actually the line immediately following the present line, if the beginning of the lines is considered), occupy the space before this *akshara* at the beginning of line 5.

[12] This is a half line to be read from right to left.

[13] Barua : *na*. The word *phale* has been omitted after this by the scribe or engraver through oversight.

[14] The words *no k=īyaṁ* have similarly been omitted before this.

[15] The following six *aksharas* are engraved at the beginning of line 5 before *devehi* and below *misā* in line 4(*b*).

I 1 (L.-R.)

2 (R.-L.)

3 (L.-R.)

4*b* (L.-R.)

6*b* (L.-R.)

5 (L.-R.)

7*b* (L.-R.)

7*a-c* (L.-R.)

8 (L.-R.)

10 (L.-R.)

12 (L.-R.)

II 14 (L.-R.)

15 (R.-L.)

16*a* (L.-R.)

17 (L.-R.)

16*b*-18*a* (L.-R.)

19 (L.-R.)

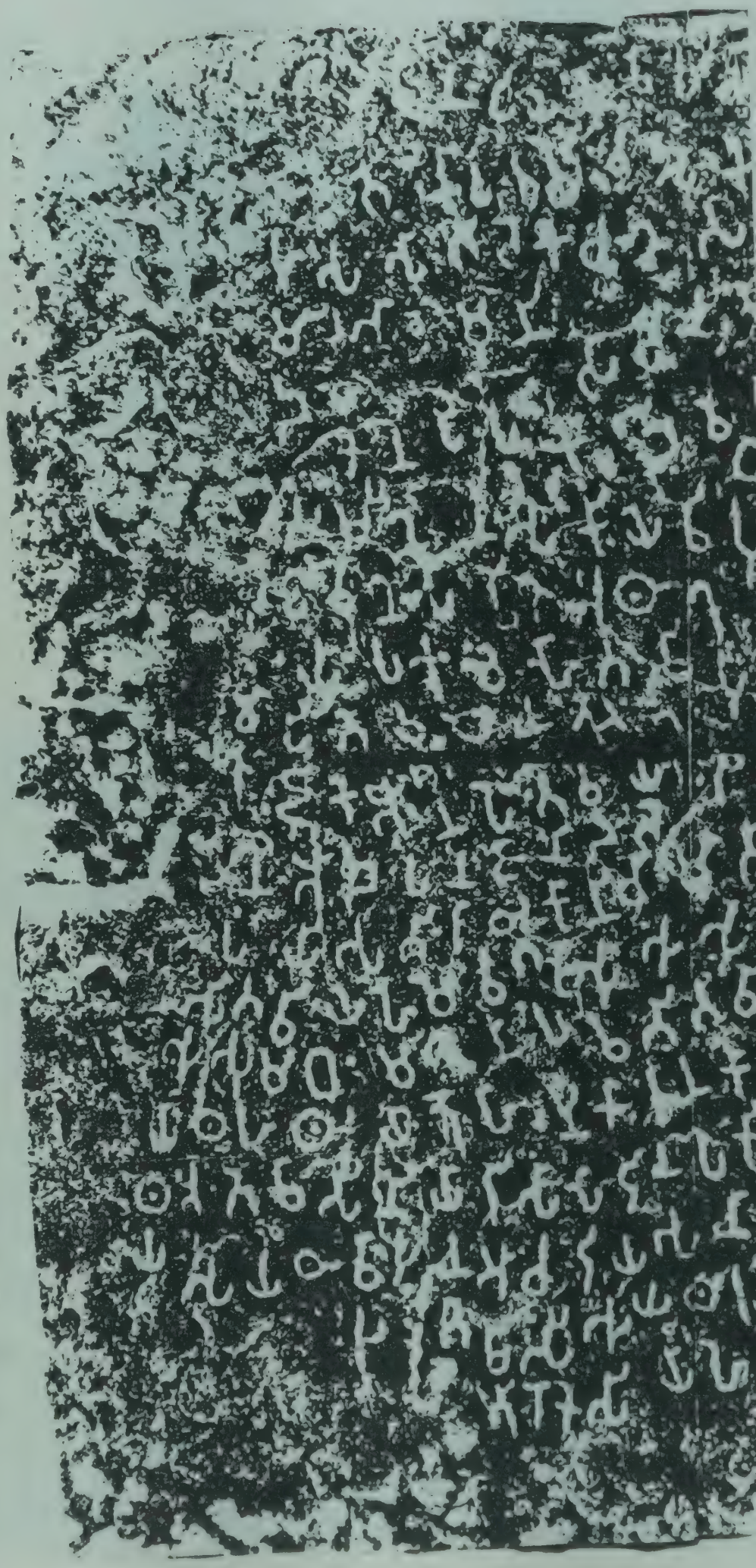
20*a* (L.-R.)

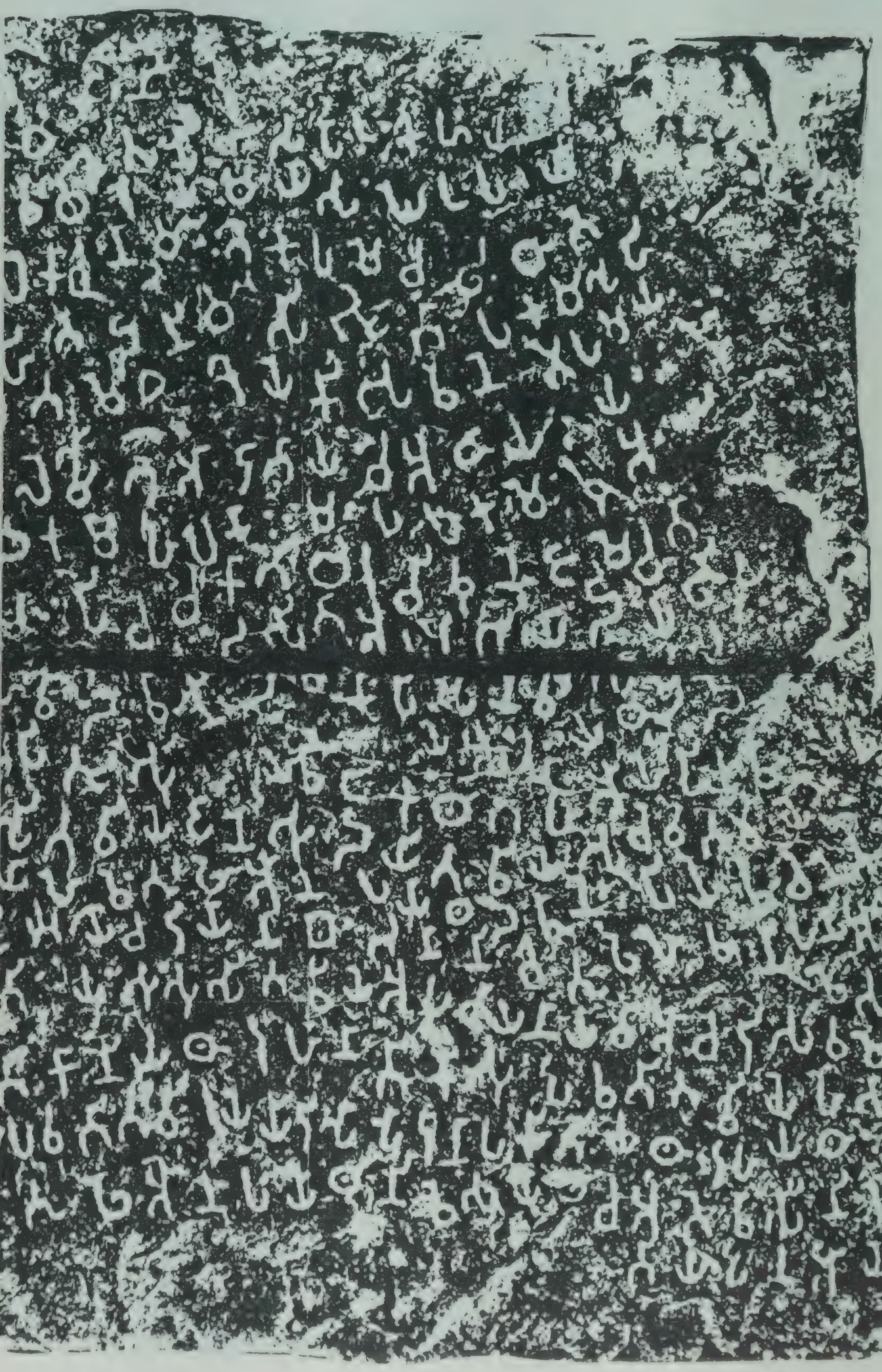
20*b* (L.-R.)

21 (L.-R.)

22 (L.-R.)

23 (L.-R.)





1 (L.-R.) I

2 (R.-L.)

3 (L.-R.)

4*a* (R.-L.)

5 (L.-R.)

6*a* (R.-L.)

7*c* (L.-R.)

8 (L.-R.)

9 (R.-L.)

10 (L.-R.)

11 (R.-L.)

12 (L.-R.) II

13 (R.-L.)

17 (L.-R.)

18*a* (L.-R.)

18*b* (R.-L.)

20*a-c* (L.-R
20*d* (R.-L.)

21 (L.-R.)

22 (L.-R.)

23 (L.-R.)

24 (R.-L.)

Scale : One-fourth

7(*a*) mamīnena sakiye vipule svage ārā-

(*b*)[1] dhetave [|*] (IX) e-

(*c*)[2] tāya cha[3] aṭhāya iyaṁ

8 [sā]vane sāvite [|*] (X) athā khudaka-mahalakā[4] imaṁ p[i] [paṭ]kamevū aṁ-

9[5] tā cha me jānevu chira-ṭhitikā cha

10 iyaṁ pakame hota[6] vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhasitā[7] aparadhiyā diyaḍhiya ṁ[8] [|*]

11 (XI)[9] [i]yaṁ cha sāvane sā-

12 v[ā]pite vyūthena[10] **200 50 6** [|*][11]

## Minor Rock Edict II

(I)[11] he[vaṁ] Devānaṁ[12] **Devānaṁpiye** āha [|*] (II) yathā De-

13[13] vā[naṁ]piye āhā[14] tathā kaṭaviye [|*]

14 (III)[15] rajūke[16] ānapetaviye [|*]

15 (IV)[17] se dāni jānapada[ṁ][18] āna-

16(*a*) paṭisati raṭhikāni chā [|*] (V) mātā-pitūsu[19]

(*b*)[20] susu-

17 sitaviye [|*] (VI) hem=eva garūsu[21] sususitaviye [|*] (VII) rpā(prā)nesu[22] daṭitaviye [|*]

(VIII) sache vataviye [|*] (IX) [i]-

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[1] The following four *aksharas* are engraved above this line in line 6(*a*) after (i.e. to the left of) *khu*.

[2] The following *aksharas* are in continuation of line 7(*a*).

[3] Barua : *ra*.

[4] Barua : *mahadhanā*.

[5] This is a half line to be read from right to left.

[6] The Mysore versions add here *iyaṁ cha aṭhe* with which a new sentence begins.

[7] Sahni : *hotaviyu cha ipi va[dhi]si vi* ; Chakravarti : *hotavi* [ | *] *pu[na]ṁ pi cha vaḍhasitā* ; Barua : *hotu* [ | *] *vipule pi cha vaḍhasitā*. The rest of this line is incised below the previous line (line 9).

[8] The Mysore versions add the word *vaḍhisiti* here. Some letters in this line and in lines 11, 12 and 14 are not clear on the Plate due to defective pasting of two pieces of the impression.

[9] This half line has to be read from right to left.

[10] Barua : *ryūṭhena*.

[11] The rest of line 12 from here is incised below line 10.

[12] This word is redundant.

[13] The half line consisting of the following twelve *aksharas* has to be read from right to left. Chakravarti : "The line is very uneven due to a few *aksharas* being engraved on the chipped portion of the rock."

[14] In Chakravarti's opinion, what looks like medial *ā* in *hā* is a crack in the stone.

[15] This is a half line consisting of nine *aksharas* to be read from left to right.

[16] Barua : *rājūke*.

[17] The following nine *aksharas*, incised below line 14, have to be read from right to left.

[18] Sahni : *jānapada* : Barua : *bherinā jānapada*.

[19] Sahni : *pitusu* : Chakravarti : *pitūṁsu*.

[20] The following two *aksharas* are engraved at the beginning of line 18. Barua ignores this fact and reads the word *susuma* at the beginning of that line.

[21] Sahni and Chakravarti *garusu*.

[22] Sahni and Chakravarti : *janesu*.

18(*a*)[1] 'ma dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā [|*] (X) hevaṁ tuṁphe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiya[2]-vachanena [|*] (XI) he-

(*b*)[3] vaṁ ānapa-

19 yātha[4] hathiy-ārohāni kā[ra]nakāni[5] yūgy-āchariyāni baṁbhanāni cha tu[ṁ]phe[6] [|*] (XII) hevaṁ nivesayā-

20(*a*) tha aṁtevāsīni yārisā porānā pakiti [|*] (XIII) iyaṁ sususitavīye [|*] (XIV) apachāyanā ya vā āchari-

(*b*)[7] ya[sa]

(*c*)[8] sa

(*d*) [9][he]m=eva [|*]

21 (XV)[10] yathā vā puna āchariyasa[11] nātikāni yathāraham nātikāsu[12] rpa(pra)vatitaviye [|*] (XVII) hesā pi

22[13] [aṁ]tevāsīsu yathāraham pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti [|*] (XVII) yathāraham yathā iyaṁ

23 sa[14]tiro(re)ke siyā hevaṁ tu[ṁ]phe ānapayātha nivesa[yā]tha cha aṁtevāsīni [|*] (XVIII) hevaṁ De-

24[15] vānaṁpiy[e] ānapayati [|*]

## TRANSLATION

### Minor Rock Edict 1

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is (*now*) more than [two years and a half] that I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha).

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[1] The *aksharas susu* are engraved here before *ma* (which Chakravarti reads as *me*), although their proper place is at the beginning of the previous line.

[2] Barua : *Devānaṁpirasa.*

[3] The following four *aksharas*, which are incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left. What has been read *hevaṁ* may be *hem-eva* also

[4] Chakravarti : °*yātha.*

[5] Sahni and Chakravarti : *kārunakāni.*

[6] Chakravarti ends the sentence after *cha.* Chakravarti and others read *tuphe* here as well as in X above.

[7] The following two *aksharas* are engraved at the beginning of the next line (line 21), *ya* being at a higher level than *sa.*

[8] This letter stands at the end of line 20(*a*).

[9] The following three *aksharas*, at the end of line 20(*a*)-(*c*), have to be read from right to left.

[10] The *aksharas yasa* engraved here before *yathā* should have to be read at the beginning of the previous line.

[11] Sahni : *apachāyanāya vā āchariyasa* [*he*]*meva se yathā vā puna āchariyasa*, etc.; Barua : *apachāyanā ya va sava me āchariyasa yathāchārina āchariyasa* [ | *]

[12] Barua : *nātikesu* which is the word found in the Mysore versions of the edict.

[13] The damaged *akshara sa*, incised before *aṁ*, should have to be read at the beginning of the next line. This escaped the notice of Sahni, Barua and Chakravarti.

[14] This *akshara* is engraved at the beginning of the previous line. Sahni and Chakravarti : *tiroke* ; Barua : *aroke.*

[15] This line has to be read from right to left.

(III) I was, however, not energetic (*in the practice and propagation of Dharma*) for one year (*at the beginning of the above period*).

(IV) It is (*now*) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated[1] with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (*in the cause of Dharma*).

(V) Those men, who were unmingled (*with gods*) during this period, have now been mingled with gods.[2]

(VI) This is [the result] of (*my*) exertion (*in the cause of Dharma*).

(VII) [Indeed, it is not] attainable only by the rich man.

(VIII) Even the poor man, if he is energetic (*in the cause of Dharma*), can attain even the great heaven.[3]

(IX) It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made (*by me*).

(X) So that the poor and the rich[4] should also be energetic in this exertion (*in regard to the practice and propagation of Dharma*), that the peoples living beyond the borders (*of my empire*) should know (*this matter*) and that (*this matter*) will increase to a great extent (*at least*) roughly to one and a half times.

(XI) This proclamation is being issued by me (*when I have been*) on tour (*for*) **256** (*days*).[5]

## Minor Rock Edict II.

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) You should do as (*you have been*) told (*to do*) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(III) The (*officers entitled*) Rajjuka[6] should be ordered (*by you in respect of this matter*).

(IV) He (*in his turn*) will then order the people of the countryside as well as the (*officers entitled*) Rāshtrika[7] (*in the following words*);

(V) "One should be obedient to one's parents.

(VI) "One should likewise be obedient to one's elders.

(VII) "One should be kind to the living beings.

(VIII) "One should speak the truth.

(IX) "One should propagate these attributes of Dharma."

(X) Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods.

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[1] The word *upayīta* (Sanskrit *upeta*) seems to have been used in the sense of *saṅgata*, although it has been variously interpreted by scholars. See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, p. 24.

[2] Cf. op. cit., pp. 26-27.

[3] The great heaven was possibly regarded as higher than the world of the gods.

[4] The word *mahalaka* means 'big', i.e. 'rich' in the present context. Cf. Rock Edict XIV, line 3 (IV). We are inclined to take the word *khudaka*, i.e. *kshudra*, in the sense of 'poor'.

[5] See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 29-30.

[6] The Rajjukas were probably governors of districts. The present order was apparently addressed by the king to the Mahāmātras stationed at Suvarṇagiri.

[7] The Rāshtrikas appear to have been governors of parts of a district,

(XI) In this way you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes and charioteers and (*the teachers of*) the Brāhmaṇa (*community*).[1]

(XII) Thus you should instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XIII) This (*order*) should be obeyed.

(XIV) Whatever honour is (*enjoyed*) by the teacher (*lies*) really in this.

(XV) Then again, this (*principle underlying the order*) should be propagated in the proper manner by the teacher's male relations among the female[2] relations (*he may have*).[3]

(XVI) This should also be propagated (*by the teacher's relatives*) in the proper manner among (*his*) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XVII) You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (*principle underlying the order*) grows (*among them*) abundantly.[4]

(XVIII) Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods.

## ROCK EDICTS I AND II[5]

### [Boulder A (Eastern Face—Left Half)]

### Rock Edict I.

1 (I) iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi **Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasina** la[ji]na [likhā]pi[tā] [|*] (II) [hida no] kiṁchi [jīve]

2 ālabhitu pajohitaviy[e] [|*] (III) n[o] pi cha samāje[6] kaṭaviy[e] [|*] (IV) **bahukaṁ** [hi] **Devā[naṁ]piye** samāja[si]

3 do[sa]ṁ dakhati [|*] (V) athi eka[t]iy[ā] samājā sādhu-matā **Devānaṁ[piyasā] Piya[da]sine** lājine] [|*]

4 (VI) pule mahānasasi **Devānaṁpi[ya]sa Piyadasine** lājine anu-divasaṁ bahuni pāna-sata-sahasāni [āla]-

---

[1] Sahni: "Thus should you command the Kāruṇakas riding on elephants and the Brāhmaṇas driving in vehicles." Barua: "Thus instruct the elephant-riders, the Kāruṇakas, the chariot-trainers, and the Brahmins" (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, p. 200). At p. 345 of this work, Barua prefers to read *kāranakāni* and equates *kāranaka* with *kāraṇika* used in the *Mahābhārata* (II, V. 34) in the sense of 'a teacher of the princes'. This meaning also suits the context. The sentence refers to several classes of people who used to initiate pupils in particular professions.

[2] The Mysore versions have 'relations' instead of 'female relations'.

[3] Sahni: "Thus should you admonish the pupils: he (i.e. the teacher) should be obeyed according to the ancient rule and so also the relatives of the teacher by way of showing veneration to the teacher, they should also behave in a suitable manner towards (*their own*) relatives." Barua: "You should thus establish your pupils according to the good old rule: This is to be hearkened to: whatever is estimable (*in me*), all that is due to my teacher, the teacher acting properly as teacher. The neighbours are to propound it to the neighbours as far as practicable."

[4] Sahni: "Thus should you direct and admonish the pupils that he (i.e. the teacher) may enjoy three-fold comfort (*ti-r-oka* ?)." Barua: "As it may remain unimpaired as far as practicable so should you instruct and establish the pupils." "This is to be respectfully attended to indeed for the sake of the honour of the teacher. Or again, if (*there be*) relatives of the teacher, this should likewise be fittingly propounded to (*his*) relations, so also among the citizens should (*it*) be fittingly propounded, so that it may be excessively bright" (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, op. cit., p. 200).

[5] Many of the letters of these and the other edicts transcribed below are indistinct on the impressions.

[6] At first *ke* had been written and it was then changed into *je*.

5 [bhi]su sūpāthāy[e] [|*] (VII) [se] idāni ad[ā iyaṁ] dhaṁma-lipī likhita tada ti[ṁ]ni [yeva pā]nāni ālabhiyaṁti [duve majūlā]

6 eke [ma*]g[e] [|*] (VIII) se pi [ma*]ge no dhuvaṁ [|*] (IX) [e]tāni pi chu ti[ṁ]ni pānāni pachha n[o] ālabhisaṁti[1] [|*]

TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Here no living being should be slaughtered for sacrifice.

(III) And also no festive gathering should be held.

(IV) For the Beloved of the Gods sees manifold evil in festive gatherings.

(V) There is, (*however*,) one kind of festive gatherings, which is considered good by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) Many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly slaughtered every day in the kitchen of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, for the sake of curry.

(VII) But now, when this record relating to Dharma is written, only three living creatures are killed (*daily*) for the sake of curry, (*viz.*), two birds and one animal.[2]

(VIII) Even this animal is not (*slaughtered*) regularly.

(IX) These three living beings too shall not be killed in future.

## Rock Edict II

(*below Rock Edict I*)

1 (I) savatā[3] vijitasi **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasin**[e] lājine e cha aṁtā athā **[Ch]oḍā Paṁḍiyā Satīka-[pute[4] Taṁbapaṁṇi Aṁtiyo]-**

2 **ge** [nāma **Yona-lājā**] e cha aṁne tasa [sāmaṁta] Aṁtiyogasa lājāno savatā **Devānaṁpiya[aā] Piyadasine** [lājine du][ve*] [chikisā]

3 **kaṭā munisa-chikis[ā] cha pasu-chikis[ā] cha** [|*] (II) o[sa]dhāni [cha munis-o]pakā [cha] pasu-opakā cha ata atā nathi savata [hālāpitā cha lopāpi][5]-

4 tā cha [|*] (III) [hem=e]va [mūlāni cha] phalāni [cha savata] ata ata nathi [hā]lāpit[ā] cha lopāpitā cha [|*] (IV) ma[ge]su lukhāni lopāpitāni udupānān[i] cha

5 khā[nā]pitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisānaṁ [|*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, and likewise (*in*) the bordering territories such as (*those of*) the **Choḍas** (*and*) **Pāṇḍyas** (*as well as of*) the **Satika-putra** (*and in*) **Tāmraparṇī** (*and in the territories of*) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** and also (*of*) the kings who are the neighbours of the said Antiyoka—everywhere king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, has arranged for two kinds of medical treatment, (*viz.*), medical

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[1] This edict is separated from Rock Edict II by a short line at the left end.

[2] This is generally taken in the sense of 'two peacocks and one deer'. But see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 17, note 4.

[3] Chakravarti: "The letter looks like *ta* on the rock."

[4] Other versions have *Satiya*° or *Sātiya*°. The original form of the name may have been *Sātika* or *Śāntika*. The reference to Keralaputra has been omitted in this text.

[5] The letters are not clear on the impressions. Chakravarti: "The letters *chalopāpi* are traceable on the stone."

treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

(II) And, wherever there were no medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to animals, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(III) In the same way, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(IV) On the roads, trees have been caused to be planted and wells have been caused to be dug for the enjoyment of animals and men.

## ROCK EDICTS III, VI AND XIV

[Boulder A (Eastern Face—Right Half)]

### Rock Edict III

*(to the right of Rock Edict I)*

1 (I) [**Devānaṁpiye**] **Piya[dasi** lāja hevaṁ] ā[h]ā [|*] (II) duvāḍasa-vas-ābhisitena [me] iyaṁ ānapayite [|*]

2 [1](III) [savata] vij[i]t[e][2] mama yutā lājūke pādesike [cha] paṁchasu paṁchasu cha vāsesu anusaṁyānaṁ nikhamaṁtu

3 et[ā]ye aṭhāye i[mā]ye dhaṁm-ānusathiye athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane [|*] (IV) sādhu mātā-pitu-susus[ā] [|*]

4 (V) mita-saṁthuta-nātikānaṁ cha samana-baṁbhanānaṁ cha sādhu dāne [|*] (VI) pānānaṁ anālaṁbhe sādhu [|*] (VII) apa-viyayatā [a]pa[3]-bha[ṁ]ḍata[ṁ]

5 sādh[u] [|*] (VIII) [palisā][4] pi chā gananasi yutāni [ana]payisaṁti hetute cha viyaṁjanate cha [|*][5]

### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) The (*following*) was ordered by me **twelve years after my coronation.**[6]

(III) Everywhere in my dominions, the officers,[7] (*called*) Rajjuka (*and*) Prādeśika,[8] shall set out every five years on a circuit for inspection (*throughout their charges*), as much for their other duties as for this (*special*) purpose of preaching Dharma (*in the following words*) :

(IV) " Meritorious is obedience to mother and father.

(V) " Meritorious is liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(VI) " Meritorious is abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(VII) " Meritorious is to spend little (*and*) to store little. "

(VIII) And the Council (*of Ministers*) shall order the officers[7] about the observance of these rules with reference to (*both my*) intention and (*my*) words.

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[1] The letters in some passages of the following lines of the edict are not clear on the impressions.

[2] The form expected is *vijitasi*.

[3] Chakravarti : °*viyāyatā apā*°.

[4] Chakravarti : *p[u]lisā pi cha*.

[5] There is a short line dividing this edict from Rock Edict VI.

[6] The expression may possibly also mean ' in the twelfth year after my coronation.'

[7] The Yuktas are regarded generally as a class of officers like the Rajjuka and Prādeśika. Cf. *Ind., Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.

[8] The Prādeśika appears to have been the ruler of a group of districts and the Rajjuka that of a single district.

5 [bhi]su sūpāthāy[e] [|*] (VII) [se] idāni ad[ā iyaṁ] dhaṁma-lipī likhita tada ti[ṁ]ni [yeva pā]nāni ālabhiyaṁti [duve majūlā]

6 eke [ma*]g[e] [|*] (VIII) se pi [ma*]ge no dhuvaṁ [|*] (IX) [e]tāni pi chu ti[ṁ]ni pānāni pachha n[o] ālabhisaṁti[1][|*]

TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Here no living being should be slaughtered for sacrifice.

(III) And also no festive gathering should be held.

(IV) For the Beloved of the Gods sees manifold evil in festive gatherings.

(V) There is, (*however*,) one kind of festive gatherings, which is considered good by king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) Many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly slaughtered every day in the kitchen of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, for the sake of curry.

(VII) But now, when this record relating to Dharma is written, only three living creatures are killed (*daily*) for the sake of curry, (*viz.*), two birds and one animal.[2]

(VIII) Even this animal is not (*slaughtered*) regularly.

(IX) These three living beings too shall not be killed in future.

## Rock Edict II

(*below Rock Edict I*)

1 (I) savatā[3] vijitasi **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasin**[e] lājine e cha aṁtā athā [**Ch**]**oḍā Paṁḍiyā Satīka-**[**pute**[4] **Taṁbapaṁni Aṁtiyo**]-

2 **ge** [nāma **Yona-lājā**] e cha aṁne tasa [sāmaṁta] Aṁtiyogasa lājāno savatā **Devānaṁpiya**[**aā**] **Piyadasine** [lājine du][ve*] [chikisā]

3 kaṭā munisa-chikis[ā] cha pasu-chikis[ā] cha [|*] (II) o[sa]dhāni [cha munis-o]pakā [cha] pasu-opakā cha ata atā nathi savata [hālāpitā cha lopāpi][5]-

4 tā cha [|*] (III) [hem=e]va [mūlāni cha] phalāni [cha savata] ata ata nathi [hā]lāpiṭ[ā] cha lopāpitā cha [|*] (IV) ma[ge]su lukhāni lopāpitāni udupānān[i] cha

5 khā[nā]pitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisānaṁ [|*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Everywhere in the dominions of king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, and likewise (*in*) the bordering territories such as (*those of*) the **Choḍas** (*and*) **Pāṇḍyas** (*as well as of*) the **Satīka-putra** (*and in*) **Tāmraparṇī** (*and in the territories of*) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** and also (*of*) the kings who are the neighbours of the said Antiyoka—everywhere king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, has arranged for two kinds of medical treatment, (*viz.*), medical

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[1] This edict is separated from Rock Edict II by a short line at the left end.

[2] This is generally taken in the sense of 'two peacocks and one deer'. But see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 17, note 4.

[3] Chakravarti: "The letter looks like *ta* on the rock."

[4] Other versions have *Satiya*° or *Sātiya*°. The original form of the name may have been *Sātika* or *Śāntika*. The reference to Keralaputra has been omitted in this text.

[5] The letters are not clear on the impressions. Chakravarti: "The letters *chalopāpi* are traceable on the stone."

treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

(II) And, wherever there were no medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to animals, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(III) In the same way, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(IV) On the roads, trees have been caused to be planted and wells have been caused to be dug for the enjoyment of animals and men.

## ROCK EDICTS III, VI AND XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—RIGHT HALF)]

### Rock Edict III

*(to the right of Rock Edict I)*

1 (I) [**Devānaṁpiye**] **Piya**[**dasi** lāja hevaṁ] ā[h]ā [|*] (II) duvāḍasa-vas-ābhisitena [me] iẏaṁ ānapayite [|*]

2 [1](III) [savata] vij[i]t[e][2] mama yutā lājūke pādesike [cha] paṁchasu paṁchasu cha vāsesu anusaṁyānaṁ nikhamaṁtu

3 et[ā]ye aṭhāye i[mā]ye dhaṁm-ānusathiye athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane [|*] (IV) sādhu mātā-pitu-susus[ā] [|*]

4 (V) mita-saṁthuta-nātikānaṁ cha samana-baṁbhanānaṁ cha sādhu dāne [|*] (VI) pānānaṁ anālaṁbhe sādhu [|*] (VII) apa-viyayatā [a]pa[3]-bha[ṁ]ḍata[ṁ]

5 sādh[u] [|*] (VIII) [palisā][4] pi chā gananasi yutāni [ana]payisaṁti hetute cha viyaṁjanate cha [|*][5]

### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods.

(II) The (*following*) was ordered by me **twelve years after my coronation.**[6]

(III) Everywhere in my dominions, the officers,[7] (*called*) Rajjuka (*and*) Prādeśika,[8] shall set out every five years on a circuit for inspection (*throughout their charges*), as much for their other duties as for this (*special*) purpose of preaching Dharma (*in the following words*) :

(IV) " Meritorious is obedience to mother and father.

(V) " Meritorious is liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(VI) " Meritorious is abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(VII) " Meritorious is to spend little (*and*) to store little. "

(VIII) And the Council (*of Ministers*) shall order the officers[7] about the observance of these rules with reference to (*both my*) intention and (*my*) words.

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[1] The letters in some passages of the following lines of the edict are not clear on the impressions.

[2] The form expected is *vijitasi*.

[3] Chakravarti : °*viyāyatā apā*°.

[4] Chakravarti : *p*[*u*]*lisā pi cha*.

[5] There is a short line dividing this edict from Rock Edict VI.

[6] The expression may possibly also mean ' in the twelfth year after my coronation.'

[7] The Yuktas are regarded generally as a class of officers like the Rajjuka and Prādeśika. Cf. *Ind., Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 308 ff.

[8] The Prādeśika appears to have been the ruler of a group of districts and the Rajjuka that of a single district.

## Rock Edict VI[1]

(*below Rock Edict III*)

1 (I) [**Devānaṁpiye**] **Piyadasi** lāj[ā] hevaṁ āha [2][|*] (II) [atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ] no hūta[3]-puluve savaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-ka[ṁ]me paṭive[da]nā [vā] [|*] (III) se maṁayā hevaṁ kaṭe [|*] (IV) [savaṁ] kālaṁ

2 [adamānasā[4] o]lodhana[si][5] [gaḅh-āgālasi] [va]chasi vinitasi uy[ā]nasi savatā paṭive[dakā] a[ṭhaṁ] ja[nasa] paṭi[ve]dayaṁtu me [|*] (V) savatā cha [janasa] a[ṭhaṁ]

3 [kachhāmi hakaṁ] [|*] (VI) [yaṁ] pi [cha kichhi mu]khate ā[napa]yāmi hakaṁ dā[pa]kaṁ vā sāvakaṁ vā [e] vā minā mahām[ā]tehi atiyāyike ālop[i]te hoti tāye athāye

4 [vivade] nijhati [va] saṁtaṁ pa[li]sāye [anaṁtali][6] yenā [pa*]ṭivedataviya-mate[7] m[e savata] savaṁ kālaṁ [|*] (VII) hevaṁ ānapayite mamayā [|*] (VIII) [nathi] hi me tose uthānasi[8]

5 aṭha-sa[ṁ]ti[lanāye cha][9] [|*] (IX) kaṭaviya-mate [hi[10] me sava-loka-hite] [|*] (X) [tasa] cha mina esa mūle uthāne a[tha]-saṁtilanā cha [|*] (XI) nathi hi kaṁmatale sava-loka-hitena [|*] (XII) aṁ cha kichhi

6 palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhūtānaṁ ānaniye yehaṁ hide cha kāni sukhāpayāmi palat[ā] cha sva(su)vagaṁ[11] [ā]lādhaya[tu] [|*] (XIII) se etāye[12] [i]yaṁ dhaṁ[ma-lipi] [le*]khitā chila-ṭhiti[ka][13] hotu

7 tathā cha me puta-natāle palakama[ṁ]tu sava-loka-hitāye [|*] (XIV) dukale chu kho iyaṁ aṁna[tā] agen[ā] palakamenā [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Formerly, in the ages gone by, there was no transaction of state-business and no reporting (*of incidents to the king*) at all hours.

(III) So I have made the following (*arrangement*).

(IV) The reporters should report to me the affairs of the people at any time and place, whether I am engaged in eating (*or*) in the harem (*or*) in the bed-chamber (*or*) on a promenade (*or*) in the carriage (*or*) on the march.[14]

(V) And I am now attending to people's affairs at all places.

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[1] Many of the passages of the edict are indistinct on the impressions.
[2] Chakravarti: *āhā*.
[3] Chakravarti: *huta*.
[4] Chakravarti: "These letters are indistinct on the rock."
[5] The word *me* is added before this word in the other versions.
[6] According to Chakravarti, these letters are partly visible on the rock
[7] Chakravarti: [*ho*]*ti vedataviya-mate*.
[8] Chakravarti: *uṭhānasi*. He also reads *uṭhāne* in line 5 (X) and *aṭhāye* in line 3 (V[1]).
[9] Chakravarti: "These letters are faintly visible on the rock."
[10] Chakravarti: "The letter is indistinct on the rock."
[11] Chakravarti: *Svagaṁ*.
[12] The word *aṭhāye* is omitted here.
[13] Cakravarti: °*ṭhitik*[*e*].
[14] The word *uyāna* (Sanskrit *udyāna*) is generally taken to mean 'a pleasure garden.'

(VI) And, when I issue an order orally in connection with any donation or proclamation or when an emergent work presses itself upon the Mahāmātras (*and*) in case there is, in connection with that matter, a controversy among (*the Ministers of*) the Council or an argumentation[1] (*in the Council in favour of a particular view*), the fact must be reported to me immediately at any place and at any time.

(VII) Thus have I ordered.

(VIII) I am never complacent in regard to (*my*) exertion and the dispatch of people's business (*by me*).

(IX) I consider it my (*only*) duty (*to promote*) the welfare of all men.

(X) But exertion and prompt dispatch of business (*lie at*) the root of that.

(XI) There is verily no duty which is more (*important to me*) than promoting the welfare of all men.

(XII) And whatever effort I make is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to all living beings, that I may make them happy in this world, and that they may attain heaven in the next world.

(XIII) Therefore this record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by me (*on stone*) for the following (*purpose, viz.*) that it may last for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may exert themselves for the welfare of all men.

(XIV) This, indeed, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion.

## Rock Edict XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—UPPER RIGHT CORNER)].

1 (I) iyaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-lipi **Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasin[ā]**[2] lājinā

2 li[khā]pitā [|*] (II) athi yeva saṁ[khi]tena[3] athi majhimena athi vitha-

3 [ṭenā] [|*] (III) no hi savatā sa[ve] gha[ṭi]te cha [|*] (IV) mahalake hi vijite bahu cha

4 likhite likhāpayisami[4] ch=eva nikāyaṁ [|*] (V) athi chu heta [pu]na [pu]na la-

5 [pite tasa tasa] aṭhasa mādhuliyāye ena[5] [ja]te(ne) tathā

6 [paṭipajeyā] [|*] (VI) [se siya ata ki]chhi asamati likhite

7 desaṁ vā saṁ[khā][6] saṁkhāyāyā kālanaṁ va[7] ālochayitu

8 lipika[l-āpalā]dhena vā ti [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods.

(II) (*In the series of records*) there are, for sooth, (*texts written*) in a concise form, or in a medium form, or in an elaborate form.

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[1] The word *nijhati* is derived from the verb *nijhapayati* meaning 'to convince'. The verb is the same as *anunijhapayati* in the passage *anunayati anunijhapayati* in Rock Edict XIII, lines 18-19 (XIII).

[2] According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *na* on the rock.

[3] Chakravarti : *sukhitena.*

[4] Chakravarti : *°sāmi.*

[5] Chakravarti : *yena.*

[6] These two *aksharas* are redundant. [7] Chakravarti : *vā*

(III) And all (*the items of the series*) have not been put together in all places.

(IV) For (*my*) dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall certainly cause still a lot (*more*) to be written.

(V) There are (*some topics which*) have been repeated over and over again owing to their sweetness, so that people may act accordingly.

(VI) Thus there may be some (*topics which*) have been written incompletely either as the (*particular*) place (*of a record*) was considered (*unsuitable for them*) or as a (*special*) reason for abridgment was believed (*to exist*), and also owing to a fault of the scribe.

## ROCK EDICTS XI, V AND VII

[Boulder A-1 (i.e. Northern Face of Boulder A)]

### Rock Edict XI

(*at the left end*)

1 (I) **Devāna[ṁ]piye** hevaṁ āhā [|*] (II) nathi edise dāne ādise dhaṁma-dāne dhaṁma-sa[ṁ]thave

2 dhaṁma-savibhāge dhaṁma-saṁbadhe [|*] (III) ta[si][1] esa dāsa-bha[ṭaka]si sa[ṁ]mā-paṭipati māta-pitu[2]-susūsa

3 mita-saṁ[thu]ta-nātikānaṁ samana-baṁbhanāna[ṁ] dā[ne][3] pānānaṁ anālaṁbhe [|*] (IV) esa vataviye pitinā pi

4 [pu]tena pi bhā[ti]nā pi suvāmike[na*] pi mita-saṁthutena pi ā-paṭivesiyenā [pi*] iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye [|*]

5 (V) se tatha kalaṁtu hida-loke cha kaṁ āla[dhe ho]ti p[ā]lata[4] cha aṇaṁtaṁ [pu]naṁ pasavati tena dha[ṁma]-dā-

6 nenā [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) There is no such gift as the gift of Dharma, (*no such acquaintance as*) acquaintance through Dharma, (*no such act of dividing as*) the separation of Dharma (*from what is not Dharma*), (*and no such kinship as*) kinship through Dharma.

(III) The following (*are comprised*) in them, (*viz.*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives (*as well as*) to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, (*and*) abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(IV) (*In respect of this*), (*whether one is a person's*) father, or son, or brother, or master, or friend, or acquaintance, or (*even*) a (*mere*) neighbour, one ought to say (*to him*) : " This is meritorious. This ought to be done ".

(V) Thus, if he acts in this manner, (*happiness in*) this world is attained (*by him*) and endless merit is produced (*for him*) in the next world by the said gift of Dharma.

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[1] Chakravarti : *tasa*.

[2] Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *tuṁ* on the rock.

[3] According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *neṁ* on the rock.

[4] Chakravarti : *palata*.

## Rock Edict V

*(in the middle)*

1 (I) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** lājā hevaṁ ā[hā] [|*] (II) kayāne dukale [|*] (III) **e** [ā]di-kale kayānasa se duka[la]ṁ kaleti [|*] (IV) se mamay[ā] bahu kayāne kaṭe [|*] (V) [ta] mama pu[ta]-natāle [palaṁ cha te hi[1] āpa]tiye me

2 [2]āva-kapaṁ tathā anuvatisaṁti se sukaṭam kachha[ṁti] [|*] (VI) e chu hetā desaṁ pi [hā]payisaṁti se dukaṭaṁ [ka*]chhati [|*] (VII) pāpe hi nāma supadālaye [|*] (VIII) se atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no huta-pu[lu]ve [dha]ṁma-[mahāma]tā [nāma] [|*]

3 (IX) se **tedasa-vas-ābhisitena** mamaya dhaṁma-mahām[ā]tā nā[ma] kaṭa [|*] (X) te sava-pāsaṁḍesu viyāpaṭā dhaṁm-[ā]dhithānāye cha dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā hita-[sukhā]ye cha[3] dhaṁma-yutasa **Yo[na*]-Kaṁbo[cha]-Gaṁ[dhā]lā[na]ṁ [La][4]ṭhika-Pe-**

4 **tinikanaṁ** [e] vā pi aṁne a[pa]laṁtā [|*] (XI) bhaṭām-ayesu baṁbhan-[i]bhiyesu ānāthesu vuḍhesu hita-sukhāye dha[ṁma]-yutānaṁ[5] apal[i]bodh[ā]ye viyāpaṭa te [|*] (XII) baṁdhana-badhasa paṭividhānāye]

5 apalibodhāye mokhaye cha i[yaṁ*] ānubaṁdha paja[va*] [ti][6] vā kaṭ-ābhikāle ti vā ma[hā]lake ti va viyāpa[ṭā] te [|*] (XIII) hidā [bā]hilesu cha nagalesu savesu [cha] olodhanesu [bhā]tinaṁ [pi cha me bhagini]naṁ cha

6 e vā pi aṁne [nā]tike savata viyāpaṭa [|*] (XIV) e iyaṁ dhaṁma-nisite ti vā **dhaṁma**-adhithāne[7] ti vā dāna-sayute [ti*] vā sa[va]ta vijitasi mama dhaṁma-y[u]tasi viyāpa[ṭā] te dhaṁma-ma[hā]ma[tā] [|*] (XV) etāye a[ṭhāya]

7 iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhitā chila-ṭhitika hotu tathā cha me pajā anuvatatū[8] ti [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is difficult to do good (*to others*).

(III) He who starts doing good (*to others*) accomplishes what is difficult (*indeed*).

(IV) Many a good deed has, however, been performed by me.

(V) And, (*among*) my sons and grandsons and the generations coming after them till **the** destruction of the world, (*those who*) will follow (*this course*) in the said manner will do **an act of** merit.

(VI) But whosoever amongst them will abandon even a part of it will do an act of demerit.

(VII) It is indeed easy to commit sin.

(VIII) And formerly, in the ages gone by, there were no (*officers*) called Dharma-Mahāmātras.

(IX) So indeed I created the (*posts of*) Dharma-Mahāmātras **thirteen years after my coronation.**

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[1] Chakravarti : *tehi e.*

[2] There appear to be no letters before this. The Ṣhāhbāzgaṛhī version reads here the word *vrakshanmti* additionally.

[3] Chakravarti : *sukhaye va.*

[4] Chakravarti notices that the letter *la* looks like *le* on the rock.

[5] Chakravarti : °*yutāye.*

[6] Chakravarti : *pajāviti.*

[7] Chakravarti : *abhithāne.*

[8] Chakravarti : *anuvatatu.*

(X) These (*officers*) are occupied with all the religious sects[1] for the establishment of Dharma and for the promotion of Dharma as well as for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to Dharma (*even*) among the **Yavanas**, **Kāmbojas** and **Gandhāras**, the **Rāshṭrikas** and **Paitryaṇikas** and other peoples dwelling about the western borders (*of my dominions*).

(XI) They are occupied (*not only*) with the welfare and happiness of the servile class and the Aryas (i.e. the traders and agriculturists) as well as the Brāhmaṇas and the ruling class[2] and likewise of the destitute and the aged, (*but also*) with the release of the adherents of Dharma (*amongst them*) from fetters.

(XII) They are (*similarly*) engaged with the fettered persons (*in the prisons, for working in*) the following order : for the distribution of money to those amongst them who are encumbered with progeny, for the unfettering of those who have (*committed crimes*) under the instigation (*of others*),[3] and for the release of those who are aged.

(XIII) They are engaged everywhere—here[4] and elsewhere in all the towns, in the households of my brothers and sisters and other relatives.

(XIV) These Dharma-Mahāmātras are engaged everywhere in my dominions amongst the adherents of Dharma (*to determine*) whether a person is (*only*) inclined towards Dharma or is (*fully*) established in Dharma or is given to charity.

(XV) This record relating to Dharma has been written (*on stone*) for the (*following*) purpose, (*viz.*) that (*it*) may last for a long time and that my descendants may conform to it.

## Rock Edict VII

(*at the upper right corner*)

1 (I) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** lāja savata ichhati

2 sav[e] p[ā]saṁḍa vaseyu [|*] (II) save hi te sayamaṁ bhāva-sudhi cha

3 ichhaṁti [|*] (III) jane chu uchavucha-chhaṁde ucha-maṁgale[5] [|*] (IV) te savaṁ **eka-desaṁ**[6]

4 pi kachhaṁti [|*] (V) vipule pi chu d[ā]ne asa nathi sayame bhāva-[su]dhi kiṭanata cha

5 diḍha-bhatitā cha nīche bāḍhaṁ [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) King **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, wishes that all religious sects should live (*harmoniously*) everywhere (*in all parts of his dominions*).

(II) In fact, all of them desire (*to achieve*) self-control and purity of thought.

(III) People, however, are of diverse inclinations and diverse passions.

(IV) They will perform either the whole or only a part (*of their duty*).

(V) However, even if (*a person practises*) great liberality but does not possess self-control, purity of thought, gratitude and firm devotion, (*he is*) quite worthless.

[1] The word *pāsaṁḍa* stands for Sanskrit *pārshada*.

[2] For this interpretation of the four classes of people, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 24.

[3] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 489 ; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 25.

[4] The Girnār text has ' at Pāṭaliputra ' in place of this word.

[5] Better read *uchavucha-lāge* in conformity with the other versions.

[6] The reading intended is *savaṁ vā eka-desaṁ vā*.

## ROCK EDICTS IV, VIII AND X

[Boulder B (Right Half) ]

### Rock Edict IV

*(at the top)*

1 (I) [ati]kaṁ[ta]ṁ a[ṁta]laṁ bahuni [vasa-sa]tāni vaḍhite va

2 [pān-ālaṁbhe] vihis[ā] cha bhūtānaṁ nātinaṁ [a]-saṁpaṭipati

3 samana-baṁbhan[ā]na[ṁ] a-[saṁpaṭīpati] [|*] (II) se a[ja] **Devāṇaṁpiyasa**

4 **Piyadasine** lajine dhaṁma-cha[lanena][1] bheri-ghose aho dhaṁma-ghose [|*]

5 (III) vimāna-da.sa[nā cha][2] hathini agi-kaṁ[dhā]ni aṁnāni cha diviyāṇi [lū]pāni

6 dasayi[tpā][3] ja[na*]sa ādise bahu[hi va]sa-sa[4]tehi no huta-puluve tādise

7 ajā[5] vaḍhite **Devā[na][6]ṁpiyasa Piyadasine** [lā]jine dhaṁma-anusathiyā[7]

8 anālaṁ[bhe] pānānaṁ avi[hi]sā [bhū]tānaṁ nātinaṁ [saṁpa]ṭipati samana-baṁbhanānaṁ

9 saṁpa[ṭi]pa[ti mā]tā-pitu-susūsā vuḍha-sū[susā][8] [|*] (IV) e[sa] aṁne cha [bahu-vi]dhe dhaṁma-chalane vaḍhite

10 vaḍhayisati yeva cha **Devāna[ṁ]piye Piya[dasi** lā]ja imaṁ dhaṁma-chalanaṁ [|*] (V) putā [cha kaṁ] natale[9] cha [pa]nātikā cha

11 **Devāṇaṁpiyasa Piyadasine** [lā]jine [va]ḍhayisaṁti yeva dhaṁma-[chala]naṁ [imaṁ] āva-[kapaṁ] dhaṁmasi [sīla]si cha chiṭhitu

12 dhaṁ[maṁ] anu[sā]s[i]saṁti [|*] (VI) [e]sa hi seṭhe kaṁma aṁ dhaṁm-[ānu'[10]]sāsanā [|*] (VII) dhaṁma-chalane pi cha no hoti a-sīlasa [|*] (VIII) se imasa athasa

13 vaḍhi ahini cha sādhu [|*] (IX) etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ li[khite] imasa [a]ṭhasa [vaḍhi yu]jaṁtu hīni cha mā alocha[yi]su [|*] (X) **duvāḍasa-[vas-ā*]-**

14 **bhisitēnā[11] Devānaṁpiyenā Piyadasina** lānajina[12] iyaṁ likh[i]te[13] [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) In times past, for many hundreds of years, slaughter of lives, cruelty to living creatures, disrespect to relatives and disrespect to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas increased indeed.

(II) But now, as a result of the practice of Dharma on the part of king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, (*every*) proclamation by the beating of drums has become the proclamation of Dharma.

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[1] Chakravarti : °*nāne.*

[2] According to Chakravarti, the letter *cha* is faintly seen on the rock.

[3] Chakravarti : *dasiyiptu.*

[4] It appears that the engraver had first written *te* which he later changed into *se*.

[5] Chakravarti : *aja.*

[6] The letter is chipped off as stated by Chakravarti.

[7] Chakravarti : °*sathiyaṁ.*

[8] Chakravarti : *sūsūsā.*

[9] Chakravarti : *natāle.*

[10] Chakravarti : "There is a stroke above *nu* ; but it does not seem to be the sign of medial *ā* connected with *ṁ*."

[11] Chakravarti : "Some space is left between *nā* and *De*. This could not be inscribed owing to the roughness of the stone."

[12] Read *lājina.*

[13] There is a short line below *bhisitenā* in line 14 to separate this edict from the next record (Rock Edict VIII).

(X) These (*officers*) are occupied with all the religious sects[1] for the establishment of Dharma and for the promotion of Dharma as well as for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to Dharma (*even*) among the **Yavanas, Kāmbojas** and **Gandhāras,** the **Rāshṭrikas** and **Paitryaṇikas** and other peoples dwelling about the western borders (*of my dominions*).

(XI) They are occupied (*not only*) with the welfare and happiness of the servile class and the Aryas (i.e. the traders and agriculturists) as well as the Brāhmaṇas and the ruling class[2] and likewise of the destitute and the aged, (*but also*) with the release of the adherents of Dharma (*amongst them*) from fetters.

(XII) They are (*similarly*) engaged with the fettered persons (*in the prisons, for working in*) the following order : for the distribution of money to those amongst them who are encumbered with progeny, for the unfettering of those who have (*committed crimes*) under the instigation (*of others*),[3] and for the release of those who are aged.

(XIII) They are engaged everywhere—here[4] and elsewhere in all the towns, in the households of my brothers and sisters and other relatives.

(XIV) These Dharma-Mahāmātras are engaged everywhere in my dominions amongst the adherents of Dharma (*to determine*) whether a person is (*only*) inclined towards Dharma or is (*fully*) established in Dharma or is given to charity.

(XV) This record relating to Dharma has been written (*on stone*) for the (*following*) purpose, (*viz.*) that (*it*) may last for a long time and that my descendants may conform to it.

## Rock Edict VII

(*at the upper right corner*)

1 (I) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** lāja savata ichhati

2 sav[e] p[ā]saṁḍa vaseyu [|*] (II) save hi te sayamaṁ bhāva-sudhi cha

3 ichhaṁti [|*] (III) jane chu uchavucha-chhaṁde ucha-maṁgale[5] [|*] (IV) te savaṁ **eka**-desaṁ[6]

4 pi kachhaṁti [|*] (V) vipule pi chu d[ā]ne asa nathi sayame bhāva-[su]dhi kiṭanata cha

5 diḍha-bhatitā cha nīche bāḍhaṁ [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) King **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, wishes that all religious sects should live (*harmoniously*) everywhere (*in all parts of his dominions*).

(II) In fact, all of them desire (*to achieve*) self-control and purity of thought.

(III) People, however, are of diverse inclinations and diverse passions.

(IV) They will perform either the whole or only a part (*of their duty*).

(V) However, even if (*a person practises*) great liberality but does not possess self-control, purity of thought, gratitude and firm devotion, (*he is*) quite worthless.

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[1] The word *pāsaṁḍa* stands for Sanskrit *pārshada.*

[2] For this interpretation of the four classes of people, see *Select Inscriptions,* p. 24.

[3] Cf. *Ind. Cult.,* Vol. VII, p. 489 ; *Select Inscriptions,* p. 25.

[4] The Girnār text has ' at Pāṭaliputra ' in place of this word.

[5] Better read *uchavucha-lāge* in conformity with the other versions.

[6] The reading intended is *savaṁ vā eka-desaṁ vā.*

## ROCK EDICTS IV, VIII AND X

[BOULDER B (RIGHT HALF) ]

### Rock Edict IV

*(at the top)*

1 (I) [ati]kaṁ[ta]ṁ a[ṁta]laṁ bahuni [vasa-sa]tāni vaḍhite va

2 [pān-ālaṁbhe] vihis[ā] cha bhūtānaṁ nātinaṁ [a]-saṁpaṭipati

3 samana-baṁbhan[ā]na[ṁ] a-[saṁpaṭīpati] [|*] (II) se a[ja] **Devānaṁpiyasa**

4 **Piyadasine** lajine dhaṁma-cha[lanena][1] bheli-ghose aho dhaṁma-ghose [|*]

5 (III) vimāna-da.sa[nā cha][2] hathini agi-kaṁ[dhā]ni aṁnāni cha diviyāni [lū]pāni

6 dasayi[tpā][3] ja[na*]sa ādise bahu[hi va]sa-sa[4]tehi no huta-puluve tādise

7 ajā[5] vaḍhite **Devā[na][6]ṁpiyasa Piyadasine** [lā]jine dhaṁma-anusathiyā[7]

8 anālaṁ[bhe] pānānaṁ avi[hi]sā [bhū]tānaṁ nātinaṁ [saṁpa]ṭipati samana-baṁbhanānaṁ

9 saṁpa[ṭi]pa[ti mā]tā-pitu-susūsā vuḍha-sū[susā][8] [|*] (IV) e[sa] aṁne cha [bahu-vi]dhe dhaṁma-chalane vaḍhite

10 vaḍhayisati yeva cha **Devāna[ṁ]piye Piya[dasi** lā]ja imaṁ dhaṁma-chalanaṁ [|*] (V) putā [cha kaṁ] natale[9] cha [pa]nātikā cha

11 **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine** [lāj]ine [va]ḍhayisaṁti yeva dhaṁma-[chala]naṁ [imaṁ] āva-[kapaṁ] dhaṁmasi [sīla]si cha chiṭhitu

12 dhaṁ[maṁ] anu[sā]s[i]saṁti [|*] (VI) [e]sa hi seṭhe kaṁma aṁ dhaṁm-[ānu'0]sāsanā [|*] (VII) dhaṁma-chalane pi cha no hoti a-sīlasa [|*] (VIII) se imasa athasa

13 vaḍhi ahini cha sādhu [|*] (IX) etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ li[khite] imasa [a]ṭhasa [vaḍhi yu]jaṁtu hīni cha mā alocha[yi]su [|*] (X) **duvāḍasa-[vas-ā*]-**

14 **bhisitēnā[11] Devānaṁpiyenā Piyadasina** lānajina[12] iyaṁ likh[i]te[13] [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) In times past, for many hundreds of years, slaughter of lives, cruelty to living creatures, disrespect to relatives and disrespect to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas increased indeed.

(II) But now, as a result of the practice of Dharma on the part of king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, (*every*) proclamation by the beating of drums has become the proclamation of Dharma.

---

[1] Chakravarti : °*nāne.*

[2] According to Chakravarti, the letter *cha* is faintly seen on the rock.

[3] Chakravarti : *dasiyiptu.*

[4] It appears that the engraver had first written *te* which he later changed into *se*.

[5] Chakravarti : *aja.*

[6] The letter is chipped off as stated by Chakravarti.

[7] Chakravarti : °*sathiyaṁ.*

[8] Chakravarti : *sūsūsā.*

[9] Chakravarti : *natāle.*

[10] Chakravarti : "There is a stroke above *nu* ; but it does not seem to be the sign of medial *ā* connected with *m*."

[11] Chakravarti : "Some space is left between *nā* and *De*. This could not be inscribed owing to the roughness of the stone."

[12] Read *lājina.*

[13] There is a short line below *bhisitenā* in line 14 to separate this edict from the next record (Rock Edict VIII).

(III) Abstention from the slaughter of life, absence of cruelty to living creatures, seemly behaviour to relatives, seemly behaviour to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father (*and*) obedience to the aged have increased now owing to the instruction in Dharma (*imparted*) by king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, in such a degree as was not possible to achieve for many hundreds of years in the past by (*means of*) showing to the people the (*representations of*) celestial cars and (*celestial*) elephants, masses of fire (i.e. hell-fire) as well as (*many*) other heavenly forms.[1]

(IV) The practice of Dharma of the above kind as well as of various other kinds have increased and king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, will certainly cause such practices of Dharma to increase (*still more*).

(V) Further, the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, will promote this practice of Dharma till the time of universal destruction and, (*themselves*) abiding by Dharma and good conduct, will instruct (*people*) in Dharma.

(VI) Verily, instruction in Dharma is (*considered by him to be his* ) supreme duty.

(VII) But the practice of Dharma is not possible for a person devoid of good conduct.

(VIII) Therefore, in the matter (*of Dharma*), an increase is good as also its non-decrease.

(IX) This (*record*) has been caused to be written for the following purpose, (*viz.*) that the promotion of Dharma should be adhered to and that no decrease of it should be countenanced.

(X) This record has been caused to be written by king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, **twelve years after his coronation.**

## Rock Edict VIII

(*in the middle*)

1 (I) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ Devānaṁpiyā vih[ā]la-yātaṁ nāma nikhamisu [|*] (II) heta migaviyā aṁnāni cha hedisāni ābhi[la]mani

2 h[ū]su[2] [|*] (III) se **Devānaṁpiye Pi[ya]dasi** lāja[3] **dasa-vas-ā[bh]isi[te]** saṁtaṁ nikhamitha **[Saṁbodhi]** [|*] (IV) tena ta[4] dhaṁma-yātā [|*] (V) heta iyaṁ hoti

3 samana-baṁbhanānaṁ da[5]sane dāne cha vuḍhānaṁ dasane hilaṁña-paṭividhāne cha[6] jānapadasa janasa [da]sane dhaṁm-anusathi[7]

4 dhaṁ[ma]-palipuchha tad-opayā [|*] (VI) esa bhuye-laṭi hoti **Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasi[ne]** lājine [|*] (VII) bhāge aṁne [|*][8]

## TRANSLATION

(I) In the ages gone by, (*kings styled*) 'Beloved of the Gods' used (*only*) to go out on tours of pleasure.

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[1] Cf. my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 26. In the place of 'fire', the Shāhbāzgaṛhī version has 'light', possibly meaning 'divine light'.

[2] Chakravarti : *husu.*

[3] Chakravarti : *lājā.*

[4] Chakravarti : *tā.*

[5] Chakravarti : "There is a depression after *da* which looks like *ṁ* on the impression ; but it is too high up."

[6] There seems to be a letter between *cha* and *jā.*

[7] Chakravarti : "There is no letter on the rock after *thi.*"

[8] There is a short line below *dhaṁma-pali°* showing the division of this edict from the next (Rock Edict X).

(II) During such (*tours*), hunting and other pastimes of the kind used to be (*enjoyed by them*).

(III) Now, king **Priydarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, visited **Sambodhi ten years after his coronation.**

(IV) Thence started these pilgrimages for Dharma.

(V) During these (*pilgrimages*), the following take place, (*viz.*) visiting the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts (*to them*), meeting the aged and making provision of money (*for them*), and contacting the people of the countryside, instructing (*them*) in Dharma and discussing (*with them*) the principles of Dharma, this being conducive to the (*above*, i.e. their initiation into Dharma).

(VI) This is the supreme delight to king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods.

(VII) (*All his*) other (*pleasures*) are inferior (*to this*).[1]

## Rock Edict X

(*at the bottom*)

1 (I) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** lāja yaso va kiṭi vā no mahaṭha-vahaṁ[2] manati aṁnata tadātāye āyatiyā cha janė dhaṁma-s[u]sūsaṁ

2 sususatu me dhaṁma-yu(vu)taṁ cha anuvidhiyatū [ti] [|*] (II) ctākāye[3] **Devānaṁpi[ye] Piyadasi** lāja yaso vā kiṭi vā ichhati[4] [|*]

3 (III) [yaṁ] chu kichhi palakamati **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** lāja savaṁ taṁ palatikā[ye vā] kīti sakale apa-palisave [siyā]ti

4 [ti][5] [|*] (IV) esa chu palisave e apune [|*] (V) dukale [chu[5] kho] esa khudakena va vagenā[6] usaṭena va aṁna[ta] agena palakamenā

5 savaṁ palitijitu [|*] (VI) ḥeta chu kho usaṭen-eva dukale [|*]

### TRANSLATION

(I) King **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, does not consider either glory (*in this life*) or fame (*after death*) as of great consequence, except (*in regard to*) the following, (*viz.*) that, at present as well as in future, the people (*of his dominions*) would practise obedience to Dharma (*as instructed*) by him[7] and also that they would act in accordance with the principles of Dharma.

(II) On this account (*alone*), king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, desires glory and fame.

(III) Whatever endeavours are made by king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, all those are made only for the sake of (*the people's happiness in*) the other world (*and*) in order that all men should have little pollution.

(IV) And what is sinful is pollution.

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[1] For this interpretation, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 28 ; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 487.

[2] Chakravarti : "A little space is left after *haṁ* which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

[3] Chakravarti : "Before *de* a little space is left, enough for one letter which could not be engraved." But the impressions do not indicate this.

[4] Chakravarti : *ichh*[*ā*]*ti*.

[5] Chakravarti does not notice this letter.

[6] Chakravarti : *vagena*.

[7] The original has *me*, i.e. 'by me', here.

(V) This (*freedom from pollution*) is indeed difficult to achieve both for the poor class and the rich[1] if they do not make great efforts by renouncing all (*other aims*).

(VI) Between (*the two classes*), (*this*) is certainly (*more*) difficult for the rich (*to achieve*).

## ROCK EDICT XIII

[Boulder B-1 (i.e. Left Half of Boulder B) and Boulder C]

(*Boulder B-1 ; text lines 1-29*)

1 (I) **[aṭha]-vas-ābhisitasa Devānaṁpiyasa piyadasine**

2 [lā]jine **Kaligā** [vi]jitā [|*] (II) diya[ḍha]-m[i]te pāna-[sa]ta-[sa]-

3 [ha]se [ta]ph[ā] apavūḍhe sata-sahasa-m[i]t[e] tata hate bahu-

4 tā[vata]ke [va] maṭe [|*] (III) [tato] pachhā a[dhu]nā ladhe[su **Ka]lig[ē]su**

5 [tive] dha[ṁ]mā-v[ā]ye dha[ṁma]-kāma[tā] dha[ṁ]m-[anu]saṭh[i] cha **Devānaṁpi[ya]-sa** [|*]

6 **(IV) se** ath[i] [a*][nusaye] **Dev[ā]naṁpiya[sa]** vijini[tu] **Ka[ligāni]** [|*] (V) [a]vijitaṁ [hi]

7 [vi]ji[na]mane [e] tata vadha [vā ma]lane va apa[va][2]he [vā ja]nasa se bāḍhaṁ vedaniya-ma[te]

8 [gu]lu-[mate] cha **Devānaṁpiyasa** [|*] (VI) [iyaṁ] pi chu tat[o] gulu-ma[ta-ta]le **Devānaṁ-pi[ya]sa**

9 e tata vasati bā[bha]nā v[ā] saman[ă] v[ā] a[ṁ]ne va pāsaṁ[ḍā giha]thā va [ye*]su vihi[tā]

10 [esa agabhuti][3]-s[u]s[ū]s[ā] māt[ā]-[pi]tu-[susū]sā gulu-**susūsā** mita-[sa]ṁthuta-sahāya-

11 nātikesu d[ā]sa-bha[ṭakasi saṁmyā-paṭipati[4] diḍha-bha]titā cha te[sa][5] tatā hoti [upaghā]te va vadhe vā

12 [abhilatā[naṁ va vini] khamane] [|*] (VII) [yesaṁ vā pi] suvi[hi]tā[naṁ] [si]nehe av[ipahine] e tānaṁ [mita-saṁ]-

13 thu[ta-sahāya-nātike] viyasanaṁ pā[pu][6]n[ā]ti [tata] se [pi tānaṁm=eva u]paghāte [ho]ti [|*] (VIII) paṭi[bhāge] cha esa

14 [sava-manu[7]sānaṁ gulu]-mate cha **Devānaṁpiyasa** [|*] (IX) nathi cha [se] jānapa[de] a[ta nathi] ime ni[k]āyā aṁ[natā][8]

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[1] The word *usaṭa* literally means 'the people of high status'.

[2] Chakravarti : "The letter *va* is completely effaced on the rock."

[3] Chakravarti : "The letter *bhuti* is very faintly traceable on the rock."

[4] It seems that *ṭi* has been corrected to *ti*. Chakravarti : *samyā-paṭipati*

[5] Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *saṁ* on the rock. He reads *tesa tata*.

[6] According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *pū* on the rock.

[7] Chakravarti : "The first four letters of the line are rubbed off on the rock."

[8] Chakravarti reads *ta* and remarks, "The last letter looks like *tā* due to a protrusion on the rock."

15 [**Yone**[1]**su** bā]bhane cha samane cha [|*] (X) nathi nathi[2] cha kuvāpi janapada[si] a[ta na]thi [munisā]naṁ e[kata[3]lasi pi]

16 [pāsaṁḍa[4]si no nāma pasāde] [|*] (XI) [a][5] se ā[va]take jane tad[ā] **Kali**[6]**gesu** [ha]te cha maṭe cha apa[vuḍhe cha tato[7] sata-bhāge va]

17 [sahasa-bhā[8]ge va a[9][ja gulu-mate vā] **Devānaṁpiyasa** [|*] (XII) e pi aja a[pa]kaleya khamata[viya-ma [te[10] va **Devānaṁ**[**piyena**]

18 [yaṁ sa[ki[ye khamitave] [|*] (XIII) [ā pi cha] aṭavi **Devānaṁpiyasa** vijitasi hoti [taṁ pi anunayati anunijhapaya]-

19 [11][ti][12] [|*] (XIV) [anutāpe] pi cha pabhāve **Devānaṁpiyasa** vuchati tesaṁ [ki]ti avata-peyu no pi [cha haṁ]ne-

20 [yu] [|*] (XV) [ichhati] hi **Devānaṁpiye** sava-[bhū]tānaṁ achhati sayamaṁ sām-acha[li]-

21 [yaṁ mādavaṁ] [|*] (XVI) iyaṁ [chu mokhya]-mu[te] vija[y]e **Devānaṁpiyasa** e dhaṁ-[13]

22 ma-vijaye [|*] (XVII) se mana ladhe **Devānaṁpiyasa** hida [va] bā[14](cha) [save]sū cha aṁ-[tesu] ā [sasu yo]-

23 [ja[15]na-satesu][16] **Aṁtiyoke** nama **Y**[**o**]**na**-[lā]ja [palaṁ] [p]i[16a] t[e]nā Aṁtiyokenā chatā[li] [lā]j[i]ne

24 [**Tula**]**maye** [nāma][17] **Aṁt**[**i**]**k**[**e**]**ni** n[āma][18]

25 [**Makā**[19] nāma] **Alika**[20][**suda**]**le** nāma nitiyaṁ[21] **Cho**[**ḍā**] **Paṁḍiyā** ā **Ta**[**ṁ**]**bapaniye** [|*] (XVIII) hem=eva hi[da][22]

26 lā[ja-visavasi][23] [**Yo**]**na-Kaṁbochesu** [**Nā**][24]**bha**[**ka**]-[**Nā**]**bhapaṁtisu Bhoja-Pitinikesu** [**Aṁ**]**dha-Pāla**[**desu**][25]

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[1] Chakravarti : "The first two letters are rubbed off."

[2] These two *akṣharas* are redundant.

[3] Chakravarti : "The letters *kata* have been rubbed off."

[4] Chakravarti : "The first three letters are faintly traceable on the rock."

[5] This *akshara* is engraved superfluously.

[6] Chakravarti : "There is a dot which may be meant for an *anusvāra* though it is too high up."

[7] Chakravarti : "The letters *tato* are rubbed off ; but the rest is readable on the rock."

[8] Chakravarti : "The letters *saha* and *bhā* are faintly traceable on the rock."

[9] Chakravarti : "This letter is completely rubbed off."

[10] Chakravarti : "The letter *te* is rubbed off."

[11] Some passages in the following lines on the boulder are indistinct on the impressions and, in some cases our reading has been influenced by Chakravarti's transcript.

[12] Chakravarti : "The letter *ti* is rubbed off."

[13] This is not a complete line. This shows that the crack and the hole in the rock were in existence at the time of engraving.

[14] Chakravarti : "The first letter looks more like *va* than *cha* ; the second is a certain *bā*. There does not seem to be any other letter in between. I cannot connect *bā* with any word in the context."

[15] Chakravarti : "The letter *ja* is completely rubbed off."

[16] Chakravarti : "I cannot trace *ata* after this on the rock." [16a] Chakravarti : *cha*.

[17] Chakravarti : "Only the lower portion of *ma* is visible on the rock."

[18] Chakravarti : "This is only a half line which could not be continued because of a deep depression on the rock."

[19] Chakravarti : "*Makā* is faintly visible on the rock."

[20] Chakravarti : "This letter looks like *kā* on the rock." The following *akshara* may be *suṁ*.

[21] Other versions have *nicha* or *nichaṁ*, i.e. *nīcham*, 'towards the south'. The reading intended here may be *nichiyaṁ*, i.e. *nīchyam*, in the same sense.

[22] Chakravarti : "The letter *da* is faintly visible on the rock."

[23] Chakravarti : "These letters are visible on the rock."

[24] Chakravarti : "The letter *nā* is chipped off."

[25] These two letters are engraved on the other side of the crack.

27 [sava]ta **Devā**[1]**naṁpiyasa** dhaṁm-ānusathi anuvataṁti [|*] (XIX) a[ta[2] pi] dūtā **Devā-na[ṁh]piyasa** no yaṁti

28 te pi sutu **Dev[ā]naṁpiyasa** dhaṁma-vutaṁ vidhanaṁ dhaṁm-ānusathi

29 dhaṁmaṁ anuvidhiyi[saṁti][3] anuvidhiyisa[ṁ]ti[4] [ch=e]va [|*] (XX) [se ladhe] eta [kena hoti][5]

[*Boulder C ; text lines 30-36*]

30 sa[va]ta vijaye savathi[6] pana vijay[e] pīti-lase se [|*] (XXI) ladhā sā pīti h[o]ti dhaṁma-v[i]ja-

31 yasi [|*] (XXII) lahuk[ā] chu kho sā pīti (|*] (XXIII) palatikaṁm=eva mahā-phala[ṁ] maṁnati **Devānaṁ-**

32 **piye** [|*] (XXIV) etāye cha [a]ṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhitā kiti puta-papotā [me]

33 aṁ naṁ[7] na[vaṁ] vijayaṁ mā[8] vijetaviyaṁ maṁnisu sayakasi yeva vijaya[si][9]

34 [khaṁ]tī cha lahu-[daṁḍa]taṁ cha lo chaya[ṁ]tu taṁm-eva [cha] vijayaṁ maṁnaṁtu e dhaṁ-

35 ma-[vi][ja*]ye [|*] (XXV) se hi[10] hidalokika-pā[la*][lo]kike [|*] (XXVI) [yā] va cha k[ā] n[i]-lati hotu

36 [ā dhaṁ]ma-lati [|*] (XXVII) s[ā][11] hi hidalokika-pālalokikā [|*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) (*The country of*) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered for king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, **eight years after his coronation.**

(II) (*In this war in Kaliṅga*), men and animals numbering one hundred and fifty thousands were carried away (*captive*) from that (*country*), (*as many as*) one hundred thousands were killed there (*in action*), and many times that number perished.

(III) After that, now that (*the country of*) the **Kaliṅgas** has been conquered, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to a zealous discussion of Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the inculcation of Dharma (*among the people*).

(IV) Now, this is (*due to*) the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered (*the country of*) the **Kaliṅgas.**

(V) Verily, the slaughter, death and deportation of men, which take place there in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country, are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) But what is considered even more deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods is (*the fact that*) injury to or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones falls to the lot of the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country (*and*) among whom are established such (*virtues*) as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants.

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[1] Chakravarti : "These five letters are faintly visible on the rock."

[2] Chakravarti : "The letter *ta* is chipped off."

[3] Read °*vidhiyaṁti*.

[4] Chakravarti : "The sign for *ṁ* is not clear on the rock." He omits *ch=ra*.

[5] The last three letters are engraved on the other side of the crack.

[6] Read *savathā*.

[7] Chakravarti : *asu*. He omits *me*.

[8] Chakravarti : *ma vijio*.

[9] Chakravarti : "The letter *si* is not clear on the rock."

[10] Chakravarti omits *hi*.

[11] Chakravarti : *sa*.

(VII) And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection (*towards the former*), even though they are themselves well provided for, (*the said misfortune*) as well becomes an injury to their own selves.

(VIII) (*In war*), this fate is shared by all classes of men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(IX) Excepting the country of the **Yavanas**, there is no country where these two classes, (*viz.*) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist.

(X) And there is no place in any country where men are not indeed (*sincerely*) devoted to one sect (*or other*).

(XI) Therefore, (*the slaughter, death or deportation*) of even a hundredth or thousandth part of all those people who were either slain or died or were carried away (*captive*) at that time in **Kaliṅga**, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XII) Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if (*a person*) should wrong him, the (*offence*) would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it.

(XIII) And the forest-[folk] (*who live*) in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts (*in regard to their duty*).

(XIV) (*It is hereby*) explained (*to them*) that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power (*enough to punish them for their crimes*), so that they should turn (*from evil ways*) and would not be killed (*for their crimes*).

(XV) Verily the Beloved of the Gods desires (*the following*) in respect of all creatures, (*viz.*) non-injury (*to them*), restraint (*in dealing with them*), impartiality (*in the cases of crimes committed by them, and*) mild behaviour (*towards them*).

(XVI) So, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XVII) And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here (*in his own dominions*) but also in the territories bordering (*on his dominions*), as far away as (*at the distance of*) six hundred Yojanas, (*where*) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** (*is ruling and where*), beyond (*the kingdom of*) the said Antiyoka, four other kings named **Turamāya, Antikeni, Makā** and **Alikasudara** (*are also ruling*), and towards the south, where the **Choḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (*are living*), as far as **Tāmraparṇī.**

(XVIII) Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, (*the Beloved of the Gods*), — in (*the countries of*) the **Yavanas** and **Kāmbojas**, of the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**, of the **Bhojas** and **Paitryaṇikas** and of the **Andhras** and **Paulindas**,[1] everywhere (*people*) are conforming to the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XIX) Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too (*men*) have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances (*issued and*) the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods, (*and*) are conforming to Dharma (*and*) will continue to conform to it.

XX) So, (*whatever*) conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest (*creates an atmosphere of*) satisfaction everywhere (*both among the victors and the vanquished*).

(XXI) In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived (*by both the parties*).

(XXII) But that satisfaction is indeed of little consequence.

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[1] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 399-400. For the change of *l* to *r* in this name in the Girnār version, cf. below p. 30.

27 [savata **Devā**][1]**naṁpiyasa** dhaṁm-ānusathi anuvataṁti [|*] (XIX) a[ta[2] pi] dūtā **Devā-na[ṁ]piyasa** no yaṁti

28 te pi sutu **Dev[ā]naṁpiyasa** dhaṁma-vutaṁ vidhanaṁ dhaṁm-ānusathi

29 dhaṁmaṁ anuvidhiyi[saṁti][3] anuvidhiyisa[ṁ]ti[4] [ch=e]va [|*] (XX) [se ladhe] eta [kena hoti][5]

[*Boulder C ; text lines 30-36*]

30 sa[va]ta vijaye savathi[6] pana vijay[e] pīti-lase se [|*] (XXI) ladhā sā pīti h[o]ti dhaṁma-v[i]ja-

31 yasi [|*] (XXII) lahuk[ā] chu kho sā pīti (|*] (XXIII) palatikaṁm=eva mahā-phala[ṁ] maṁnati **Devānaṁ-**

32 **piye** [|*] (XXIV) etāye cha [a]ṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhitā kiti puta-papotā [me]

33 aṁ naṁ[7] na[vaṁ] vijayaṁ mā[8] vijetaviyaṁ maṁnisu sayakasi yeva vijaya[si][9]

34 [khaṁ]tī cha lahu-[daṁḍa]taṁ cha lo chaya[ṁ]tu taṁm=eva [cha] vijayaṁ maṁnaṁtu e dhaṁ-

35 ma-[vi][ja*]ye [|*] (XXV) se hi[10] hidalokika-pā[la*][lo]kike [|*] (XXVI) [yā] va cha k[ā] n[i]-lati hotu

36 [ā dhaṁ]ma-lati [|*] (XXVII) s[ā][11] hi hidalokika-pālalokikā [|*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) (*The country of*) the **Kaliṅgas** was conquered for king **Priyadarśin,** Beloved of the Gods, **eight years after his coronation.**

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(VI) But what is considered even more deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods is (*the fact that*) injury to or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones falls to the lot of the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country (*and*) among whom are established such (*virtues*) as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants.

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[1] Chakravarti : "These five letters are faintly visible on the rock."

[2] Chakravarti : "The letter *ta* is chipped off."

[3] Read °*vidhiyaṁti*.

[4] Chakravarti : "The sign for *ṁ* is not clear on the rock." He omits *ch=era*.

[5] The last three letters are engraved on the other side of the crack.

[6] Read *savathā*.

[7] Chakravarti : *asu*. He omits *me*.

[8] Chakravarti : *ma vijio*.

[9] Chakravarti : "The letter *si* is not clear on the rock."

[10] Chakravarti omits this.

[11] Chakravarti ; *sa*,

(VII) And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection (*towards the former*), even though they are themselves well provided for, (*the said misfortune*) as well becomes an injury to their own selves.

(VIII) (*In war*), this fate is shared by all classes of men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(IX) Excepting the country of the **Yavanas**, there is no country where these two classes, (*viz.*) the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist.

(X) And there is no place in any country where men are not indeed (*sincerely*) devoted to one sect (*or other*).

(XI) Therefore, (*the slaughter, death or deportation*) of even a hundredth or thousandth part of all those people who were either slain or died or were carried away (*captive*) at that time in **Kaliṅga**, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XII) Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if (*a person*) should wrong him, the (*offence*) would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it.

(XIII) And the forest-[folk] (*who live*) in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts (*in regard to their duty*).

(XIV) (*It is hereby*) explained (*to them*) that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power (*enough to punish them for their crimes*), so that they should turn (*from evil ways*) and would not be killed (*for their crimes*).

(XV) Verily the Beloved of the Gods desires (*the following*) in respect of all creatures, (*viz.*) non-injury (*to them*), restraint (*in dealing with them*), impartiality (*in the cases of crimes committed by them, and*) mild behaviour (*towards them*).

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(XVII) And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here (*in his own dominions*) but also in the territories bordering (*on his dominions*), as far away as (*at the distance of*) six hundred Yojanas, (*where*) the **Yavana** king named **Antiyoka** (*is ruling and where*), beyond (*the kingdom of*) the said Antiyoka, four other kings named **Turamāya, Antikeni, Makā** and **Alikasudara** (*are also ruling*), and towards the south, where the **Choḍas** and **Pāṇḍyas** (*are living*), as far as **Tāmraparṇī.**

(XVIII) Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, (*the Beloved of the Gods*), — in (*the countries of*) the **Yavanas** and **Kāmbojas**, of the **Nābhakas** and **Nābhapaṅktis**, of the **Bhojas** and **Paitryaṇikas** and of the **Andhras** and **Paulindas**,[1] everywhere (*people*) are conforming to the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XIX) Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too (*men*) have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances (*issued and*) the instructions in Dharma (*imparted*) by the Beloved of the Gods, (*and*) are conforming to Dharma (*and*) will continue to conform to it.

XX) So, (*whatever*) conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest (*creates an atmosphere of*) satisfaction everywhere (*both among the victors and the vanquished*).

(XXI) In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived (*by both the parties*).

(XXII) But that satisfaction is indeed of little consequence.

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[1] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 399-400. For the change of *l* to *r* in this name in the Girnār version, cf. below p. 30.

(XXIII) Only happiness (*of the people*) in the next world is what is regarded by the Beloved of the Gods as a great thing (*resulting from such a conquest*).

(XXIV) And this record relating to Dharma has been written (*on stone*) for the following purpose, (*viz.*) that my sons and great-grandsons (*who may flourish after me*) should not think of any fresh conquest (*by arms*) as worth achieving, that they should adopt (*the policy of*) forbearance and light punishment (*towards the vanquished, even if they*) themselves achieve the conquest (*of a people by arms*), and that they should regard the conquest through Dharma as the (*true*) conquest.

(XXV) Such (*a conquest*) brings happiness (*to all concerned both*) in this world and in the next.

(XXVI) And let all their intense joys be what is pleasure associated with Dharma.

(XXVII) For this brings happiness in this world as well as in the next.

## ROCK EDICT XII

[Boulder D]

1 (I) **Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi** lājā sava-pāsa[ṁ]ḍāni pavajitāni

2 [gihathāni va pūjayati dāne]na vividhāya cha p[ūja]yā [|*] (II) no chu tathā **dānaṁ** va

3 [pūjā] va Devānaṁpiye maṁna[ti] a[tha][1] [kiti sāla-vaḍhi] s[iyā] sava-pāsaṁḍānaṁ [|*] (III) sāla-[va]-

4 ḍhi chu bahu-vidh[ā][2] [|*] (IV) tasa chu [i]yaṁ m[ū]l[e] a vacha-gu[ti] kiti ata-pāsaṁ**[ḍa]**-[pūjā] va **pala-pāsaṁḍa-galahā**

5 [vā no] siyā a-pakalanasi la[hu]kā [va] [si]yā ta[si] ta[si pa]kala[na]si [|*] (V) .[pū]je[**taviya**] va chu pala-pāsaṁḍ[ā] tena [te]na

6 ākālena [|*] (VI) hevaṁ kalaṁtaṁ ata-pāsaṁḍa[ṁ] bā[ḍhaṁ] vaḍha[ya]ti pala-pā[saṁ]ḍasa pi cha upakaleti [|*] (VII) tad-aṁnath[ā] kala[ṁta]

7 a[ta*]-pāsaṁḍaṁ cha chhanati pala-pāsaṁ[ḍasa[3]] pi cha apakale[ti] [|*] (VIII) e hi kechhi ata-pāsaṁḍaṁ pūjayeti [pa]la-pāsaṁḍaṁ v[ā] galahati[4]

8 **save** ata-pāsaṁḍa-bha[tiyā va] ki[ti a][5]ta-pāsaṁ[ḍa]ṁ di[paye]ṁa [ti] se cha mana **tathā** kalaṁtaṁ b[ā]ḍhatale upahaṁti ata-pāsaṁḍaṁ [|*] (IX) se sama-

9 vāye [va] sādhu ki[ti] aṁnam-anāsa [dhaṁmaṁ sunevu] cha susūseyu cha [|*] (X) hevaṁ hi **De**[**vā**]**naṁpiya**[**sa** i]chhā kiti sava-pāsaṁḍā

10 bahu-sutā cha kayān-āgamā cha huvey[u ti] [|*] (XI) e [cha] tata tata [pasaṁnā] te hi vataviy[e] [|*] (XII) **Devānaṁpiye** no tath[ā] dānaṁ v [ā] [pū]ja v[ā] maṁnati

11 atha kiti sāla-vāḍhi si[yā] sava-pāsa[ṁ]ḍānaṁ ti [|*] (XIII) [ba]huk[ā] cha etāye a[ṭhā]ye viyāpaṭā dhaṁma-[ma]hāmātā ithi-dhiya[kha]-mahām[ā]tā

12 vacha-bhūmiko(kā)[6] cha aṁne cha nikāyā [|*] (XIV) iyaṁ [chu e]tasa phale [ata-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhi] cha hoti dhaṁmasa cha d[ī]panā ti [|*]

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[1] Chakravarti : "This letter is not clear on the rock."

[2] Chakravarti : "The *ā* sign is not clear on the rock."

[3] Chakravarti : "These two letters are not clear on the rock."

[4] Chakravarti : "There seems to be a letter like *va* on the rock at the end of the line after *ti*."

[5] Chakravarti : "The letter *a* is not clear on the rock."

[6] Chakravarti : *bhūmikā*.

## TRANSLATION

(I) King **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods, honours men of all religious communities with gifts and with honours of various kinds, (*irrespective of whether they are*) ascetics or householders.

(II) But the Beloved of the Gods does not value either the (*offering of*) gifts or the honouring (*of people*) so (*highly*) as the following, viz that there should be a growth of the essentials (*of Dharma*) among (*men of*) all sects.

(III) And the growth of the essentials (*of Dharma is possible in*) many ways.

(IV) But its root (*lies*) in restraint in regard to speech, (*which means*) that there should be no extolment of one's own sect or disparagement of other sects on inappropriate occasions and that it should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions.

(V) On the contrary, other sects should be duly honoured in every way (*on all occasions*).

(VI) If (*a person*) acts in this way, (*he*) not only promotes his own sect but also benefits other sects.

(VII) But, if (*a person*) acts otherwise, (*he*) not only injures his own sect but also harms other sects.

(VIII) Truly, if (*a person*) extols his own sect and disparages other sects with a view to glorifying his own sect owing merely to his attachment (*to it, he*) injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way.

(IX) Therefore restrained speech[1] is commendable, because people should learn and respect (*the fundamentals of*) one another's Dharma.

(X) This indeed is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods that persons of all sects become well-informed (*about the doctrines of different religions*) and acquire pure knowledge.

(XI) And those who are attached to their respective (*sects*) should be informed as follows :

(XII) "The Beloved of the Gods does not value either the (*offering of*) gifts or the honouring (*of people*) so (*highly*) as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials (*of Dharma*) among (*men of*) all sects."

(XIII) Indeed many of my officers are engaged for the (*realisation of*) the (*said*) end, (*such as*) the Mahāmātras in charge of (*the affairs relating to*) Dharma, the Mahāmātras who are superintendents (*of matters relating to*) the ladies (*of the royal household*), the officers in charge of (*my cattle and*) pasture lands and other classes (*of officials*).

(XIV) And the result (*of their activities, as expected by me,*) is the promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of Dharma.

## ROCK EDICT IX

### [Boulder E]

1 (I) **Devānaṁpiy[e] Pi[yada]si** lāj[ā] hevaṁ ā[hā] [|*] (II) [ja]ne u[ch-āvuchaṁ][2]

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[1] The expression in the original is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *samavāya* meaning 'concord'. It may, however, also suggest Sanskrit *sāma-vāda* meaning 'restrained speech' which is apparently intended by the word *saṁyama* used in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī text. Cf. *dhaṁma-vāya* for Sanskrit *dharma-vāda* in Rock Edict XII line 5. See *PIHC*, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 144 ; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 34, note 10.

[2] Chakravarti : "The three letters are faintly visible on the rock."

2 maṁgalaṁ [ka]leti [ābā]dha[1]si ā[vā]ha[si] vīvāhas[i] paj-upadāye[2] [|*] (III) et[ā]ye

3 aṁnāye cha hed[is]āye jane ba[hu] maṁ[ga]laṁ [ka]laṁti [|*] (IV) [hetā chu][3] aṁbaka-ja[4]-[nikā] ba[hu] cha bahu-vidhaṁ cha

4 [khu]dā cha nila[thi][5]yaṁ cha maṁgalaṁ kal[aṁ]ti [|*] (V) [se] kaṭa[viye ch=eva] kh[o] maṁ-gale [|*] (VI) apa-phale chu kh[o] es[e] [|*] (VII) iyaṁ chu [kho]

5 maha-[pha]le [e] dhaṁma-maṁgale [|*] [VIII] het[ā] iyaṁ [dā]sa-[bha]ṭa[ka]si samyā-paṭipati g[u]lune apa[chiti] pānānaṁ saya[me]

6 [samana-baṁbha]nana[ṁ dāne][6] [|*] (IX) esa aṁne cha [he]di[se] dhaṁma-maṁgale n[ā]ma [|*] (X) se vataviye pi[t]in[ā] pi pu[te[7]na]

7 [pi] bhāti[ke]na pi[8] mita-saṁthu[tena] pi [ava-paṭive]si[yena][9] pi [|*] (XI) iyaṁ sā[dhu] [|*] (XII) iyaṁ kaṭaviye maṁga[le āva][10]

8 athasa ni[vu]tiyā nivuta]si[11] vā mi[na i]maṁ kachhami[12] [|*] (XIII) e [hi itale maṁ]gale sa[ṁ]-sayi[ke] se [|*] (XIV) siyā [va[13] taṁ[14]]

9 aṭhā nivatayeyā [si]yā [se] no [|*] (XV) [hi]da-lokik[e] ch[=e]va [se] [|*] (XVI) i[yaṁ] mina dhaṁ[ma]-maṁga[le] akālike [|*] (XVII) haṁch[e pi] [taṁ][15]

10 aṭhaṁ no nivatayati [hi]da atha [pala][16]ta anaṁtaṁ [puṁ]naṁ [pa]savati [|*] (XVIII) [haṁ]che minā [taṁ pi][17] a[ṭhaṁ] nivate[ti] [hi]da [tato][18]

11 [ubho] ladhe hoti hida cha se aṭhe [pala]ta cha [anaṁ]taṁ pu[19]naṁ pasavati tena [dhaṁ-ma]-maṁgalenā [|*]

## TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king **Priyadarśin**, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) People perform various (*kinds of*) auspicious ceremony on the occasions of illness, the weddings of sons, the weddings of daughters, (*and*) the birth of children.

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[1] Chakravarti : " A little space is left between *bā* and *dha* which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock. "

[2] Other versions have a word like *pavāsasi* after this.

[3] Chakravarti : " The letter *chu* is partly visible on the rock. "

[4] Chakravarti : " The letter *ja* looks like *jāṁ* on the rock. " He reads *janiyo*.

[5] Chakravarti : " The engraver seems to have inscribed *ya* at first and then changed it into *thi*. "

[6] Chakravarti : " The letter *ne* is faintly visible on the rock. "

[7] Chakravarti : " The letter *te* is completely rubbed off." The following two letters also cannot be traced on the impressions.

[8] Chakravarti : "The passage *bhātikena pi* is written between lines 6 and 7 about their beginning." The passage *suvāmikena pi* has been omitted in this version.

[9] Chakravarti reads [*pa*]*ṭev*[*e*]*si*[*yena*] and says that the last two letters look like *lene* on the rock.

[10] Chakravarti : " The word *tasa* which occurs in other versions after this is not visible on the rock. It may have been chipped off. "

[11] Chakravarti : " There is a little space between *ta* and *si*, which is left uninscribed owing to the roughness of the stone. " He reads *va*.

[12] Chakravarti : *kachhāmi*.

[13] Chakravarti : " The letter *va* is only partly visible on the rock. "

[14] Chakravarti : " The letter *taṁ* is not visible on the rock. "

[15] Chakravarti : " The letter *taṁ* is only partly visible on the rock. "

[16] Chakravarti : " The letter *la* is completely rubbed off. "

[17] Chakravarti omits *pi*.

[18] Chakravarti : " This is not found on the rock and is probably chipped off. "

[19] Chakravarti : " The sign for *ṁ* after *pu* is not visible on the rock. " He reads *ubhe* and *palate*

(III) On these and similar other occasions, people perform many (*kinds of*) auspicious ceremony.

(IV) And on such (*occasions*), the womenfolk (*in particular*) perform many and diverse (*kinds of*) ceremony which is trivial and meaningless.

(V) An auspicious rite, however, should certainly be performed.

(VI) But the said (*kind of rites*) in fact produces meagre results.

(VII) (*On the other hand*), such a ceremony as is associated with Dharma produces great results.

(VIII) In it are comprised the following, (*viz.*) proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, restraint in (*one's dealings with*) living beings, (*and*) liberality to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(IX) These and similar other (*virtues*) are indeed the ceremonies of Dharma.

(X) Therefore, whether (*one is a person's*) father, or son, or brother, or friend or acquaintance, or (*even*) a (*mere*) neighbour, one ought to declare (*to him as follows*) :

(XI) This (*kind of rite associated with Dharma*) is good.

(XII) "One should observe this practice until one's (*desired*) object is attained and (*resolve that*) this (*practice*) will be observed by him[1] again (*and again*) even after the object is attained."

(XIII) The auspicious ceremony (*of kinds*) other than this is indeed of dubious (*value*).

(XIV) Perchance a person may attain his object (*by performing those ceremonies*), perchance he may not.

(XV) Moreover, (*performance of those ceremonies*) may produce results in this world only.

(XVI) But the (*said*) rite of Dharma is not restricted to time.

(XVII) If (*a person performs it but*) does not attain his object in this world, even then endless merit (*for him*) is produced (*by it*) in the next world.

(XVIII) And, if (*a person*) attains his object in this world, both the results are obtained (*by him, viz.*), that the (*desired*) object (*is attained*) in this world as also endless merit is produced (*for him*) in the next world by that ceremony of Dharma.

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[1] The orgiinal has 'by me'.

2 maṁgalaṁ [ka]leti [ābā]dha[1]si ā[vā]ha[si] vīvāhas[i] paj-upadāye[2] [|*] (III) et[ā]ye

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5 maha-[pha]le [e] dhaṁma-maṁgale [|*] [VIII] het[ā] iyaṁ [dā]sa-[bha]ṭa[ka]si samyā-paṭipati g[u]lune apa[chiti] pānānaṁ saya[me]

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7 [pi] bhāti[ke]na pi[8] mita-saṁthu[tena] pi [ava-paṭive]si[yena][9] pi [|*] (XI) iyaṁ sā[dhu] [|*] (XII) iyaṁ kaṭaviye maṁga[le āva][10]

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[11] Chakravarti : " There is a little space between *ta* and *si*, which is left uninscribed owing to the roughness of the stone. " He reads *va*.

[12] Chakravarti : *kachhāmi*.

[13] Chakravarti : " The letter *va* is only partly visible on the rock. "

[14] Chakravarti : " The letter *taṁ* is not visible on the rock. "

[15] Chakravarti : " The letter *taṁ* is only partly visible on the rock. "

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(XI) This (*kind of rite associated with Dharma*) is good.

(XII) "One should observe this practice until one's (*desired*) object is attained and (*resolve that*) this (*practice*) will be observed by him[1] again (*and again*) even after the object is attained."

(XIII) The auspicious ceremony (*of kinds*) other than this is indeed of dubious (*value*).

(XIV) Perchance a person may attain his object (*by performing those ceremonies*), perchance he may not.

(XV) Moreover, (*performance of those ceremonies*) may produce results in this world only.

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[1] The orgiinal has 'by me'.

## No. 2—SOPARA FRAGMENT OF ROCK EDICT IX OF ASOKA

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In 1882 Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered a broken slab of basalt bearing parts of some lines of Rock Edict VIII of **Aśoka**[1] (roughly one-third of the edict) in a place near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town of Sopārā (ancient Sūrpāraka in Aparānta) in the Bassein Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay State.[2] The discovery suggested that a complete set of the fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka must have originally existed near Sopārā. This possibility has received further support from the recent discovery of another broken slab of basalt containing parts (a little above half) of Rock Edict IX of the series in the same neighbourhood. On the 1st of January 1956, Mr. N. A. Gore, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, discovered this fragment in the village of **Bhuigaon near Sopārā.** Both the fragments are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. When I visited the Museum in January 1957, the authorities were kind enough to allow me to examine and copy the inscription.

The inscribed surface of the slab is oval in shape. Its length is about 26 inches and height about 22 inches. It contains eleven lines of writing. The number of letters in the lines is as follows : 1—13, 2—14, 3—20, 4—20, 5—21, 6—20, 7—19, 8—19, 9—18, 10—17 and 11—17. Each letter is about 1½ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory, although a few letters are damaged here and there in most of the lines. In several cases, flaws in the stone look almost like vowel-marks attached to particular consonants. Since there are what may be regarded as traces of two or three letters of a twelfth line beneath the concluding part of line 11, the preservation of all the letters in the other lines may be taken to suggest that only the lower part of the inscribed face of the slab has broken away. But we have to take into account the oval shape of the slab as well as the facts that none of the letters are lost at the beginning and end of any of the lines and that the lines about the middle contain more letters than those in the upper and lower parts of the inscribed face which is elliptical in size. These seem to suggest that the few marks beneath line 11 may not actually be traces of a lost line and that the face of the slab contains the whole of the original writing of the inscription which was continued on another slab. In any case, at Sopārā, the Rock Edicts were apparently engraved in groups on separate slabs just as at Erraguḍi.

As expected, the **characters** of the inscription are Brāhmī and its **language** is Prakrit. The letter *r* is of the cork-screw type while *y* is of both of the Indian plough and tripartite types (cf. *Devā naṁpiye Piyadasi* in line 1 and *aṁnāye chu edisāye* in line 4). *Dh* has its back to the right of the vertical. The **text** does not strictly follow the draft of any of the published versions of the edict. Thus *pajūpadāye* (line 3 ; instead of *putra-lābhesu* or *pajupadane*) connects it with Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, Mānsehrā and Erraguḍi; *aṁnāye* (line 4 ; instead *añaṁhi* or *añaye*) with the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts (although, for *aṁne* in line 10, Mānsehrā has also *aṇe* insetad of *añe*) ; *pitīnā* (line 11 ; instead of *pitā* or *pitunā*) with the same versions ; *aṁbaka-janiko*, literally 'mothers and wives' (line 5 ; instead of *mahiḍāyo*, *ithī* or *striyaka* meaning 'ladies' or 'women') with the Erraguḍi, Kālsī and Mānsehrā texts ; and *baṁbhana-samanānaṁ* (lines 9-10 ; instead of *samana-bamhanānaṁ* or *śramaṇa-bramaṇana*) with the Girnār text which, however, retains *ṇ* of the

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

[2] See *JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, p. 282 ; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xv, 118 and Plate.

Sanskrit spelling of the words. The use of *n* for *ṇ* in *baṁbhana-samana* (Sanksrit *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa*) also connects our record with the Kālsī, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Erṟaguḍi texts. But there are some peculiarities of the orthography of the present text of the edict, which are not noticed in any other versions. In retaining *r* of Sanskrit without changing it to *l*, our text shows affinity with the Girnār, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions as against the Dhauli, Erṟaguḍi, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts. But the present text exhibits the interesting feature of changing *l* of Sanskrit to *r* not generally noticed in any other version of the edict. Indeed this characteristic is found only in a few cases in the Girnār, Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions of the fourteen Rock Edicts (cf. the root *ārabh* for Sanskrit *ālabh* in Rock Edict I). The Sanskrit words *maṅgala* and *phala* have been modified to *maṁgara* (six times in lines 2, 4, 6, 6-7, 8 and 10-11) and *phara* (twice in line 7). The word *samiya* in *samiya-paṭipati* (Sanskrit *samyak-pratipatti*) in lines 8-9 is spelt in the other versions as *samya*, *samyā* or *saṁma*. The modification of *k* into *y* in *nirathiyaṁ* (line 6) is noticed in several other texts of the edict ; but the elision of *y* in *e* (Sanskrit *yaḥ*) in line 7 is noticed at Dhauli and Erṟaguḍi while the other texts (except Jaugaḍa which is damaged in this part) have *ye*, although the same consonant in Sanskrit *yāvat* is elided in all the versions except Shāhbāzgaṛhī which retains it in one out of two cases.[1] The introduction of *h* in *heta* (Sanskrit *atra* ; cf. *eta* in line 5 ) in line 8 is noticed in the Kālsī and Erṟaguḍi texts. But *edise* (Sanskrit *etādṛiśaḥ*) in line 10 is found as *heḍise* in the Kālsī, *ediśa* in the Mānsehrā and *etārisaṁ* in the Girnār version. In *dāsa-bhaṭakasi* (Sanskrit *dāsa-bhṛitake*) our text differs from the Girnār version which has *dāsa-bhatakaṁhi*.

## TEXT[2]

1 (I) **D[●]vā[na][3]ṁpiye Piyadasi** r[ā]j[ā] hevaṁ .

2 āha [|*] (II) jane uch-āvuchaṁ maṁgaraṁ ka[ro]ti

3 [ā]b[ā]dhasi [ā]vāhasi[4] vivāhasi paj-ūpadāye pav[ā]sa-

4 si [|*] (III) etāye aṁṇāye chu edisāye jane bahū maraṁ[5] ka[ro]-

5 ti [|*] (IV) [e]ta chu aṁbaka-janiko bahū cha ba[hū]-vidhaṁ cha khudaṁ cha

6 ni[rathiya]ṁ cha maṁgaraṁ ka[ro]ti [|*] (V) se ka[ṭa]viye ch=eva kho maṁ-

7 gare [|*] (VI) apa-phare chu kho es[o][6] [|*] (VII) i[yaṁ] chu kho maha-phare e dhaṁ-

8 ma-maṁgare [|*] (VIII) heta iyaṁ[7] dāsa-[bha]ṭakasi samiya-paṭi-

9 pat[i] gurun[o] apachiti pānānaṁ saya[me] baṁbhana-

10 saṁa[nā]naṁ: dāne[8] [|*] (IX)esa aṁṇo[9] cha edise dhaṁma-ma[ṁ]-

11 [gare] nāma [|*] (X) [se] vatavi[10][y]e pitīnā pi putena pi[11]

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[1] See Girnār once in line 6 (Hultzsch, op. cit., p. 16), Kālsī twice in lines 25-26 (ibid., p. 37), Shāhbāzgarhī in one of the two cases in line 19 (ibid., p. 60), Mānsehrā twice in line 6 (ibid., p. 78) and Dhauli once in line 5 (ibid., p. 90). This part of Jaugaḍa is damaged. But Kālsī exhibits the elision of *y* in *e* elsewhere in the edict, e.g., in line 26 (ibid., p. 37).

[2] From impressions.

[3] What looks like an *ā-mātrā* of *n* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[4] What looks like an *ā-mātrā* of *h* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[5] Read *maṁgaraṁ*.

[6] The intended reading seems to be *ese*.

[7] What looks like an *e-mātrā* of *y* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

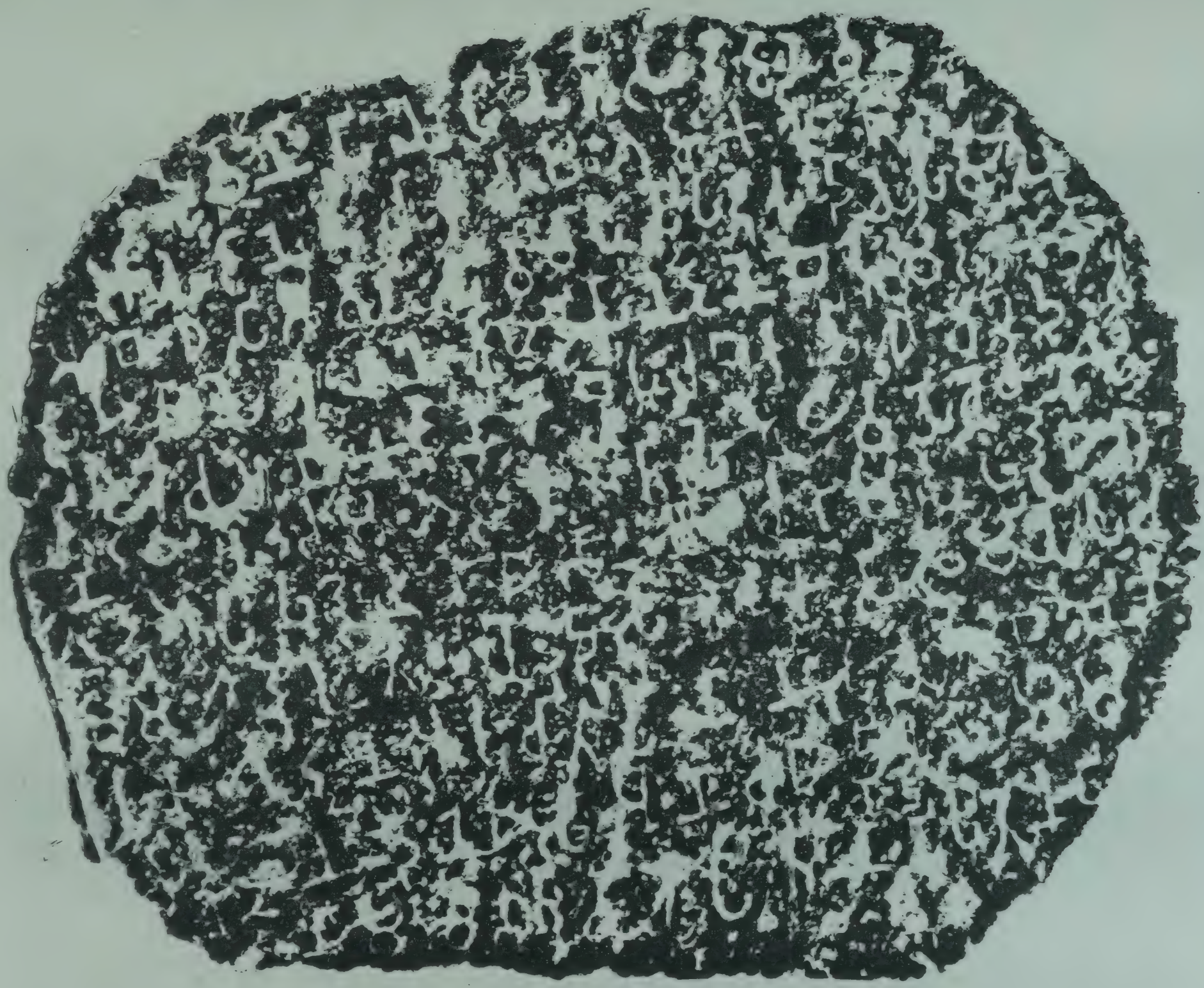
[8] What looks like an *anusvāra* after *dā* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[9] The intended reading is possibly *aṁne*. Cf. note 6 above. But it may be *aṁṇa* also.

[10] What looks like an *ā-mātrā* of *t* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[11] A comparison with the text of the edict in the other versions (e.g., Erraguḍi, above, pp. 26-27) will show that the extant part of the record contains a little more than a half of the edict. The lost part contained a few letters less than the number of letters in the extant portion.

SOPARA FRAGMENT OF ROCK EDICT IX OF ASOKA



Scale : Three-seventh

# No. 3—KALEGAON PLATES OF YADAVA MAHADEVA

*(2 Plates)*

D. G. Koparkar, Ahmednagar

**Kālēgāon** where the grant was discovered is situated on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī about sixteen miles east of Nēvāsā in the Ahmednagar District, Bombay State. The following account of Kālēgāon is found in the Gautamī-māhātmya section of the *Brahma Purāṇa*. Saramā, the divine bitch, had two pups whom Yama fondled. She used to guard the sacrificial cows of the gods. The demons once enticed her with sweet words and bribes and stole away the cattle of the gods. Bṛihaspati came to know Saramā's disloyal behaviour and informed Indra about it. The latter in anger kicked her and she vomitted milk, a direct evidence of her faithlessness. Indra cursed her to go to the mortal earth. The two pups of Saramā approached Yama, their master, for help and he sought the advice of his father, the Sun, in the matter of getting the curse lifted. The Sun directed him to go to the Daṇḍaka forest, bathe[1] in the Gautamī (Gōdāvarī) and worship Brahman, Vishṇu, Sūrya and Śiva. Yama with the dogs did as directed and Saramā recovered from the effect of the curse. The place where Yama performed penance is called Yamatīrtha and Śiva is said to be present there under the name Yamēśvara. It is believed to be a holy place having power to relieve men of all sins committed by themselves and their forefathers.[2] Yamēśvara is now known as Kālēśvara. The village seems to have been originally called Kālagrāma, then Kālugāṁva and lastly Kālēgāon.

Kālēgāoṇ was granted as an Inām to Rāvajī Mahādēva Vyāsa by the Pēshwā Bālājī Bājīrāva in 1756 A.D. In recognition of his integrity in submitting true accounts of the possessions of even those who lost their lives in the struggle, Rāvajī received a big prize. Out of it, he built the holy Kuśāvarta at Tryambakēśvara. Kālēgāon continued as a hereditary Inām till August 1955 with 181·5 acres of unarable and 2854·17 of arable land and a total assessment of Rs. 3,004.

Among the old sites in the village are the Wāḍā of the Jahagirdar, the Kālēśvara temple (said to have been built by Shri Panse, a former Jahagirdar of Tuljāpur), the dilapidated Gaḍhī of the Panses and a bastion and an extensive plinth of a building built after the Hēmāḍpanta style. This last site is locally known as *maḍh*, from Sanskrit *maṭha*, 'monastery, school'. Between the remains of the Gaḍhī on the one hand and the bastion on the other goes the trodden path which at this point is inclined. Heavy monsoon showers washed away the earth on the path and there was exposed to view, on the 22nd September 1955, a nicely chiselled slab of stone. The villagers dug out the slab and were surprised to hear a metallic sound from its interior when it was turned upside down. On examination they found that the huge slab consisted of two pieces firmly joined together to form something like a safe. It was opened in the presence of the *Pañchas* and three massive copper plates, strung on a stout copper ring bearing seal, were discovered inside the stone covers.[3] The upper stone measures 1′ 10″×1′ 3·5″×7″ and has a hollow (4·5″ in depth) carved in it, while the lower measures 2′×1′ 4·5″×7″ with a similar hollow 1·5″ deep. The plates measure 1′ 3″×11″ ×·25″ each and the three of them weigh $4\frac{3}{4}$, $4\frac{1}{8}$ and $4\frac{9}{16}$ seers respectively. They are made thicker

[1] Even now the villagers point out one deep pool in the river-bed known as *Kālyā ḍōha* or *Kājaḷī ḍōha* where Kāla or Yama is believed to have bathed.

[2] *Brahma Purāṇa*, Ānandāśrama ed., 131, 50-51.

[3] An official report on this discovery was made by the village Patel to the Mamlatdar of Nēvāsā and the finds were first taken to Nēvāsā and then transferred to the Collector's Office. [The plates are now in the office of the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay.—Ed.]

at the edges with a view to preserve the engraved matter from friction. The **seal** bears the Yādava emblem which is a small copper image of Garuḍa sitting with hands folded and wings stretched out.[1] The ring passes through the aperture at the base of the image and through the holes in the three plates. The Garuḍa image is 4·5″ in height and 4″ in width and weighs 59 *tolas*. The ring is 12″ in circumference and 22·5 *tolas* in weight.

Being well-protected between the stones, the charter is quite legible. The Dēvanāgarī **script** employed in the document represents the peculiarities of the century to which it belongs. *Pṛishṭhamātrās* are commonly used. The following letters are sometimes confusingly similar : *va* and *ba*, *da* and *ḍa*, *tha* and *dha*, *stha* and *chchha*, *dva* and *ddha*, *vya* and *dhya*. To the bottom of the vertical bar of *p* is, in some cases, added a sharp curve so that the letter looks almost like *ē*. The *anusvāra* is generally a hollow circle. The **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography,** the consonant following *r* is often doubled. In a few places, *ś* is substituted for *s*. The details of the date, quoted in the record correspond to the 29th August 1261 A.D. Its importance will be discussed later on.

The first thirty verses of the charter are important as they depict the career of the donor and some of his predecessors. As the Yādavas are said to have descended from the moon, the Purāṇas are drawn upon by the court poet. Verses 1-5 give the genealogy of the lunar race from Brahman, born of Vishṇu's navel, to Yayāti's son Yadu after whom the family came to be called Yādava-vaṁśa. From their original home in Mathurā, some Yādava families migrated to Saurāshṭra and to Gujarāt and Mahārāshṭra.[2] Dṛiḍhaprahāra (c. 795 A.D.), the son of Subāhu, is traditionally held to be the first ruler of Chandrādityapura or Chandrapura which is identified with Chāndvaḍ, Chāndōḍ or Chāndōr in the Nasik District. According to Hēmādri, however, the capital was Śrīnagara or Sinner in the same District, called variously Sindhinagara, Siṇḍinagara and Siṇḍinērā in the inscriptions. In the beginning, these Yādavas were feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and protected their northern frontier.

Verse 6 speaks of Rāja (c. 850 or 900 A.D.) who is also called Rājagi or Rājugī in other inscriptions. Ten kings, placed after him by Hēmādri, are omitted by our poet. Verse 7 says how in this royal house was later on born Siṅghaṇa (i.e. Siṁhana I or Siṁharāja, c. 1100 A.D.) who adopted the title *Sāhasāṅka*. It is stated that he subdued the king of Karṇāṭa, vanquished the Pāṇḍya chief and raised a pillar on the sea shore to commemorate the victory, and scared away the Gūrjara leader from the battle-field by his superior valour.[3] Verse 8 introduces his son, Mallugi (also called Mailugi) who amassed much wealth belonging to the enemy kings. Verses 9-11 state that he was succeeded by Bhillama (i.e. Bhillama V, 1187-91 A.D.).[4] He is called a *Sārvabhauma*. He routed the lord of the Vindhyas and erected a column of victory on that mountain.[5] He also put down the Chālukya monarch, conquered the south and uprooted the Kākatyas (i.e. Kākatīyas of Warangal in the north-eastern Deccan). Bhillama's victory over the Vindhyan king and the Kākatyas, if real, is learnt for the first time from this grant. The other facts are already known. Thus in 1187 A.D. he is known to have founded the new capital, Dēvagiri, after having defeated the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara IV. Similarly, the conquest of the south refers to the defeat of the Hoysala-Yādava king Narasiṁha (the father of Vīra-Ballāḷa) who ruled at Haḷēbīḍ in Mysore. Later on, however, Bhilla-

[1] The Bassein plates (1069 A.D.) of Sēuṇacandra II has on two sides of the Garuḍa seal two conchs while the Haraḷahaḷḷi (Dharwar) plates of 1237-38 A.D. has the sun and the moon on the sides of Garuḍa. See *JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, p. 386 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 119. Our seal has no such signs.

[2] Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, p. 259. Cf. Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* : *Sarvē=pi pūrvaṁ Mathur-ādhināthāḥ Kṛishṇ-āditō Dvāravat-īśvarās=te | Subāhu-sūnōr=anu dakshiṇ-āśā-praśāsinō Yādava-vaṁśa-vīrāḥ* || See R. G. Bhandarkar, *E. Hist. Dek.*, App. C (*Kājaprašasti* I, verse 21).

[3] The details are also recorded in the Paithan plates (1271 A.D.) of Rāmadēva (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 314).

[4] On the authority of the Mārḍī inscription, Shri G. H. Khare pushes back the date of Bhillama's coronation to 1184 A.D. Vide *Sourc. Med. Hist. Dec.*, Vol. I, p. 46. [For the initial year of Bhillama's reign, see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 95-96.—Ed.]

[5] [No column of victory on the Vindhyas is mentioned in the text. Vindhya-bhūbhṛit may be Paramāra Vindhyavarman of Malwa.—Ed.]

ma's imperial status was challenged by Vīra-Ballāḷa and it appears that his son, Jaitugi, who led the army, was completely defeated at Lakkuṇḍi near Gadag. Bhillama also lost his life in this battle.[1] Verses 12-13 state how he was followed on the throne by Jaitugi (or Jaitrapāla, 1191-1210 A.D.) who killed the king of Trikaliṅga (i.e. Kākatïya Rudra) and, instead of annexing that territory, liberated from prison Gaṇapati who was the nephew of Rudradēva and nominated him king.[2] According to verses 14-20, his son was Siṅghaṇadēva (i.e. Siṁhana or Siṁha II, 1210-47 A.D.) who defeated king Hammīra.[3] He was a redoubtable warrior, a royal sage, a benevolent and just administrator and a patron of poets and learned men.

According to the *Kīrtikaumudī* of Sōmēśvara, Siṁhaṇa II invaded Gujarāt at least twice ; but he lost his commander Rāma, son of Khōlēśvara, and made peace with the Vāghēlā kings representing a branch of the Chaulukyas of Aṇahillapattana. Verse 21 introduces his son Jaitugi (i.e. Jaitugi II) 'whose feet were kissed by the crest-jewels of all the kings in the three worlds and who was irresistible like the sun rising with all its lustre'.

According to verse 22, Jaitugi's son was *Śrīrāyanārāyaṇa* Kṛishṇadēva (also called Kanhara, 1247-60 A.D.) who made a river of the blood of the Gūrjara heroes flow. Verses 23-30 speak of his younger brother and successor, Mahādēva (1261-71 A.D.), who enjoyed the *birudas : Rāyanārāyaṇa*[4], *Rāyabhujabalabhīma*,[5] *Rāyapitāmaha*,[6] *Rāyajagaddala*, etc. He launched such an onslaught on Vīsala (i.e. Viśala or Viśāladēva, the Vāghēlā king of Gujarāt) that the latter lost all his wealth and fame of valour (as also his life ?) on the battle-field. This Vīsaladēva (1235-60 A.D.) was the son of Vīradhavala and grandson of Lavaṇaprasāda. He had formerly offered strong resistance to Siṅghaṇa II and was defeated by Kṛishṇa. Mahādēva seems to have helped his brother in the struggle and was held responsible for the defeat (and death ?) of Vīsala. The reference is made here in connection with Mahādēva's assumption of purple robes. It appears that when the elder brother was the king, the younger acted as his general.[7] We are told that Mahādēva led a successful encounter on the sea against the Śilāhāras of the Konkan in 1260 A.D. Such victories in 1260 A.D. attributed to Mahādēva have led some historians[8] to believe that he became king some time before 1260 A.D. The present grant, however, proves that he ascended the throne in 1261 A.D. and that Kṛishṇa must have breathed his last some time the same year.

The prose portion after verse 30 mentions the date of the grant which is the expired **Śaka year 1182,**[9] **Durmati** (current), **Monday, the second day of the bright half of Bhādrapada.** This corresponds to the **29th August 1261 A.D.** The grant clearly states that it was made **on the occasion of Mahādēva's coronation** and with the belief that it would lead to the prosperity and expansion of his kingdom. We come to know this date for the first time from this grant.

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[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Indian Empire, Vol. II, p. 339.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316. According to an inscription (above, Vol. III, p. 113) of 1222 A.D., from Bahāḷ in Khandesh, Gaṇapati was the king of Andhradēśa, while the Tasgaon plates (Khare, *Sourc. Med. Hist. Dec.*, Vol. III, pp. 9-16 ; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 208 ff.) of Yādava Kṛishṇa says that Jaitugi defeated the Andhra king.

[3] The Sanskrit drama entitled *Hammīramadamardana*, written between 1219 and 1299 A.D., depicts him as a Mlēchchha defeated by Vīradhavala Vāghēlā of Gujarāt. [For the initial year of Singhaṇa, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 317.—Ed.]

[4] R. G. Bhandarkar, *E. Hist. Dek.*, p. 157.

[5] These two titles along with *Bhīmaparākrama* were adopted by Siṅghaṇa II according to Tailaṇa's inscription in the Ambābāi temple, Kolhapur (*Quart. Bhār. It. Saṁ. Maṇḍ.*, Vol. XV, p. 17).

[6] The Śilāhāra king Mallikārjuna (1156-60 A.D ) also assumed the title *Rājapitāmaha*. Vide *Marāṭhī Jñānukōśa*, s.v.

[7] [As Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan points out to me, Amalānanda's *Vēdāntakalpataru* (Introduction, verse 13 ; Conclusion, verse 7) refers to the joint rule of Kṛishṇa and Mahādēva. B. K. No. 185 of 1933-34, dated Śaka 1177, Rākshasa, ..... su. 15, Monday (June 21 or November 15, 1255 A. D.) also refers to *Kanharadēva-Mahādēva-vijaya-rājya*. Mahādēva was ruling as *Yuvarāja* jointly with Kṛishṇa till the latter's death —Ed.]

[8] Vide *Vijayanagara Smāraka Grantha* (Marathī), p. 358.

[9] [The year was really Śaka 1183 expired cf. Kielhorn's List, No. 362.—Ed.]

Works on astrology dealing with the auspicious moments for particular functions give a number of details regarding the *mūhūrta* of coronation. Tuesday[1] and Wednesday[2] are to be avoided; Sunday, Monday and Friday are all right if they are *sabala*;[3] Uttarāyaṇa is to be preferred but Chaitra, Āshāḍha and an intercalary month are to be excluded,[4] as also Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada.[5] The *rikta-tithis* 4, 9, 14 and 30 and the night are similarly to be avoided.[6] It is generally believed that the first day of a month is not favourable for any auspicious undertaking. The period when the sun is in the Vṛiśchika, Tulā or Kanyā *rāśi* is recommended for coronation.[7] We find from Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* that the sun was in the Kanyā *rāśi* on the 29th August 1261 A.D. and the intercalary Bhādrapada was over two days earlier. Most of these general rules are found observed in the selection of the date recorded. The only question is about Dakshiṇāyaṇa and Bhādrapada, during which the coronation should not take place according to the astrologers. The explanation of this question is to be found in the following remark of the author of the *Muhūrtaprakāśa*: *mṛite rājñi na kālasya niyamō=tra vidhīyatē*. In the case of a sudden death of the reigning king, the kingdom should not remain without a lord for a long time.[8] It may be supposed that such an emergency arose and hence the coronation took place during the Dakshiṇāyaṇa and Bhādrapada, though normally they are to be avoided.

The charter records the grant of the village of Kālugaṁva in favour of fifty-two Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the king's coronation. The name of the gift village was changed to Paṭṭavardhanapura apparently with reference to the occasion of the grant. The fifty-two donees of the grant belonged to twenty-two different *gōtras*. Thirty of them claim to be Bahvṛicha or Ṛgvēdin, twenty-one Taittirīya or Yajurvēdin and only one Chhandōga or Sāmavēdin. The details are furnished in the following table.

| Gōtra | Śākhā | Number of Donees |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Ātrēya | Bahvṛicha | 1 |
| 2. Kapi | Do. | 1 |
| 3. Kāśyapa | Do. | 2 |
| 4. Do. | Taittirīya | 3 |
| 5. Do. | Chhandōga | 1 |
| 6. Kauṇḍinya | Bahvṛicha | 3 |
| 7. Do. | Taittirīya | 3 |
| 8. Kauśika | Bahvṛicha | 2 |
| 9. Gārgya | Do. | 1 |

[1] *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi*, Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1907, p. 324.
[2] Cf. Vasishṭha quoted in the commentary on the *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi*, loc. cit.
[3] *Bṛihat Muhūrtasindhu*, Vēṅkatēśvara Press, 1885, p. 139.
[4] *Muhūrtaprakāśa*, Vēṅkaṭēśvara Press, 1917, p. 45.
[5] *Bṛihat Muhūrtasindhu*, loc. cit.
[6] *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi*, loc. cit.
[7] *Bṛihat Muhūrtasindhu*, loc. cit.
[8] The commentary on the *Muhūrtachintāmaṇi* also holds this view.

| Gōtra | Śākhā | Number of Donees |
|---|---|---|
| 10. Gautama | Bahvṛicha | 1 |
| 11. Jāmadagnya-Vatsa | Do. | 3 |
| 12. Do. | Taittirīya | 1 |
| 13. Dēvarāta | Do. | 2 |
| 14. Parāśara | Do. | 1 |
| 15. Bādarāyaṇa | Bahvṛicha | 1 |
| 16. Bhāradvāja | Do. | 3 |
| 17. Do. | Taittirīya | 4 |
| 18. Bhārgava | Bahvṛicha | 1 |
| 19. Mitrayuva | Do. | 1 |
| 20. Mudgala | Do. | 1 |
| 21. Lōhita | Taittirīya | 1 |
| 22. Vatsa | Bahvṛicha | 1 |
| 23. Do. | Taittirīya | 1 |
| 24. Vāsishṭha | Bahvṛicha | 3 |
| 25. Do. | Taittirīya | 1 |
| 26. Vābhryaśva | Do. | 2 |
| 27. Viśvāmitr-Āghamarshaṇa-Kauśika | Bahvṛicha | 2 |
| 28. Śāṇḍilya | Do. | 3 |
| 29. Do. | Taittirīya | 1 |
| 30. Hārīta | Do. | 1 |

The usual convention was that the grants of older kings should be continued by later rulers even though they may have belonged to a different royal house. It is therefore interesting to note that the village granted to fifty-two Brāhamaṇas in 1261 A.D. was again given as an Inām to the Vyāsas by a Pēshwā. It seems that, for some reason or other, Kālēgaon was deserted by the descendants of the donees of this grant.

Among the privileges enjoyed by the donees of the grant, the expression *ashṭa-bhōga* normally stands for the following eight kinds of enjoyment fixed by usage (*grāma-maryādā*) : *nidhi* (treasure trove) ; *nikshēpa* (also called *upanidhi*, deposits on the soil) ; *jala* (water reservoirs) ; *pāshāṇa* (stones, mines and quarries) ; *akshiṇī* (actual privileges) ; *āgāmī* (future profits) ; *siddha* or *siddhāya* (what is already brought under cultivation) ; *sādhya* (waste land that may in future be

turned into a cultivable land).[1] In our grant, however, eleven types of enjoyments are named and besides some more are implied by the expression *ity-ādi*, and still they are called *ashṭa-bhōga*. This means that all possible privileges or conditions with reference to the gift village were transferred to the donees. The donees of the *brahmadēya* grants used to receive all the taxes payable by the inhabitants to the king, but themselves had to pay nothing.[2]

Of the above list, the first four *bhōgas* occur in our grant. Among the other privileges, *śulka* is the same as *bhūt-ōpātta-pratyāya*, a tax on what has been produced or manufactured (*bhūta*) and what has been imported (*upātta*), i.e. some general excise and octroi duties.[3] The terms *vāt-ādēya*, *āvāta*, *vāta-pratyāya* and *akara-vāt-ōttara* occur in inscriptions; but in all these *upātta* seems to have been Prakritised as *āvāta* or *vāta*. *Daṇḍa* is *daṇḍāya*, i.e. the right to receive the fines imposed upon the delinquents.[4] *Dāṇa* seems to be some kind of customs duty; cf. Gujarātī *dāṇachōrī* (smuggling) and the Marāṭhī surname *Dāṇī*. The latter is explained in the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa* as 'the officer collecting the tax on corn', 'the officer to store the corn collected as tax from the farmers'.[5] *Kāruka* is some tax on the artisans and craftsmen.[6] *Maulika* means traditional or customary tax.[7] Dr. Altekar explains *maulika-arhaṇas*, 'perquisites of hereditary officers', as the receipts of the headman who enjoyed the taxes in kind and used to receive a share of most of the articles produced or sold in their villages.[8] Alternatively, we may connect *maulika* with Marāṭhī *mōḷī* 'the burden of grass or fuel that a man can carry on his head'. In that case, the term may indicate some octroi duty in kind over the imported goods. *Śrōtra*[9] is a fiscal term of uncertain import. MM. D. V. Potdar suggested to me that it might be a Sanskritisation of *ślōtra* or *śilōtra* from Sanskrit *śilōttara*. According to the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōśa*, *śilōtarā*, *śilōtarī* or *śilōtrī* means the tax in kind (a maund per bighā) to be collected from the cultivator by the person (called *ijārdār*) taking possession of Government land on contract for a fixed period. *Tēja*, also written *tējas*,[10] is a puzzle. In several inscriptions,[11] *tēja-svāmya* is mentioned over and above the *ashṭa-bhōga*.

The boundaries of the gift village are carefully noted in the grant: Gaṅgā (Gōdāvarī) in the north; Nāigauṁ and Khāmbhagauṁ in the west; Nīmbaravīṁ in the east; and Rāñjaṇagauṁ and Dahīṁgauṁ in the south. The modern equivalents of these names are: Limbārī or Nimbārī (two miles to the east of Kālēgāon), Dahigaon and Rāñjaṇī (four miles to the south), Khāmgaon (three miles to the west). Nāigauṁ is a difficulty. About four miles to the west of Kālēgaon there is an old village named Varakhēḍ which was formerly a centre of Brahmanic learning and where even at this day live certain Brāhmaṇa families belonging to the Ṛigvēda and the Vasishṭha, Viśvāmitra and Jāmadagnya *gōtras*. In the list of the donees of this grant we do find Rigvēdins with these *gōtras* and this fact may be regarded as supporting the identification of Varakhēḍ with

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[1] See the Nallur grant (1389 A.D.) of Harihara II, verses 26-27. Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 123; also p. 245 (verse 7).

[2] A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 327.

[3] Ibid., p. 228.

[4] Ibid., p. 235. In the expression *sa-daṇḍa-dōsha-daś-āparādha*, *daṇḍa* is wrongly translated as 'the measurement, i.e. measuring rod' by R. G. Bhandarkar. Cf. *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 285.

[5] Cf. *sa-dhānya-hiraṇya-dēya*, 'assessment of revenue in the form of gold coins or corn' (Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 228).

[6] Cf. *kāruk-ādi-samasta-daṇḍa* (M. G. Dikshit, *Select Inscriptions of Mahārāshṭra*, p. 99).

[7] Cf. the Marāṭhī surnames *Mūḷika*, *Mūḷaka* (literally, 'first', 'original') and Marāṭhī *mōḷā* (i.e. *mūḷa*, *maulika*), 'tradition', 'way of life', as in *Marāṭh-mōḷā*. The term *maḷakāva* (or *ᶜvuṁ*) occurring in an inscription (*Sukthankar Comm. Vol.*, II, p. 238) is phonetically related to *maulika*.

[8] *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 194.

[9] [The word may be the same as *śrōtuka* mentioned in the Chinchani plates of the time of Kṛishṇa III. Cf. below, p. 57.—Ed.]

[10] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144, above, Vol. XIII, p. 34.

[11] G. H. Khare, *Sourc. Med. Hist. Dec.* (Marāṭhī), Vol. III, pp. 63, 90, 98.

Nāigaum. Varakhēḍ is famous for its old shrine of Nāgēśvara. Its older name therefore may have been Nāgagrāma modified later to Nāyagāma and lastly to Nāigaum. This suggestion is borne out by the evidence of the *Brahma Purāṇa*[1] wherein the following story is told about the name of the place. King Śūrasēna of the lunar dynasty ruling at Pratishṭhāna had no issue. After a time his queen gave birth to a snake named Nāgēśvara who was really a son of Śēsha and had been cursed by Śiva. He studied the Vēdas and Śāstras and was later married to Bhōgavatī, the daughter of king Vijaya ruling in the east. Bhōgavatī and Nāgēśvara bathed in the Gōdāvarī and devoutly worshipped Śiva. The place where they worshipped came to be known as Nāga-tīrtha and the *liṅga* worshipped by them as Nāgēśvara.

Sēuṇadēśa, mentioned in verse 30 (line 76), is the country named after Sēuṇachandra I (c. 800 A. D.), the son of Dṛiḍhaprahāra. The kingdom founded by his father was expanded by Sēuṇachandra on both banks of the Godāvarī from Nasik to Devagiri so as to include the modern Districts of Aurangabad and East and West Khandesh as well as portions of Ahmednagar and Nasik. Our grant fittingly styles Gōdāvarī as the ornament of the Sēuṇa country.

## TEXT[2]

[Metres : verses 1, 11, 13, 24, 29, 31, 32, 35-37 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 3, 4, 12, 15-18, 22, 27, 30 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5, 8, 20, 21, 23, 34 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Śikhariṇī* ; verses 7, 9, 10, 25, 26, 28 *Sragdharā* ; verse 14 *Āryā* ; verse 19 *Pṛithvī* ; verse 33 *Śālinī*.]

*First Plate*

1 ॐ[3] स्वस्ति श्रीः । ओ[3]न्नमो वराहाय ॥ जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षोभि-

2 तार्ण्णवं(वम्) । दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः ॥ [१*][4] विष्णोर्न्नाभीकम-

3 लकुहरादाविरासीद्विरिंचिर्न्यचन्मौलिस्खलितकुसुमं वंदितो देव[दै]-

4 त्यैः । तस्मादत्रिः समजनि जगज्जातजैत्रप्रकाशश्चन्द्रस्तस्मादभवद-

5 मृतोद्गारशृंगारिताशः ॥ [२*] वंशे तस्य पुरूरवास्समभवद्यच्चापमापद्गतो

6 देवानामधिपः स्मरत्यविरतं व्यालुप्तवज्रग्रहः । आब्रह्मांडमखंडतांड-

7 वरथप्रस्थानली[लां] वहन्यश्चैको बुभुजे भुजेन विजितामुर्वीं थैवोर्व-

8 शीं(शीम्) ॥ [३*][5] तस्मिन्नेव ययातिराविरभवद्भूमंडलाखंडलस्सर्वः स्वर्वनितानि-

9 तांतसुभगप्रोद्गीतदोर्व्विक्रमः । यस्याद्यापि मखाहिताहुतिशतप्रोद्दाम-

10 धूमोत्करैराकीर्ण्णं परितः स्फुरत्यविरतन्तापिच्छनीलं नभः ॥ [४*][6] तस्मादजाय-

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[1] Ānandāśrama ed., III, 86.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] Expressed by symbol. [The first symbol stands for *Siddham*.—Ed.]

[4] This verse was quoted from earlier records (cf. Khare, *Sourc. Med. Hist. Dec.*, Vol. III, p. 75).

[5] The third foot of the stanza contains *Padārtha-nidarśanā* as °*līlāṁ vahan*, i.e. ' possessing grace', leads to the following similarity : °*prasthāna-līlā-sadṛiśīṁ līlāṁ vahan*. The fourth foot furnishes a simile and the two together offer a charming jingle.

[6] The stanza exhibits *Atiśayōkti*.

11 त यदुर्यदुपग्रहेण वंशस्ततःपरमगाज्जगति [प्र]तिष्ठां(ष्ठाम्) । तस्मिन्नथायमभवत्प्र-

12 भवः प्रजानां लीलामयं वपुरमन्दबलन्दधानः ॥ [५*] यदोस्तस्मिन्वंशे समज-

13 नि स निर्वापितरिपुप्रतापस्तापच्छिन्निखिलजगतो राजनृपतिः । यदीय-

14 प्रोदंचच्चरणनखरत्नांशुजलधौ निमज्जन्तश्चित्रं जगदुपरि वृत्तिप्रणयिनः ॥ [६*][1]

15 खे[ल]त्खड्गावतंसो रणशिरसि वशीकृत्य कर्ण्णाटराजं यः पांड्यं दंडयित्वा प्य-

16 धित जलनिधे स्तंभमभ्यर्ण्णभूमौ । यद्बाणव्रातपातैर्न्न समरमरगभ[2]जज्ज-

17 र्ज्जरो गूर्ज्जरेन्द्रः स श्रीमानाविरासीत्तुहिनकरकुले सिंघणस्साहसांकः ॥ [७*] त-

18 स्मादभूत्प्रभुरशेषमहीपतीनां श्रीमल्लुगिर्व्विजयकार्म्मणकार्मुकश्रीः । यस्य प्र-

19 तापतरणौ[3] तरुणे तरूणां च्छा(छा)येव दैर्घ्यमजहादरिभूभृतां श्रीः ॥ [८*] यस्मिन् भ्रूभंग-

20 भीमे चलति वसुमतीमंडलं चंडभानोर्बिंबं शैलेंद्रसंधिस्त्रिभिरभित इमे सं-

21 म्रियंते स्म सर्व्वे । वलद्भिर्व्वाजिबृंदैस्तुरगखुरहतैः पांसुभिर्भीतिभिन्नैः क्षोणीं-

22 द्रैस्स प्रवीरस्तदनु समभवद्भिल्लमस्सार्व्वभौमः ॥ [९*][4] येनोद्यन्विंध्यभूभृत्प्रसभ-

23 नियमितः शूरमार्गन्न भेजे दृप्यच्चालुक्यवाताप्यपि च कवलितो येन जीर्ण्ण-

24 : क्षणाद्धात् । येन प्रासाधि भूयो मलयपरिमलोद्गारिणी दक्षिणाशा स श्रीभि-

25 ल्लम[5]देवो घटजमुनिरिवापीतकाकत्यसिंधुः ॥ [१०*][6] येन सेनारजोराजिनिरुद्धे मि-

26 हिराध्वनि । वंध्यो विंध्यगिरिस्तम्भः कुंभयोनेरकल्पत ॥ [११*][7] यस्संख्ये त्रिकलिंगरा-

27 जमवधीद्विद्वेषि।[8] सीमंतिनीनेत्रांभःप्रसरत्प्रगल्भलहरी.निर्वाणवैरान-

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[1] The subjects of king Rāja adored him so much that they longed for a [continued] stay on this earth only [and not for liberation]. There is *Atiśayōkti*. [There are *Rūpaka* and *Virōdhābhāsa*.—Ed.]
Read *samaram=abha°*.

[3] There is *Upamā*. The splendour of the enemy kings is compared to the shadow of trees. *Pratāpa-taraṇi* is to be explained as *pratāpaḥ taraṇiḥ iva* or *pratāpaḥ taraṇiḥ ēva* or *pratāpa-yuktaḥ taraṇiḥ*. The third foot gives *Chhēkānuprāsa* due to the repetition of *t*, *r* and *ṇ*. [*Pratāpa-taraṇi* exhibits *Rūpaka* only.—Ed.]

[4] There is *Yathāsaṅkhya* as well as *Kriyādīpaka* as all the three nouns, *vasumatī-maṇḍala* (which is the matter on hand), *bhānu-bimba* and *śailēndra-sandhi* are connected with the same verb *saṁvriyantē*.

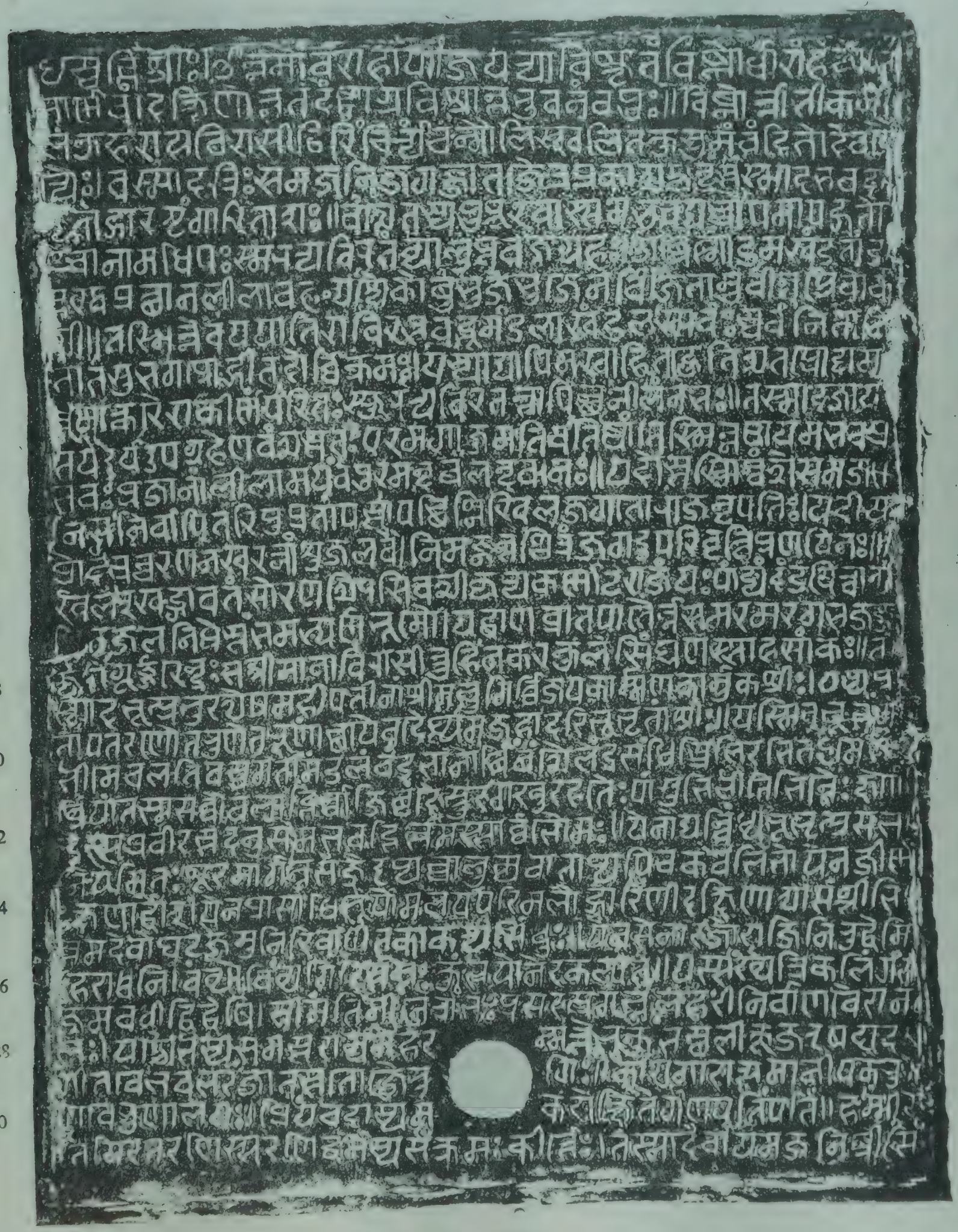
[5] We may suggest *Bhillamma°* for the sake of the metre.

[6] Bhillama is here likened to Agastya. The points of resemblances are brought out by double-meaning expressions.

[7] The verse implicitly suggesting the superiority of Bhillama over Agastya exhibits *Vyatirēka-dhvani*.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

KALEGAON PLATES OF YADAVA MAHADEVA—PLATE I



Scale : Three-fifths



28 लः । यश्चैतस्य समस्तराज्यमहरन्मत्तेभकुंभस्थलीकूजत्षट्[ट्प]द-

29 गीतवैभवभरं जातस्ततो जैतुगिः ॥[१२*] का[रा]गारात्समानीय करु-

30 णावरुणालयः । प्रियंवदास्यमकरोत्क्षितेर्गणपतिं पतिं[तिम्] ॥ [१३*] हम्मीर-

31 तिमिरतरणिस्सरणिर्द्धर्मस्य संक्रमः कीर्त्तेः । तस्मादै(दे)वायमजनि श्रीसिं-

*Second Plate, First Side*

32 घणदेवभूपालः ॥ [१४*][1] कृष्यंते यदुराजरत्न भवता वक्षांभि(सि) वि[द्वे]षिणामूप्यंते सम-

33 रस्थलीपु(षु) करिर्णा(णां) मुक्तामणिश्रेणयः । वर्षन्ति स्तनगं(मं)डलेषु तरु-

34 णीनेत्राणि बाष्पोत्करैरुद्भेदो भु।[2]वनत्रयेपि [य*]शसामाश्चर्यमुज्जृंभ-

35 ते ॥ [१५*][3] जाता[:*] स्मः कविसंज्ञिका व ॥[4] यममी भूमण्डले सिंघणक्षोणी[न्द्र]-

36 स्य गुणार्ण्णवस्तु न गिरां गर्भेषु सम्मात्ययम् । यस्यैकस्य भुजे नि-

37 धाय धरणीभारञ्चिरेण प्रियाकेलीमप्यवधूय सर्पशयने निद्राति नाराय-

38 णः ॥ [१६*][5] मंदं मुंच करींद्र[शै]लशिखरे [श]ल्यं विनिर्भिद्य तद्ग्रीवामर्द्धनिमग्नमेव स-

39 मरे धत्तामियं [भू]न्त(स्त)तः । नो चेत्सिंघणदेव निःसृतमिदं क्रोडस्य शेषस्य वा

40 किं वा कूर्मपतेः [प]तेर्व्व(द्व)पुषि तन्मास्तामयं दुर्नयः ॥ [१७*][6] स्तो(स्ना)तव्यस्त्वमृतेन कश्चि-

41 दपरो भूमण्डलाखंडल स्यादेको यदि वा निवातकवचध्वंसी पृथानंदनः । द्-

42 रे सोप्यथवास्तु यस्य समरे क्षोणीनिमज्जद्रथोदस्तज्यस्तकरद्वये विनिहि-

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[1] The first foot of the stanza exhibits *Kēvalaparamparita-rūpaka* not based on pun. The superimposition of *timira* on Hammira leads to that of *taraṇi* on the king. There is also *Mālā-rūpaka* as *taraṇi* and *sankrama* are *upamānas* to the same Siṅghaṇa.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[3] The heroic deeds of Siṅghaṇa are compared with those of a farmer. The second and fourth feet of the verse jointly offer *Asaṅgati* inasmuch as the cause (i. e. sowing) is in one place and the effect (i. e. crops) in another. [Three causes of the same effect are given in the first three feet.—Ed.]

[4] The two *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[5] The second foot of the stanza exhibts *Adhika* as *guṇ-ārṇava* (the *āśrayin*) is described as greater than speech (the *āśraya*) though really it is not so.

[6] Siṅghaṇa, the champion archer, is requested here to discharge his shaft at the enemy's elephant not with full swing. For the full force of the shaft will not only kill the elephant, but, says the poet with a hyperbole, also pierce the earth to the base and fall on the Boar (Vishṇu) or Śēsha or the Tortoise (i.e. the mythological supporters of the earth). And would this not be an outrage ?

43 ता वैकर्त्तमे(न्ने) मार्गणाः ॥[१८*][1] कलौ किमिति नाल(भ)वत् क्षपितखांडवः पांडवो रिपु-

44 त्रिपुरधूर्जटिः किमु न सिंघणो द्वापरे । इदं स विमृशन्मुहुस्समरदृष्टितृ-

45 ष्णातुरः स्व(श्व)रा(स)न्समुपवीणयत्स्म(न्स्म)रति गूढभावो मुनिः ॥ [१९*][2] सद्वंशजं गुणिनमा-

46 यतमाप्तकोटिमुत्सृज्य चापमगमत्समरेस्य बाणः । युक्तं तदेत[द]भवद्यदपि

47 प्रविश्य प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिवहृदि स्थिपिमाप नैषः ॥ [२०*][3] तस्मादजायत जग[त्*]त्रयगीय-

48 मानप्रौढप्रतापतपनोदयदुर्निवारः । श्रीजैतुगिर्वसुमतीवलयाधिनाथचू-

49 डामणिप्रकरसंकरचुंबितांघ्रिः ॥ [२१*] तस्मात्कृष्ण इति प्रसिद्धचरितः श्रीरायना-

50 रायणो जातः कार्त्तिकचंद्रकांतिजयिनीं कीर्त्तिञ्चिरन्नर्त्तयन् । गर्जत्गू(द्गू)र्जर-

51 वीरशोणितसरित्संगत्वरे श्रीपतिः पाथोधौ सघृणो यदीयहृदये निर्दूषणे

52 निद्रितः ॥ [२२*][4] तस्यानुजो निजनु(भु)जार्जितभूमिभार[:*] स्वच्छन्दचारमुदितोरगसार्व-

53 भौमः । यो वीसलं समरकौतुकिनां सुराणामग्रे समूलविभवं दलयांचका-

54 र ॥ [२३*][5] रायनारायणो रायपितामह इति स्फुटं(टम्) । यथार्थन्नाम यस्येदं महादेवस्य

55 गीयते ॥ [२४*] तेजोवार्त्ता निवृत्ता चलति बलभरे वाजिनामाजिवेगादुद्धतस्थूल-

56 धूलीपटलकवलनादर्ण्णवाः कर्ण्णगम्याः । किं च प्राणप्रयाणात्प्रतिधरणिभु-

57 जां संहृतो मारुतोसौ तेषां स्त्रीबंधुबालैर्गिरिगहनगृहास्त्याजिताः शून्यतां

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[1] Arjuna alone could have been regarded to be as brave as Siṅghaṇa and could have been anointed by the *amṛit-ābhishēka*. But he violated all rules of war in shooting arrows at Karṇa (Vaikartana) when the latter was busy lifting up (*udasti*) the chariot-wheel with his hands. The *Nivātakavachas* (literally, 'clothed in impenetrable armour'), destroyed by Arjuna, were a class of Daityas descended from Prahlāda. [The correction inserted in the first foot is unnecessary.—Ed.]

[2] The verse exhibits *Atiśayōkti* and *Ārthī Utprēkshā*. Arjuna's inferiority to Siṅghaṇa is further indicated. [The first two corrections inserted in the fourth foot are unnecessary.—Ed.]

[3] There is *Samāsōkti*. *Bāṇa* is *prastuta* and from it the *aprastuta*, 'one who deserts a gentleman', is insinuated by means of double-meaning adjectives.

[4] *Kārttika-chandra-kānti-jayinīṁ kīrtim* gives us *Vyatirēka*. King Kṛishṇa was ever intent on killing the yelling Gūrjara heroes. His [ocean-like] heart is therefore said to be eager (cf. *tvara*) to meet (cf. *saṅga*) the river of Gūrjara blood. This is *Atiśayōkti* based on *Rūpaka*. Ordinarily it is the river that flows to the ocean. King Kṛishṇa meditated on Vishṇu and his heart was free from all sin (*nirdūshaṇa*). Hence Vishṇu is poetically conceived to repose in the kings heart as he detested (cf. *saghṛiṇa*) the ocean in comparison with the heart.

[5] Here is *Atiśayōkti*.

58 च ॥ [२५*] इत्थं कल्पावसानव्यसनमिव महाभूतवर्गस्य कुर्वन् गुर्वीमुर्वीं स्वकीये

59 भुजभुजगपतौ [प]ालयन्सन्निविष्टां(ष्टाम्) । स्वस्मात्तेजःप्रतापं प्रतिभटसुदृशा-

60 म्बाष्पतोम्भः समीरं श्वासैः शून्यं नि[वा]सं विरचयति महादेव एवेश्वरो यः ॥ [२६*][1]

61 निर्जित्योर्जितराजमण्डलमधःक्षिप्त्वाखिलक्ष्माभृतो यत्कीर्त्याखिलवाहि-

62 नीपरिवृढप्रौढस्फुरत्सम्पदा । पाताले फणिनायकः क्षितितले कैलासशै-

63 लः सुरावासे वासववारणस्तु विजयस्तंभस्समुत्तम्भितः ॥ [२७*][2] अध्यासीनेन्दु-

*Second Plate Second Side*

64 सिंहासनममरसरिच्चामरोदंचितश्रीरुच्चैस्सां(स्सा)म्राज्यलक्ष्मीं कलयति [भु]-

65 वनाह्लादिनी यस्य कीर्त्तिः । या संकोचं गताभिः प्रतननृपमिलत्कीर्त्तिभिस्ता-

66 रकाभिर्जुष्टा यत्ख[ड्ग]सृ(कृ)ष्टैर्वरविबुधगणैस्तूयते निस्तरंगैः ॥ [२८*][3] सुदां(धां)शु-

67 कलशो लक्ष्मचूत[प]ल्लवलांछितः । यत्कीर्त्या त्रिजगद्वेश्मप्रवेशाय [नि]वे-

68 शितः ॥ [२९*][4] यद्वीरव्रतमाकलय्य मुदितो रामः कृपाणच्छलादागत्य स्वयमेव

69 यत्करतलं स्वैर्विक्रमैः क्रीडति । स्नाति स्वैरमुदारवैरिरुधिरे पृथ्वी[मप]-

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[1] In verses 25-26, Mahādēva, like the great Śiva, is said to have subdued and destroyed the elements. The lustre (*tējas*) of all the objects known to possess it (especially the lustre of the enemies) fades into insignificance when Mahādēva with the superior lustre of his white stallions is speeding on the battlefield. When his army is on the move, huge columns of dust arise and settle on the surface of the ocean. Thus the water element is destroyed (cf. *karṇagamya*) by Mahādēva. The element of wind is destroyed (*saṁhṛita*) inasmuch as Mahādēva withdraws (cf. *saṁhṛita*) the life-breath of all enemy kings. The members of the royal families of the enemies are required to take shelter in mountain caves [and forest recesses] when the enemies are no more. This means that the *ākāśa* element which is nothing but *śūnyatā* (emptiness) is also destroyed in the caves. All this disaster of the deluge sets in because Mahādēva subdues the earth. But after that he creates *tējas* in the form of his valour, water (i.e. tears) from the eyes of the enemies' wives, wind from their sighs and *ākāśa* (void, loneliness) in their houses. Thus there is *Vastu-dhvani* (i.e. suggestion of the superb valour of the king). In verse 26, there is *Anuprāsa* as also *Śāṅgarūpaka* in that there is the superimposition of Īśvara and his divine deeds on Mahādēva and his achievements.

[2] There is *Atiśayōkti* of the *asambandhē sambandhaḥ* type at the basis of *Tulyayōgitā* (cf. *Phaṇi-nāyaka, Kailāsa-śaila* and *Vāsava-vāraṇa* with a single *kriyā*). [There is *Mālārūpaka*, not *Tulyayōgitā*.—Ed.]

[3] Mahādēva's fame ascended (reached) the throne of the moon, had its glory heightened (*udañchita-śrī*) by the chowry in the form of the heavenly Ganges, possessed eminently (*uchchaiḥ kalayati*) the glory of sovereignty, gladdened the universe, was waited on (*jushṭā*) by the stars which were only the contracted forms of the reputations of former kings pooled together, and was eulogised by large groups of gods standing motionless (*nistaraṅgaiḥ*) [with admiration] as they were enamoured (*kṛishṭa*) of [his skill in] swordsmanship. [The correction of *sṛishṭa* to *kṛiṣṭa* is unnecessary as it refers to the persons who died while fighting with Mahādēva and went to heaven (i.e. became gods).—Ed.]

[4] The idea that Mahādēva's fame had reached upto the moon is expressed by a *Samasta-vastu-vishaya-rūpaka* in which three *upamānas* are superimposed on three *upamēyas*.

क्षत्रियां वारंवारमयं करोति कुरुते रत्नाकरं स्वाश्रयं(यम्) ॥ [३०*][1] स खल्वेवंविधगुणग-

णालंकृतः रायनारायणः रायभुजबलभीमः रायपितामहः रायजगद्ले-

[illegible]विरि(रु)दावलीविराजमानः कुलक्रमागतं निजभुजबलपालितं चतुस्स-

मुद्रमेखलांकितमही[म]ण्डलसां(सा)म्राज्यपदन्धानः श्रीमन्महादेवः । शकनृ-

पोपलक्षितसंवत्सराणां द्वा(द्वच)शीत्यधिकेष्वेकादशसु शतेष्वतीतेषु वर्त्तमान-

दुर्मतिसंवत्सरांतर्गतभाद्रपदशुक्लद्वितीयायां सोमे आत्मनः पट्टबंधसम-

ये राज्याभिवृध्य(द्ध्य)र्थं सेउणदेशालंकरणगोदावरीदक्षिणतीरस्थं शुल्कदं-

डदाणकारुकमौलिकश्रोत्रनिधिनिक्षेपजलपाखा(षा)णतेजस्वा(स्वा)म्यमित्या-

द्यष्टभोगसहितं राजराजपुरुषैरप्यनंगुलिनिर्देश्यं भवितश्रद्धा(द्धा)तिशयपू-

र्वकं हिरण्याक्षतोदकसहितं कालुगंवनामधेयं ग्रामं पट्टवर्द्धनपुरापरना-

मधेयं नानागोत्रेभ्यो द्विपंचाशत्संख्याकेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रादात् श्रीमहादेवः [॥*]

तत्र चैते ब्राह्मणाः । भारद्वाजतैत्तिरीयमाधवसुतपोतिः । बह्वृचशांडिल्यजोगदे-

वसुतलक्ष्मीधरः । बह्वृचशांडिल्यजोगदेवसुतप्रभाकरः । तैत्तिरीयकौंडि-

न्यमहादेवसुतनारायणः । तैत्तिरीयकौंडिन्यगोविंदसुतकृष्णः । बह्वृच-

मुद्गलदेवर्त्तसुतजनार्दनः । बह्वृच[व]त(त्स)शारंगसुतविष्णुः । बह्वृचकौशि-

कसोमनाथसुतदामोदरः । तैत्तिरीयशांडिल्यजाकदेवसुतबोपदेवः । तै-

त्तिरीयजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सपुरुषोत्तमसुतजनार्दनः । तैत्तिरीयपराशरदेवण-

सुतचांगदेवः । बह्वृचकौंडिन्यश्रीवत्ससुतदामोदरः । बह्वृचभारद्वाजविष्णु-

सुतमैरालः । तैत्तिरीयकाश्यपकूथिसुतविष्णुः । बह्वृचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सवाम-

नसुतनारायणः । बह्वृचवसिष्ठरेवदाससुतविद्याधरः । बह्वृचबादरायणरा-

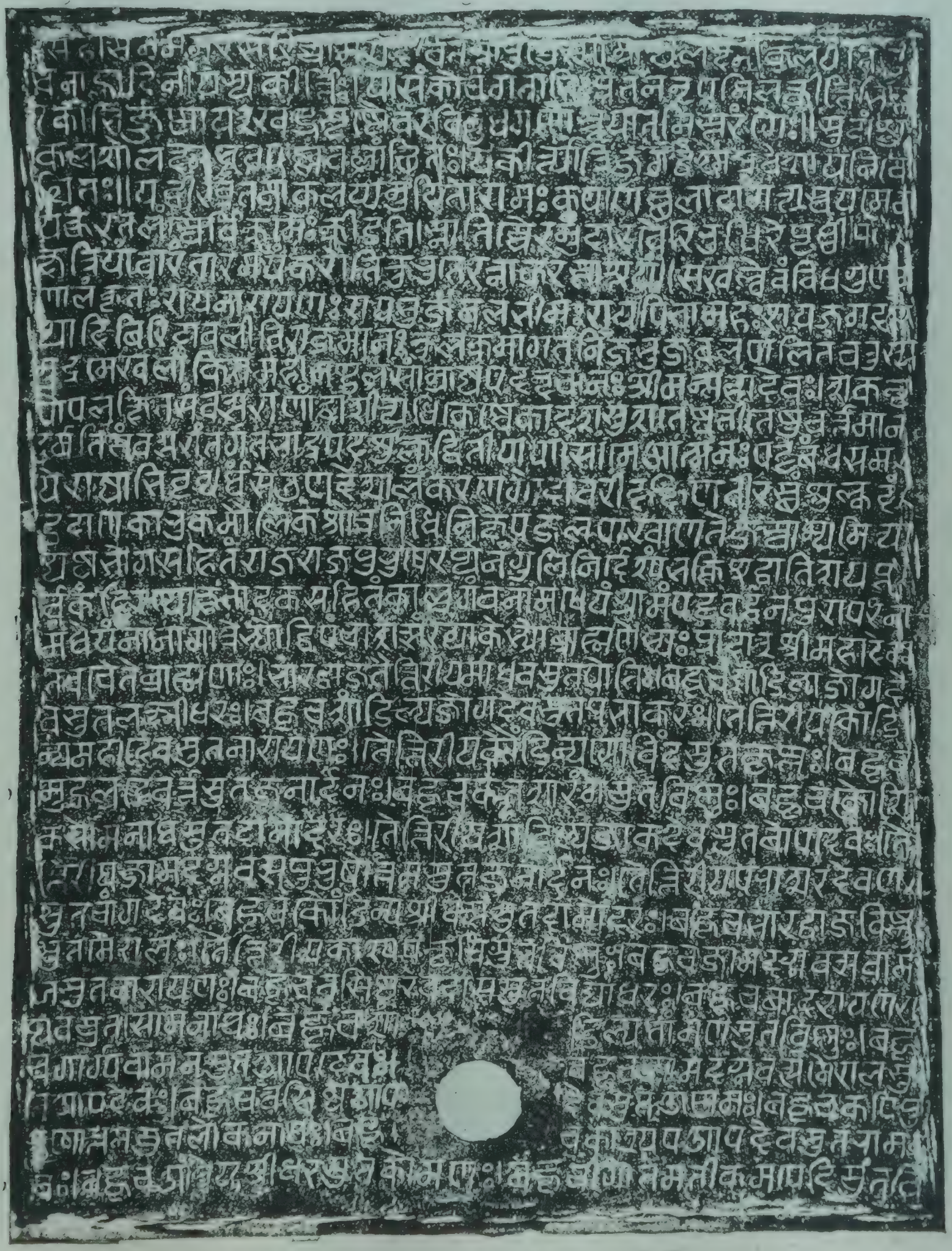
घवसुतसोमनाथः । बह्वृचशांडिल्यतांमणसुतविष्णुः । बह्वृ-

चगार्ग्यवामनसुत आपदेवः । बह्वृचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्समैरालसु-

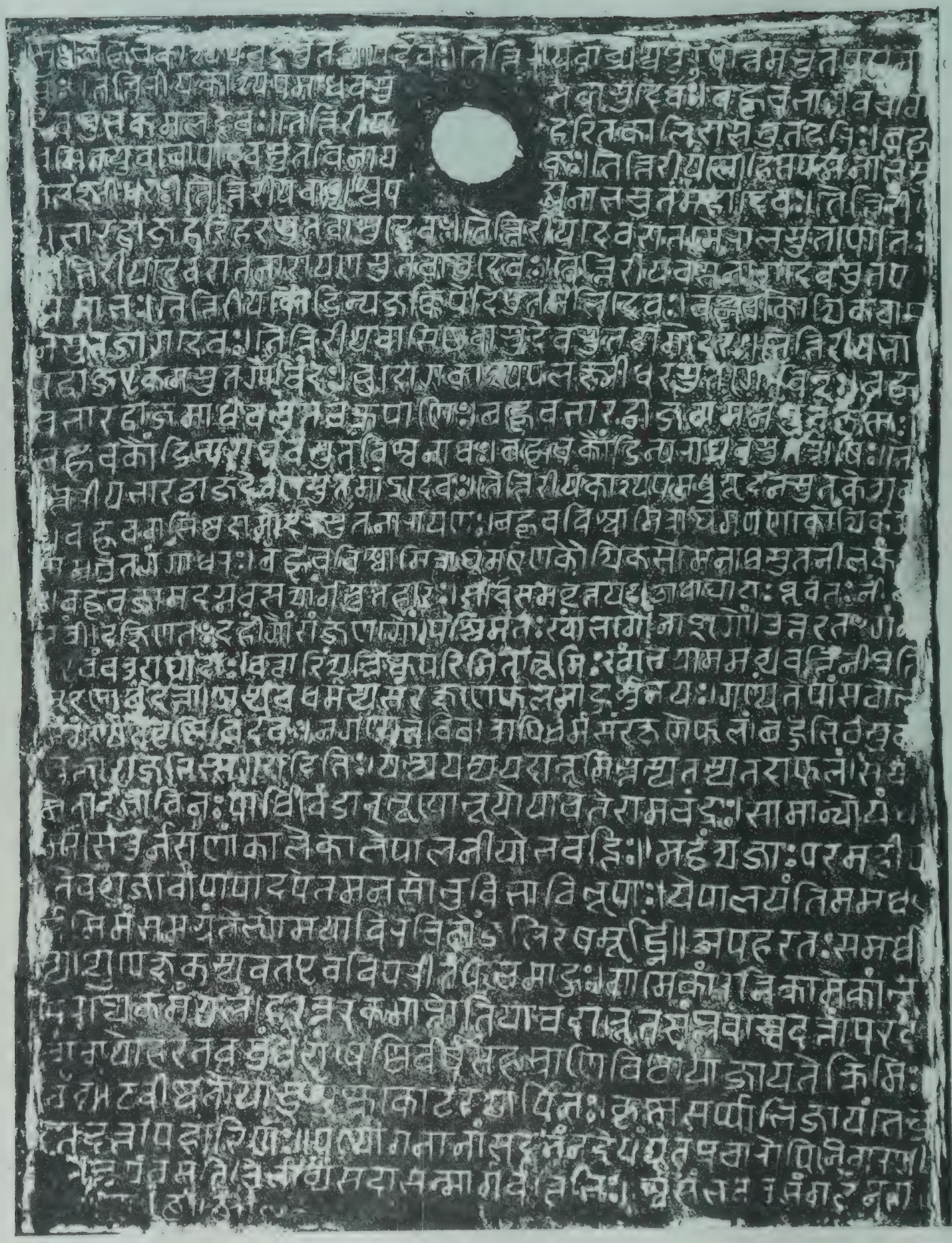
[1] There is *Atiśayōkti*, and *kripāṇa-chchhalāt* gives *Irthī Apahnuti*. [Not *Arthī*, but *Śābdī*.—Ed.]

KALEGAON PLATES OF YADAVA MAHADEVA—PLATE II

*ii, b*



Scale : Three-fifths



92 त आपदेवः । बह्वृचवसिष्ठ आपदेवसुत[*] अण्णमः । बह्वृचकपिषु-

93 रुषोत्तमसुतलोकनाथः । बह्वृचकाश्यप आपदेवसुतराम[देे]-

94 वः । बह्वृच आत्रेयश्रीधरसुतकोमणः । बह्वृचगौतमतीकमपेदिसुतवि-

*Third Plate*

95 ष्णुः । बह्वृचकाश्यपचन्द्रसुत आपदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवा[भ्र]व्य[1]पुरुषोत्तमसुतपद्मना-

96 भः । तैत्तिरीयकाश्यपमाधवसुतवासुदेवः । बह्वृचभार्गवचांग-

97 देवसुतकमलदेवः । तैत्तिरीयहरितकालिदासमुतहरिः । बह्वृ-

98 चमि[त्र]युवबोपदेवसुतविनायकः । तैत्तिरीयलोहितपद्मनाभसु-

99 तलक्ष्मीधरः । तैत्तिरीयवा[भ्र]व्य[1]पद्मनाभसुतमहादेवः । तैत्तिरी-

100 यभारद्वाजहरिहरसुतवासुदेवः । तैत्तिरीयदेवरातमैरालसुतपोतिः [।]

101 तैत्तिरीयदेवरातनारायणसुतवासुदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवत्सनागदेवसुतप-

102 द्मनाभः । तैत्तिरीयकौंडिन्यजविकपेदिसुतगालिदेवः । बह्वृचकौशिकवाम-

103 नसुतजोगदेवः । तैत्तिरीयवासिष्ठवासुदेवसुतदामोदरः । तैत्तिरीयभा-

104 रद्वाज एकमसुतगोविंदः । च्छ(छ)दोगकाश्यपलक्ष्मीधरसुतगोविन्दः । बह्वृ-

105 चभारद्वाजमाधवसुतचक्रपाणिः । बह्वृचभारद्वाज[वा]मनसुतकृष्णः ।

106 बह्वृचकौंडिन्यराघवसुतविश्वनाथः । बह्वृचकौंडिन्यराघवसुत ऋषिः । तै-

107 त्तिरीयभारद्वाजदेवणसुतमांद्रदेवः । तैत्तिरीयकाश्यपमधुसूदनसुतकेशव-

108 : । व(ब)ह्वृचवासिष्ठदामोदरसुतनारायणः । बह्वृचविश्वामित्राघमर्षणकौशिक[:*] अ-

109 ण्णमसुतगंगाधरः । बं(ब)ह्वृचविश्वामित्राघमर्षणकौशिकसोमनाथसुतनीलकंठ-

110 । व(ब)ह्वृचजामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सशार्ंग(शार्ङ्ग)सुतहरिः । सर्वे समवृत्तयः । अथाघाटाः [।*] पूर्वतः नींब-

111 रवीं । दक्षिणतः दहींगौं रांजणगौं । पश्चिमतः खांभगौं नाइगौं । उत्तरतः गंगा

112 ॥ एवं चतुराघाटाः । चत्वारिंशन्निष्क[2]परिमिता भूमिः खांभग्राममध्यवर्त्तिनी प्रति-

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[1] [The intended reading may be *Vādhryaśva* or *Bābhravya*.—Ed.]

[2] Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

113 पूरणार्थं[1] दत्ता । अस्य च धर्मस्य संरक्षणे फलमाहुर्मुनयः । गण्यंते पांसवो भू-

114 मेर्गण्यंते वृष्टिबिंदवः । न गण्यते विधात्रापि धर्मसंरक्षणे फलं(लम्) ।[। ३१*]
बहुभिर्वसुधा

115 भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)
।[। ३२*] सर्वा-

116 नेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः । सामान्योयं ध-

117 र्म्मसेतुर्नराणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३३*] मद्वंशजाः परमहीप-

118 तिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालयंति मम ध-

119 र्ममिमं समग्रं तेभ्यो मया विरचितोंजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥ [३४*] अपहरतः समर्थ-

120 स्याप्युपेक्षकस्य च त एव विपरीतं फलमाहुः । गामेकां रत्निकामेकां भू-

121 मेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं(वम्) ।[। ३५*] स्वदत्तां परद-

122 त्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां(राम्) । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥[३६*]

123 विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरशायिनः । कृष्णसर्प्पा भि(हि) जायंते ब्र-

124 ह्मदत्तापहारिणः ॥ [३७*] पण्यांगनानां सदनं न देयं[2] द्यूतप्रचारोपि निवारणी-

125 यः ॥[3] स्वयं वसतिभिर्भाव्यं सदा सन्मार्गवर्त्तिभिः ॥[4] शुभं भवतु मंगलं महा

126 श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥[5]

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[1] 'In order to fill up', i.e. to add to the land originally included in the boundaries of Kālēgāon.

[2] The donees should allow no courtesans to settle in the gift village. Similar conditions are also known from other grants (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 319).

[3] This is half of a stanza in *Indravajrā*.

[4] This is half of a verse in *Anushṭubh*.

[5] This is followed by two signs. I am indebted to Shri M. W. Desai, Collector of Ahmednagar, for making the copper plates available to me, to Dr. G. V. Devasthali of Nasik for his help in interpreting the difficult portions of the grant, to my pupil Shri D. K. Kharvandikar for assisting me in evaluating the beauty of the stanzas and to Principal T. Barnabas for his generous help.

MGIPC—S1—23 DGA/56—7-1-59—450.

# No. 4—RASHTRAKUTA CHARTERS FROM CHINCHANI

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In its issue of the 28th of June, 1955, *The Times of India*, Bombay, announced the discovery of a number of inscriptions in the village of **Chinchani** in the Dahanu Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay State. It was stated that an agriculturist of the said village found nine copper plates bearing inscription while digging in his fields. The villager handed over the plates to the Mamlatdar of Dahanu, who brought the discovery to the notice of higher authorities. Ultimately the plates were transferred to the office of the Collector of Thana, from whom they were received by the Director of Archives, Bombay. In January 1957, I visited Bombay in the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions. The Director of Archives kindly allowed me to examine the plates and copy the inscriptions in his office. It was found on examination that the nine plates formed five different records. One of the five sets consisted of three plates ; two of the sets contained two plates each ; and the remaining two plates each contained a complete record. Two of the five charters belong to the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas, one pertaining to the reign of Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and the other to that of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.). These are edited here with the help of impressions prepared by me. The other three inscriptions belonging to the local chiefs of Saṁyāna (modern Sanjan, 20° 12′N., 72° 52′E., in the Dahanu Taluk of the Thana District) are being edited in a separate article. My thanks in this connection are due to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives, Government of Bombay, and Dr. Motichandra, Director of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

## 1. Grant of the time of Indra III, Śaka 848

This is a set of **three** plates each measuring 9·6 inches in length, 5·8 inches in height and ·115 inch in thickness. The plates are strung on a ring passing through a hole in them. The joint of this ring is secured beneath a **seal** bearing the blurred representation of an emblem which looks more like a recumbent bull facing the proper left than Garuḍa generally found on the seals of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors, together with the symbols of the sun and moon above. The first and third plates bear writing only on the inner side while the second plate is engraved on both the obverse and reverse. The inscription has altogether 67 lines of writing, there being 16 lines on the first plate, 19 and 16 lines respectively on the obverse and reverse of the second plate, and 16 lines on the third plate. The writing is neatly done and is in a satisfactory state of preservation. The three plates together with the ring bearing the seal weigh 236 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century. The letter *b* is indicated by the sign for *v*. The *upadhmānīya* is once used in line 22 and the *avagraha* once in line 60. The numerical figures 4 and 8 occur in line 60. The following initial vowels are found in the inscription : *a* in lines 5, 24, 44, 53 (twice) and 60 ; *ā* in lines 20, 38 and 51 ; *i* in line 57 ; *u* in line 15 ; and *ē* in lines 6 and 36. Final *t* occurs in lines 10, 15 and 67, final *n* in lines 16, 21 and 25, and final *m* in line 26. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is composed in prose and verse. As regards **orthography**, mention may be made of the reduplication of some of the consonants following *r* and in rare cases also those preceding *r*. The change of the final *m* to both the *anusvāra* and the class-nasal is noticed. It has been wrongly changed to *n* in one case in

line 18. It is often wrongly changed to *anusvāra* and is found wrongly conjoined with the following *v* in a few cases in lines 25, 59 and 60. In one case in line 43, final *n* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra*. The rules of *Sandhi* have in some cases been ignored.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 58-60 as **Śaka 848, Vyaya, Vaiśākha-śu. 3,** Akshata-tṛitīyā, (i.e. Akshaya-tṛitīyā), **Monday.** The details correspond to the **17th April, 926 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol. Then follows an introductory section in four stanzas, the first of which is in adoration of Girisutā and Hara (i.e. Pārvatī and Śiva). Verse 2 is also in adoration of Durgā, i.e. Pārvatī. The sage Agastya is adored in verse 3 and the *Ārya-dēśīyā Mahā-parshad* in verse 4. Since Agastya was regarded as the leader of the Aryanisation of trans-Vindhyan India, he was an object of special veneration to the Brahmanists of the south. The *Ārya-dēśīyā Mahā-parshad* seems to have been an assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas hailing from what was called Āryāvarta (roughly, India to the north of the Vindhyas) in ancient Indian literature. The contents of the record would suggest that this assembly belonged to the city of Saṁyāna which is the modern Sanjan about 22 miles to the north of the findspot of the inscription. The same assembly is apparently mentioned in lines 29-30 as the *Pañcha-Gauḍīya-Mahā-parshad.*

The next four stanzas (verses 5-8) introduce the **Yadu** or Yādava dynasty. This section speaks of the moon, his son Budha, his son Purūravas, and his son Āyus. It also mentions Yayāti as one of the imperial rulers born in the said family and Yadu as the son of Yayāti and the progenitor of the **Yadu-vaṁśa.** Verse 9 refers to the birth of Gōvindarāja in the same family otherwise called the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** dynasty.[1] This Gōvindarāja is the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda I, son of Indra I and grandson of Dantivarman I. The next stanza (verse 10) mentions the following four kings who ruled successively : (1) Kakkarāja (Kakka I), son of Gōvindarāja ; (2) Indrarāja (Indra II), son of Kakkarāja ; (3) Dantidurga (Dantivarman II, 742-56 A.D.), son of Indrarāja ; and (4) Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa I, 756-75 A.D.), the younger brother of Dantidurga's father. Verse 11 similarly speaks of the following successive rulers of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty : (1) Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda II, 775-80 A.D.), son of Kṛishṇarāja ; (2) Dhruvarāja (780-94 A.D.), younger brother of Gōvindarāja ; (3) Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.), son of Dhruvarāja ; and (4) Amōghavarsha (i.e. Amōghavarsha I, 814-80 A.D.), son of Jagattuṅga. Verse 12 not only mentions Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.), son and successor of Amōghavarsha, but also refers to his own successor who was the son of his son named Jagattuṅga.

The name of the grandson and successor of Kṛishṇa II is given in verse 13 as **Indrarāja** (Indra III, 915-28 A.D.) while the next stanza (verse 14) describes him as *gṛihīta-Ḍāhāla-nāyaka-kapāla* and *uttara-dig-baddha-ruchi.* In the first of these two epithets, Ḍāhāla is no doubt the name of the territory under the rule of the Kalachuris of Tripurī near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh, and *nāyaka* possibly means a lieutenant of the contemporary Kalachuri king. The claim therefore may refer to the slaughter of a Kalachuri general. We know that Lakshmī, mother of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III, was the daughter of Kalachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa Raṇavigraha, son of Kōkkalla I,[2]

[1] That the Rāshṭrakūṭas did not originally claim the Yādava lineage seems to be suggested by the description of Gōvinda III in his records. It is stated that the Rāshṭrakūṭa family became unconquerable to its foes owing to the birth of Gōvinda III just as the Yādava race had been after the birth of Madhu-ripu, i.e. Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 66, verse 11) thereby making a distinction between the two dynasties. The Sanjan plates (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, verse 3) of Amōghavarsha I, dated 871 A.D., refer to the birth of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda I in the Yadu dynasty thus suggesting the identification of the two families. The Huvīna-Hippargi inscription (862 A.D.) of the same Rāshṭrakūṭa king mentions Kṛishṇa I as *Yādav-āṁś-ōdbhava*, probably meaning an incarnation of Kṛishṇa, the Yādava *par excellence*. Cf. *Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part i, p. 5, No. 9, text line 1.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265.

and that his own queen Vijāmbā was a great-granddaughter of the same Kōkkalla I.[1] As yet there was no clear evidence of a struggle between Indra III and the Kalachuris. The other epithet pointing to his success in the north seems to refer to his conquest of Mahōdaya (Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U. P.) which was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. According to a record[2] of Gōvinda IV, son of Indra III, his father's cavalry crossed the Yamunā at Kālapriya (modern Kalpi in the Jalaun District, U. P.) and destroyed the city of Mahōdaya. It is difficult to determine whether *nāśita-kām-ātmā*, 'destroyer of the licentious', alludes to any particular event in the king's career.

Verses 16-20 introduce a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. It is said that, when Indra III (915-28 A.D.) was reigning, there was a ruler named **Madhumati** who belonged to the Tājika (i.e. Arab) community, and that he had received the entire *maṇḍala* or territorial division of **Saṁyāna** from **Kṛishṇarāja** (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). *Madhumati* is no doubt the Sanskritised form of the Arabic name Muḥammad.[3] This Arab chief was thus appointed the governor of Saṁyāna by Kṛishṇa II and was continuing in his post during the rule of Indra III. It is stated that Madhumati conquered the chiefs of all the harbours (*vēlākula*) of the neighbourhood, apparently on behalf of his master, and placed his own officials in them (verse 18). Verse 19 says that Madhumati's other name was Sugatipa and that he was the son of Sahiyārahāra or Hiyārahāra or Yārahāra. Unfortunately it is difficult to determine the Arabic forms of these two names under their Indian garb. Verse 20 says how this Arab governor of Saṁyāna established free ferry on two streams [near Saṁyāna, apparently on the Sanjan river] and also a feeding house [at Saṁyāna] where Śāli rice, curries and ghee were catered free of cost. Verse 21 states that Madhumati Sugatipa's minister was Puvvaiya.

Verse 22 states that there was a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Vāsudēva and belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. This Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa had a son named Annaiya (later also called Annammaiya) who was a friend of Madhumati-Sugatipa's minister Puvvaiya and an obedient servant of **Nityavarsha** (i.e. Indra III). Annaiya or Annammaiya constructed a *maṭhikā*, i.e. a monastery or temple, at Saṁyāna. The next stanza (verse 23) says that he also created an endowment consisting of landed property with the permission of Nityavarsha (Indra III). The nature of his endowment is made clear in the following part of the record in prose.

The prose portion in lines 27 ff. states that, at the request of Annammaiya (the same as Annaiya of verse 22) who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and Maitrāyaṇī *śākhā* and was the son of Narāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Vāsudēva, Sugatipa *alias* Madhumati made a grant of the village of **Kāṇāḍuka** situated in the **Kōlimahāra** *vishaya* within **Saṁyāna-maṇḍala** (cf. *iha* in line 32) together with half a *Dhura* of land in the village of **Dēvīhara** (cf. line 39), with the permission of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Indrarājadēva** (Indra III). The *Dhur* is regarded as $\frac{1}{20}$ of a *Biswa* which is $\frac{1}{20}$ of a *Bighā*. But the word used in our record possibly indicates a bigger area of land. The purpose of the creation of the endowment was that the income accruing to it would be utilised for the repairs of the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya and also for the offering of *naivēdya* to the goddess Daśamī (apparently a form of the Mother-goddess Durgā or Pārvatī often called merely the

[1] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

[2] Above, Vol. VII, p. 38.

[3] The same Arabic name is Sanskritized as *Madhumada* in the Panjim plates of Kadamba Jayakēśin I (*circa* 1050-80 A.D.) of Goa. Madhumada is stated to have belonged to the Tājiya (i.e. Tājika or Arab) *vaṁśa* and to have been the son of Āliyama and the father of Chhaḍama who was a capable and popular administrator under the Kadamba king. See C.P. No. 3 of 1951-52; cf. *QJBISM* (Marāṭhī), Vol. XXXI, No. 4, pp. 27 ff.; Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 396 (cf. pp. 172, 185-86).

*Dēvī* or *Bhagavatī*)[1] and the feeding of nine persons belonging to the *Pañcha-Gauḍīya-mahā-parshad* of Saṁyāna. The goddess Daśamī was no doubt worshipped in the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya. The *Pañcha-Gauḍīya-mahā-parshad* seems to be the community of Gauḍīya or North Indian Brāhmaṇas settled at Saṁyāna. The five classes of these Brāhmaṇas are called : (1) Sārasvata, (2) Kānyakubja, (3) Gauḍa, (4) Maithila, and (5) Utkala.[2]

Although it was Annaiya or Annammaiya who created the endowment according to verse 23, the prose part of the record refers to it as one created by the governor of Saṁyāna. This is because the creation of a rent-free holding was the prerogative of the government. The creation of the endowment was declared by the governor at an assemblage of the *Haṁyamana-pauras*, *Dhruvas* and *Vishayik-ādhikārikas* of Saṁyāna. Of these, the third expression indicates the officers of the various administrative offices of the district round Saṁyāna. The *Dhruvas* were superintendents of the collection of the royal share of the produce of the fields from the farmers.[3] The expression *haṁyamana-paura* (or, *haṁjamana-nagara-paura*) is met with in some records of the Northern Konkan region and it has often been understood in the sense of 'the citizens of Haṁyamana, i.e. Saṁyāna'.[4] Unfortunately Haṁyamana cannot be regarded as another form of the name of Saṁyāna since the latter name itself occurs in the compound immediately before *haṁyamana*. J. J. Modi seems to be right in tracing the origin of the word to Avestic *hanjamana* and Persian *anjuman* and in taking it to indicate the settlement of the Parsees.[5] He also thinks that this Parsee colony stood at Sanjan which was therefore called Haṁjamana or Haṁyamana. No doubt our inscription may refer to the Parsee community of Saṁyāna ; but it does not support the suggestion that Haṁyamana was another name (or another form of the name) of Saṁyāna. In the records[6] quoted by Modi, the reference may be to the Parsee colony in different cities of the Northern Konkan and not to a particular city of theirs, since the said charters appear to have had little to do particularly with the town of Sanjan.

The boundaries of the village of Kāṇāḍuka are quoted in lines 33-35 as : in the east—a hill and a stream in its western side ; in the south—the stream flowing from the said hill, a locality called Sēmbaka and the southern part of Bhammaharōṁgarikā to the west of Sēmbaka ; in the west—certain trees at the eastern fringe of Kallagrāma, a locality called Chinānu and the stream to the south of Hiṁguvāra ; in the north—the localities called Hiṁguvāra and Chavaśā and the stream running by the south of Vāghavāsa and flowing from its eastern part. The village was granted with the rights called *udraṅga* (i.e. major tax), *parikara* (i.e. *uparikara*, minor tax or cess), *bhōga-bhāga* (i.e. periodical offering of fruits, etc., and the royal share of the produce of the fields), *daṇḍa-daś-āparādha* (i.e. fines for the ten major crimes), *dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēya* (i.e. taxes in grains and cash), *utpadyamāna-vishṭi-pratyāya* (i.e. tax payable in lieu of free labour), *abhyantara-siddhi* (i.e. enjoyment of things found underground) and *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśa* (i.e. inadmissibility of royal agents). But the rights did not include the following three : *nidhāna* (i.e. treasure trove), *alīpaka* (also called *alīyaka*, possibly meaning 'indestructible objects' or 'metal ores') and *kumārī-sāhasa-dōsha* (i.e. fines for the violation of the modesty of unmarried girls). The gift lands were made a permanent endowment.

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[1] The name of the goddess reminds us that of Shashṭhī generally worshipped on the sixth day after the delivery of a child or on the sixth *tithi* of a fortnight. It also reminds us of the *tithi* called *Vijayā Daśamī* (Āśvina-śudi 10), famous for its association with the worship of Durgā Pārvatī.

[2] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 133.

[3] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 404, note 1 ; above, Vol. XXX, p. 168.

[4] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 16-18 ; cf. also pp. 342-43 ; Vol. XIV. pp. 302, 418.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 173-76.

[6] *As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 357 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 276 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 33 ff.

Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 24-34) are quoted in lines 40-58, with a similar passage in prose in lines 45-50. The date when the charter was written is given in words and figures in lines 58-60. It is stated in lines 60-63 that the document was written by Sugata, son of Ajita who had been the *Sāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace) of **Dhruvarāja,** with the cognisance of Vathaiya, a *Dhruva* of **Saṁyāna,** and under orders from **Sugatipa** who received instructions in this matter from *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Nityavarshadēva** (Indra III) meditating on the feet of his predecessor **Akālavarshadēva** (Kṛishṇa II). As in many other records of the kind, the document is stated to be authoritative even if here and there a letter was omitted from it or unnecessarily put in it. Verse 35 prays for the continuous rule of the chief Sugatipa, represented as the donor of the village of Kāṇāḍuka together with half a *Dhura* of land at Dēvīhara, and for the rehabilitation of Annaiya (Annammaiya), Rēvaṇa and Kautuka, apparently after their death, in the mountainous abode of the gods (i.e. on the Sumēru), through the grace of the Dēvī. This Dēvī is no other than *Bhagavatī* Daśamī who is mentioned in line 30 and whose image was installed in the *maṭhikā* constructed by Annaiya or Annammaiya at Saṁyāna. The mention of Rēvaṇa and Kautuka along with Annaiya (Annammaiya) in this stanza suggests that they were also responsible for the construction of the temple and the installation of the Dēvī in it. Indeed the other inscription from the same place, edited below, seems to refer to the said *maṭhikā* as built by Kautuka alone. This may have been due to the fact that Annaiya and Rēvaṇa were the younger brothers of Kautuka. The last stanza (verse 36) of the inscription contains the prayer that the charter might last for ever through the grace of the Dēvī. There is a benedictory passage of the usual type at the end of the record in line 67.

The inscription raises several interesting points, the most important among them being its date. It shows beyond doubt that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Indra III surnamed Nityavarsha ruled at least down to April 926 A.D. The Nausari plates[1] of Indra III record a grant made on the occasion of his *paṭṭa-bandh-ōtsava,* or festival of coronation, on the 24th February 915 A.D. The Dandapur inscription[2] of the 23rd December 918 A.D., referring to the reign of Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda IV, son of Indra III), led scholars to believe that Indra III died before that date, even though the Cambay plates[3] of Gōvinda IV were issued on the occasion of his own coronation (*paṭṭa-bandha*) on the 10th May, 930 A.D. In *The Rashṭrakūṭas and their Times,* published in 1934, Prof. A. S. Altekar suggested that Indra died in 917 A.D.,[4] although Sewell's *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India,* published two years earlier, refers to Nos. 271-72 of 1918, dated 922 A.D., as belonging to the reign of Nityavarsha Indra III.[5] But, some years later, R. S. Panchamukhi and A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar referred to certain inscriptions of Indra III, the latest of which (from Kamalāpuram in the Cuddapah District) is dated the 23rd of December 925 A.D.[6] They also suggested that the Haḷeritti inscription of Nityavarsha Nirupama-Vallabha, dated December 927 A.D., also belongs to the same Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. But none of the stone inscriptions quoted by Panchamukhi and Ayyar gives the genealogy of the king. Some of these inscriptions mention the king under his *biruda* Nityavarsha and it was sometimes believed that Gōvinda IV was also called Nityavarsha like his father.[7] Thus the inscription under study, which not only quotes a

[1] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XII, p. 253.

[2] Ibid., p. 222.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 27 ff.

[4] Op. cit., p. 105.

[5] Ibid., pp. 43, 383-84.

[6] *Annual Report on Kannada Research in Bombay Province,* 1939-40, pp. 35 ff.; above, Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

[7] *A. R. Ep.,* 1916, para. 38; *ARASI,* 1929-30, p. 173; ibid., 1930-34, Part I, p. 235. Even in a recent publication, Prof. A. S. Altekar suggests that Indra III died in 922 A.D. (cf. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj,* ed. Majumdar, 1955, p. 13).

verifiable date but also a complete genealogy of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭas from Gōvinda I to Nityavarsha Indra III, throws further light on the point of controversy and clearly supports the views of Panchamukhi and Ayyar. But the recent suggestion of Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, based on an inadequate appreciation of the evidence discussed by the said scholars, that Indra III ended his rule in the year 927 A.D.[1] is apparently wrong. The Bhādāna grant[2] of Śilāhāra Aparājita clearly states that Amōghavarsha II, elder brother of Gōvinda IV, ruled for one year, while, as already shown above, the coronation of Gōvinda IV took place on the 10th May 930 A.D. and he must have ascended the throne shortly before that date. Besides the Dandapur inscription, probably issued during his governorship over the region in question under his father, the earliest inscriptions of the reign of Gōvinda IV are the Gaonri plates and the Kalas inscription dated respectively the 17th and 30th January of 930 A.D.[3] He, therefore, does not appear to have ascended the throne much earlier than the beginning of the year 930 A.D. Thus the one year's reign of Amōghavarsha II may be regarded as roughly corresponding to the year 929 A.D. Indra III, therefore, seems to have ruled till the end of 928 A.D.

The governorship of a Tājika or Arab over Saṁyāna under the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II and Indra III, known for the first time from the inscription under study, supports the statements of certain early Arab writers. The Balharās (Ballaha-rāyas or Vallabha-rājas, i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs) of Mānkīr (i.e. Mānyakhēṭa or Mālkheḍ) find mention in the writings of Sulaimān (851 A.D.), Abū Zaid (before 916 A.D.), Ibn Khurdādba (before 912 A.D.), Al Ma'sūdī (932-33 A.D.), Al Istakhrī (about 951 A.D.) and Ibn Haukal (between 943 and 968 A.D.).[4] These authors give the general impression that the Balharās and their subjects were extremely partial to the Arab Musalmans and , according to Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhrī, Musalman governors of cities were employed by the Balharās. It is also stated by them that none but Muslims ruled over their co-religionists living in that empire, apparently meaning thereby that the Rāshṭrakūṭas appointed Qāzīs to look after the religious and judicial affairs of their Muslim subjects who were mostly of Arab nationality. Since, however, Muslim administrators did not so long figure in the epigraphical records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Prof. A. S. Altekar considered the statements of the Arab writers as unreliable.[5] But the present inscription proves the veracity of the statements of Ibn Haukal and Al Istakhrī. Since Madhumati Sugatipa was appointed governor of Saṁyāna sometime before the end of the rule of Kṛishṇa II in 915 A.D., he was continuing to hold the important post for more than a decade. He must have been a successful administrator capable to preserve friendly relations with the peoples of communities and creeds other than his own. The way he associated himself with the construction of a Hindu monastery or temple, the installation of an image therein and the creation of a permanent endowment in its favour throws welcome light on the outlook of the Arab Musalmans of those days. This is in striking contrast with the policy of most of the later Muslim rulers of India.

The Arab governor's rule over the district around Saṁyāna during the reigns of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-28 A.D.) throws interesting light on the history of the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan. We know that, during the reign of Amōghavarsha I (814-80 A.D.), the Śilāhāras claimed to be rulers of the whole of the Konkan as feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch and that they again became powerful in the

[1] *History of South India*, 1955, p. 169.
[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 267.
[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 106 ff. ; Vol. XIII, pp. 329 ff.
[4] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, pp. 3 ff., 9 f., 13 ff., 21 ff., 27 ff., 34.
[5] *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 187.

area after the decline of Rāshṭrakūṭa power about 973 A.D.[1] It now appears from the present inscription that, with the appointment of a governor over Saṁyāna-maṇḍala, comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, during the reign of Kṛishṇa II, the Śilāhāras became rulers of only parts of the territory over which they had been ruling as feudatories of Amōghavarsha I.

Among the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the reference to **Pañcha-Gauḍa** is very interesting. The name Gauḍa has been used here to indicate North India mentioned elsewhere in the record as **Āryadēśa**, i.e. Āryāvarta. The name is known to be used variously as that of a city in Eastern India, of the country around the said city, of the countries of Eastern India collectively and of the whole of Āryāvarta or Northern India.[2] It is well known that the name **Saṁyāna**, applied to both a city and a *maṇḍala* or territorial division, is preserved in that of modern Sanjan in the Thana District of Bombay. Whether the district called **Kōlimahāra-vishaya** owed its name to the Koli tribe of the Northern Konkan[3] or of the port of Kolai about 15 miles to the north of Sanjan[4] cannot be determined. I am also not sure about the location of the villages called **Kāṇāḍuka** and **Dēvīhara**. The names of certain localities are mentioned in the inscription in the enumeration of the boundaries of Kāṇāḍuka, one of them being **Kallagrāma**.

## TEXT[5]

[Metres : verse 1 *Drutavilambita* ; verses 2-7, 12, 17-18, 21, 24-25, 28-32 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 8 *Upajāti* ; verses 9-11, 27, 33 *Indravajrā* ; verses 13, 16 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 14, 19, 23 *Āryā* ; verses 15, 35-36 *Sragdharā* ; verses 20, 22 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 26 *Śālinī*; verse 34 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

*First Plate*

1 Siddham[6] [||*] Girisutā-Harayōr = avibhinnayōr = vviharatōr = nniyam-ārtham = avantu vaḥ | sarasa-yāvaka-bhasma-vichitritās=Tri-

2 pathagā-pulinē paḍa-paṁktayaḥ || [1*] Śūla-bhinnasya vinyastō Mahishasya va(ba)lād=galē | Durggāyāḥ pātu vaḥ pādas=ta-

3 d-rakt-ālaktak-āṁkitaḥ || [2*] Pāyān=munir = A[ga]styō vaḥ(vaś)=chuluk-āpīta-vāridhiḥ | dakshiṇ-āśā-mukh-ōtuṁ(ttuṁ)śa(ga)-bhūbhṛit-pāli-

4 ta-śāsanaḥ || [3*] Jayatām = Ārya-dēśīyā mahā-parshad=aninditaiḥ | vinay-āchāra-saujanya-dharmm-ōpaśamibhir=guṇai-

5 ḥ || [4*] Abhūd=Bharga-jaṭā-jūṭa-visaṅkaṭa-kuṭī-charaḥ | Chandramā jagad-ānanda-kanda-kandalana-kshamaḥ || [5*] Tasmād=Vu(d=Bu)dhō vu(bu)dh-ādhīśa-

6 s=tataś=ch= ābhūt = Purūravāḥ | tasmād=Āyur=analp-āyus = tatō=nyē chakravarttinaḥ || [6*] Ēvam=achchhinna-santānaṁ jāyamānēshu rājasu [|]

7 Yayātir=abhavat=sō=pi sutaṁ Yadum=ajījanat || [7*] Tatas=trilōkī-tilakāyamānaḥ prāvarttat=āsau **Yadu**-saṁjña-vaṁśaḥ |

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 538 ff.
[2] *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123-34.
[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 127.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 202.
[5] From impressions.
[6] Expressed by symbol.

8 yatr=ābhilēbhē Harir=ātma-janma janm-āntar-ōchchhitti-karaḥ prajānāṁ(nām) || [8*] Sad-**Rāshṭrakū**ṭ-āpara-nāmny=amushmin=va[ṁ*]śē Yadūnā-

9 m=ajani kshat-āriḥ | Gōvindarājaś=chatur-avdhi(bdhi)-vēlā-kāṁchī-guṇāyāḥ patir= urvvarāyāḥ || [9*] Śrī-Kakkarājō=sya sutō

10 hat-āris=tasmād=abhūd=Indra iv=Ēndrarājaḥ | śrī-Dantidurggō=sya sutō va(ba)bhūva śrī-Kṛishṇarājō nu piṭṛivya āsīt || [10*] Gō-

11 vindarājō-bhavad=asya putraḥ(tras=) tasy=ānujō nu Ddhruvarājadēvaḥ | tasmāj=Jagattuṅga-dharādharēndras=tasy=ātmajaḥ śrīmad-Amō-

12 ghavarshaḥ || [11*] Tasmāch=chhrī-Kṛishṇarājō= bhūd=akṛishṇa-charitō vibhuḥ | dhuran=tasy=ōḍhavān=naptā Jagattuṅg-ātmajō nṛipaḥ || [12*] A-

13 bhyuddhṛit-ōrvvara[1]-bharō haṭha-dārit-āriḥ sach-chakra-nandaka-karō Narakasya śatruḥ | nirmmathya vairi-vara-vāridhim=āpta-la-

14 kshmīḥ sākshād=Upēndra iva sō=bhavad=**Iṁdrarājaḥ** |[| 13*] Yō nāsi(śi)ta-kām-ātmā gṛihīta-**Ḍāhāla-nāya-**

15 **ka-kapālaḥ** | uttara-digva(g-ba)ddha-ruchī rājati lōkē Mahēśvara-vat || [14*] Śvētimnā mēdurēṇa pravara-

16 gaja-ghaṭā divya-mātaṁgayaṁtī śailān=Kailāśa(sa)yantī gagana-tala-gatān=haṁsayantī sa(śa)kuṁtān |

*Second Plate, First Side*

17 pātālē Śēshayantī phaṇi-kulam=akhila[ṁ*] Ga[ṁ]gayantī śra(sra)vantī ravvīnduś=chōdayantī[2] bhramati nija-gu-

18 ṇaiḥ saṁbhṛitā yasya kīrttiḥ || [15*] Tasmin=praśāsati mahīnsa(hīṁ sa)-mahīdharēndrām=Indra-dyutau chatur-udanvad-a-

19 nindya-kāṁchīṁ(chīm) | khaḍg-ābhighāta-vijit-āhita-rāja-rāja-sāmanta-māṇḍalika-vandita-pāda-padmē || [16*] **Kṛishṇarā-**

20 **ja**-day-āvāpta-kṛitsna-**Saṁyāna**-maṇḍalaḥ | āsīn=**Madhumati**[**ḥ***] śrīmā[n*] nṛipatis= **Tājik**-ānvayē || [17*] Vijitya kara-daṇḍēna sarvva-vēlāku-

21 l-ādhipān | nyavīviśat=samaṁ kīrtyā sarvvatra karaṇāni yaḥ || [18*] Ruchyā raṁjita-bhuvanō=ruṇa-maṇir=iva **Sugatipō** dharā-vadhvāḥ [|*]

22 bhūshaṇa-bhūtasyāṁ(sy=ā)bhūt=tat=suta[ḥ*] Sahiyārahārasya[3] || [19*] Krāṁtvā dharmma-tar.-dvayēna saritau maṁcha-pprapaṁchaiḥ=parāḥ śāly-annaṁ pravibhu-

23 jya sūpa-ghṛita-vat=satrē(ttrē) samaṁ shaḍ-rasaiḥ | nityaṁ yasya nitānta-hṛishṭa-manasaḥ kīrttiṁ śaśāṁk-ōjva(jjva)lāṁ nānā-dēśa-viśēsha-vē-[4]

24 di-pathikā vyāvarṇṇayaṁty=uchchakaiḥ || [20*] Atulya-vudhy[5]-atiśaṁ(śa)y-ānukṛit-āmara-rāḍ-guruḥ | śrī-Puvvaiyō=bhavad=yasya mantrī mantra-vidā-

25 m=varaḥ[6] || [21*] Bhāradvāja-kulasya maṇḍana-vidhiḥ śrī-Vāsudēv ātmajaḥ śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa ity=abhihitas=tasy=ātmajō jātavān |

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[1] The word *urvarā* has been made *urvara* for the sake of the metre.

[2] The intended reading may be *rav-īndū chhādayantī*.

[3] Or *sa Hiyārahārasya*, or *sa hi Yārahārasya*.

[4] A letter was engraved and erased after this.

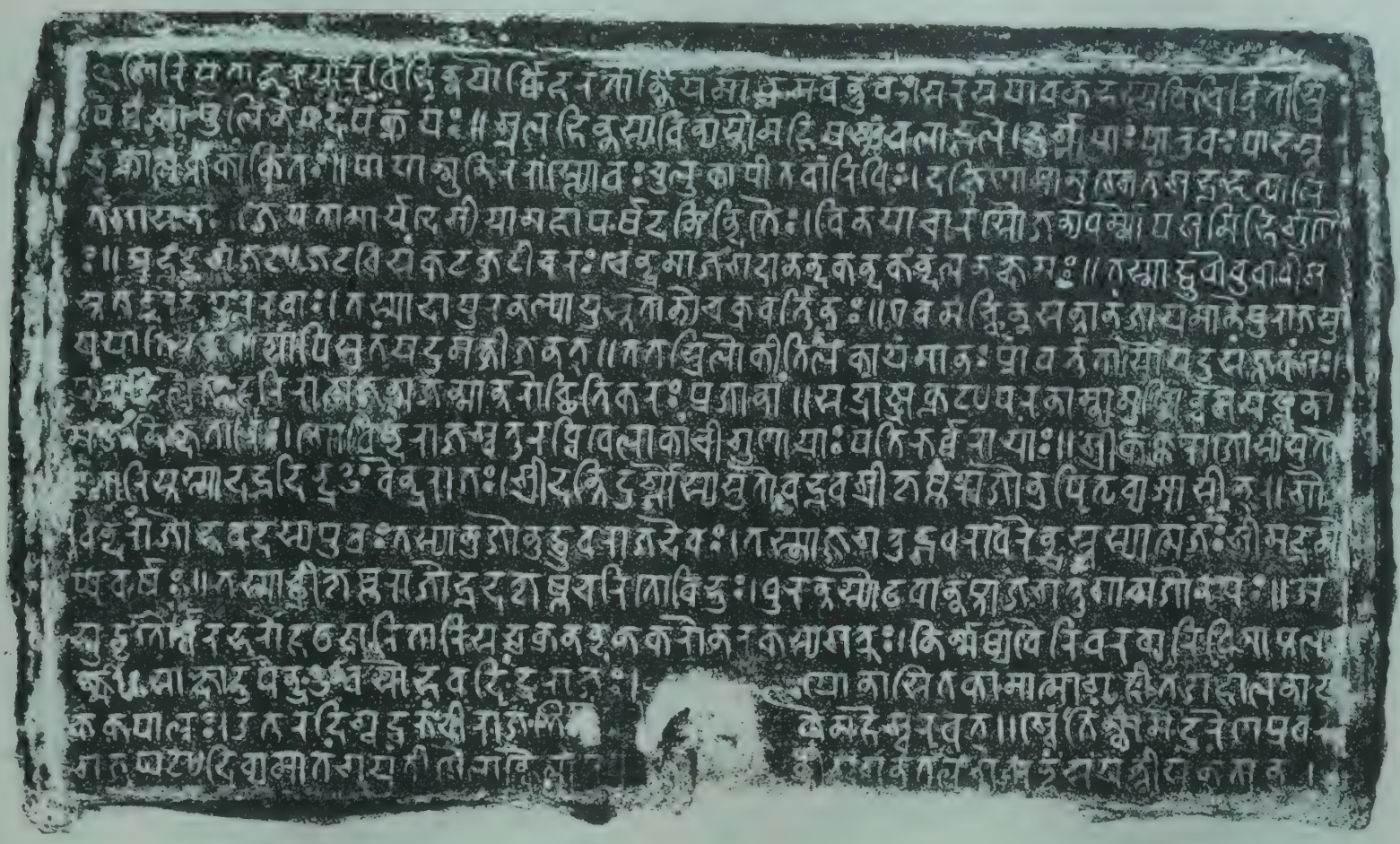
[5] Read *atulya-buddhy°*.

[6] Read *°vidāṁ varaḥ*.

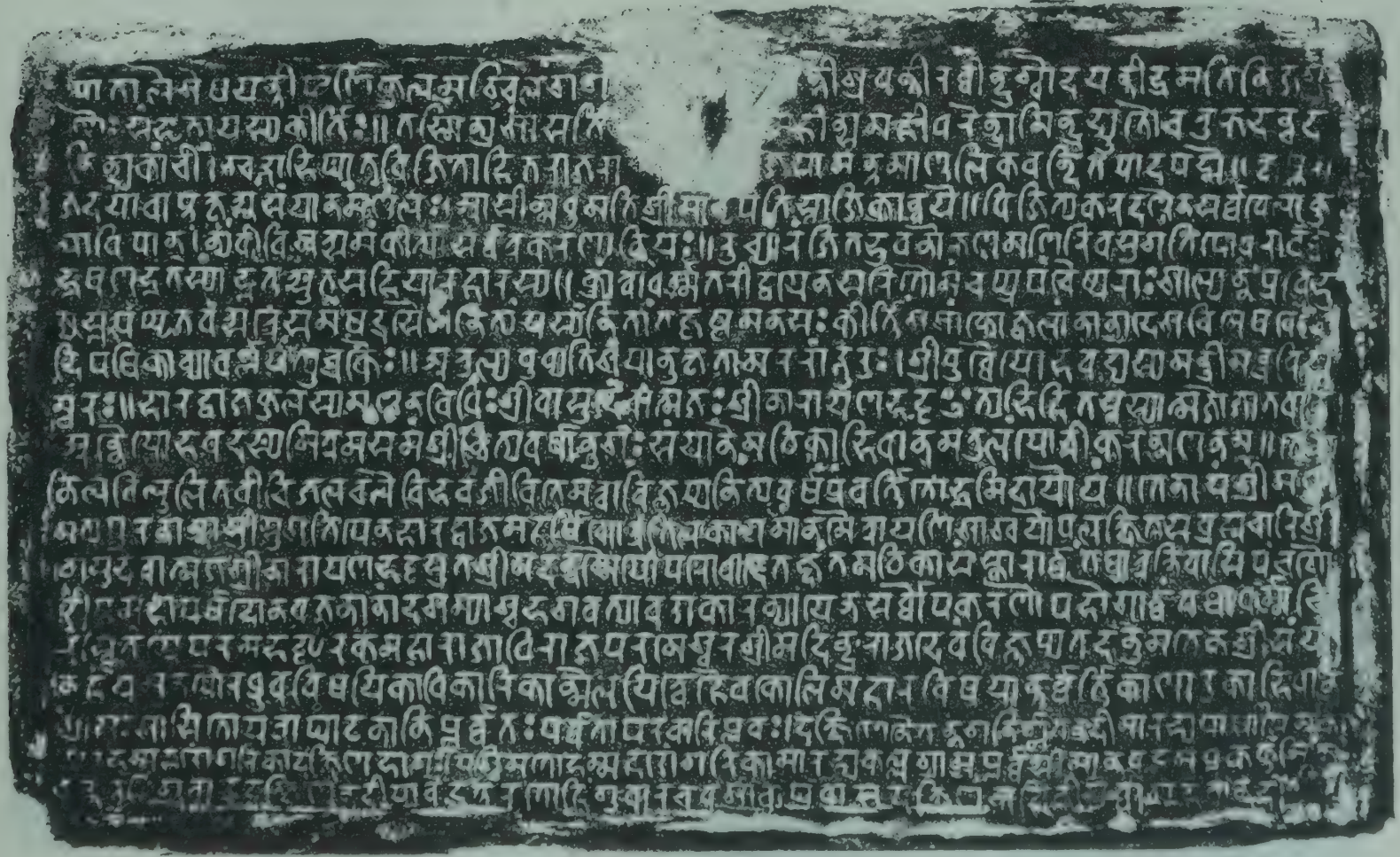
RASHTRAKUTA CHARTERS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE I

1. Grant of the time of Indra III, Saka 848

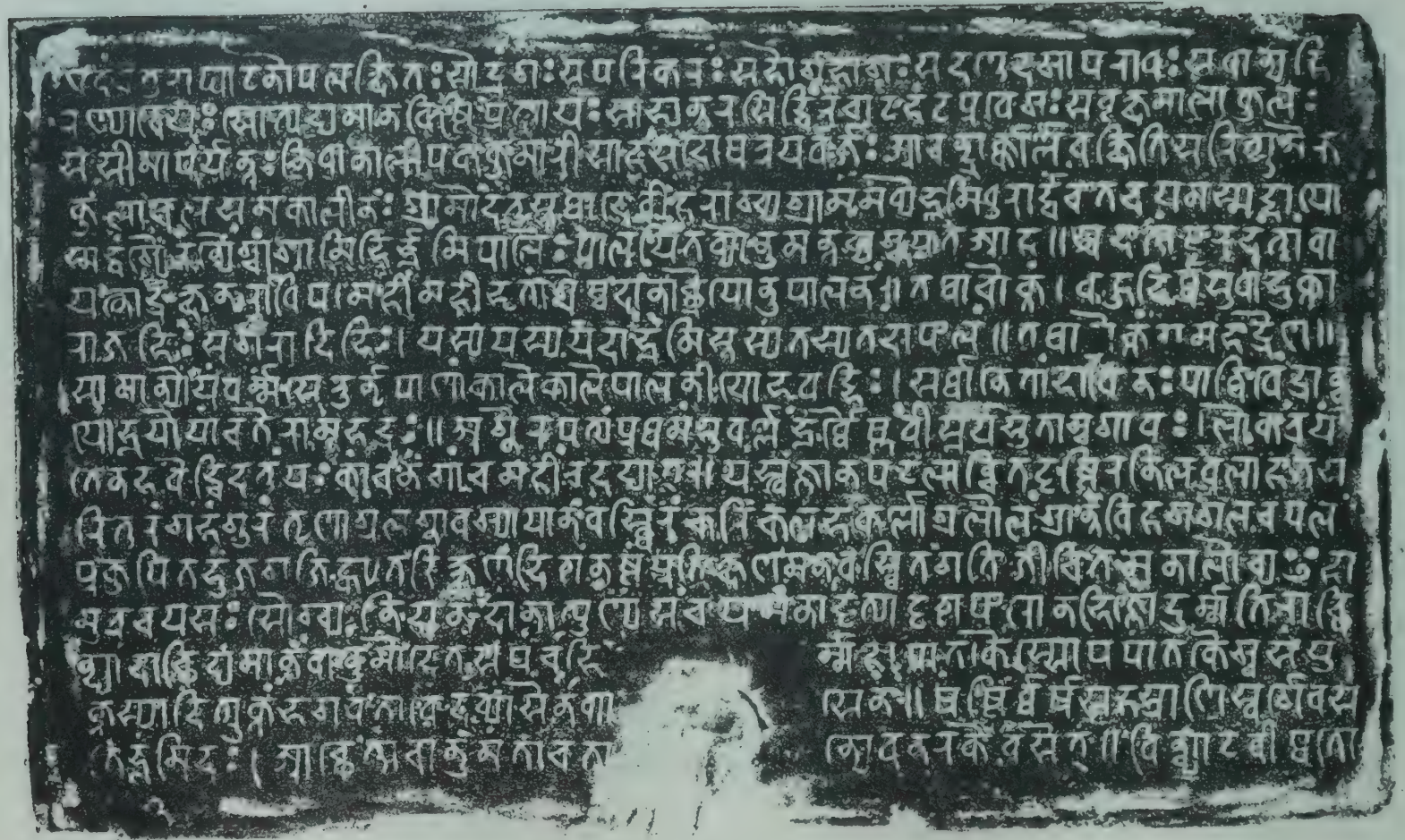
i



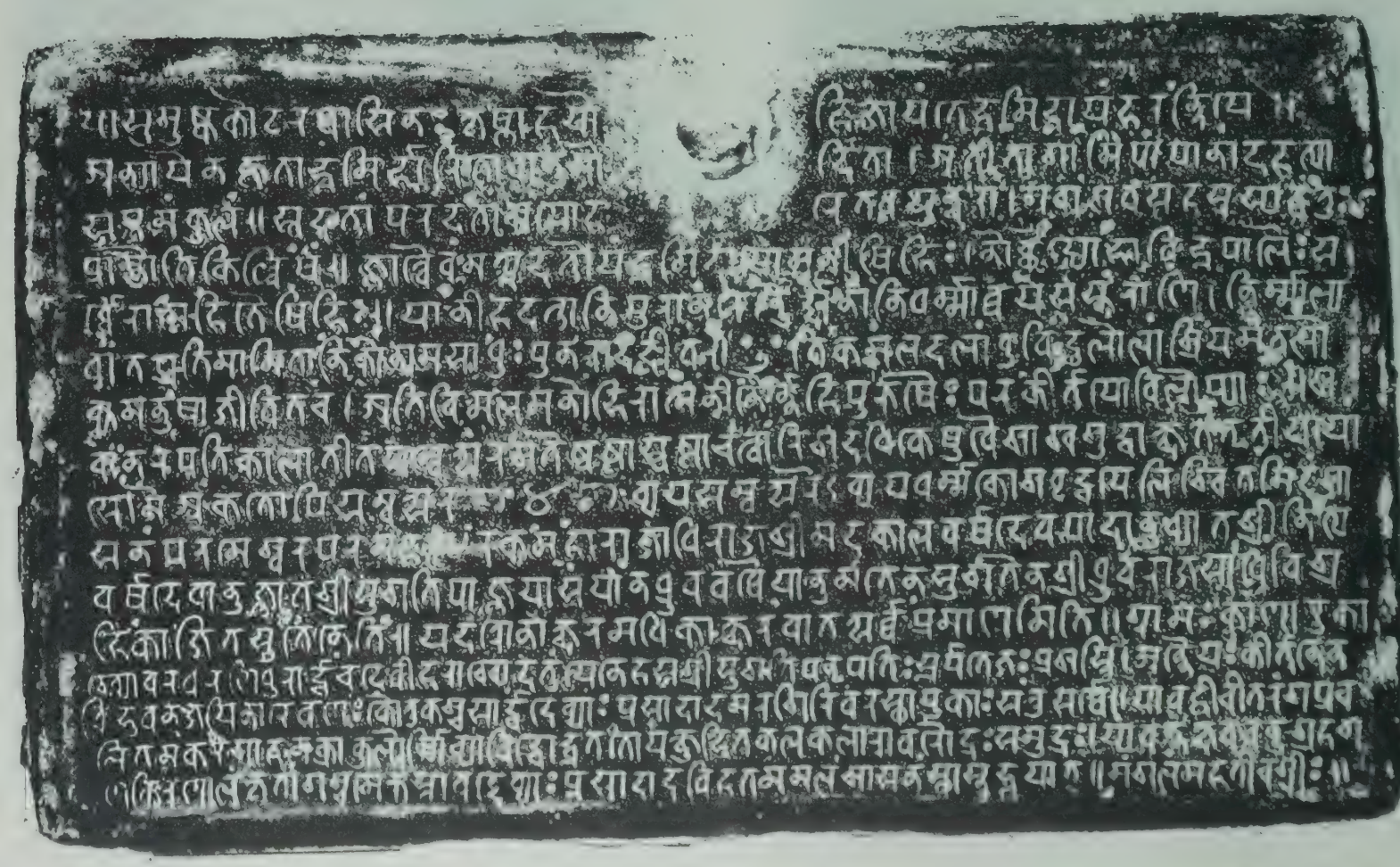
ii,a



Scale : Two-Thirds







26 Annaiyō[1]=bhavad=asya mitram=asamaṁ śrī-Nityavarsh-ānugaḥ Saṁyānē maṭhik-ābhidhā-
nam=atulaṁ yō=achīkaran=maṇḍanam || [22*] Tēn=ā-

27 nila-vilulita-vīchi-jala-chalē vibhava-jīvitē **matvā** [|*] vijñapya **Nityavarshaṁ**
pravarttitō bhūmi-dāyō=yaṁ(yam) || [23*] Tēn=āyaṁ **śrī-Madhu-**

28 **maty-apara-nāmnā** śrī-**Sugatipēna** Bhāradvāja-maharshi-gōtra-tilakāyamāna-Maitrā-
yaṇi(ṇī)-śākhay=ōpalakshita-savra(bra)hmachāri-śrī-

29 Vāsudēv-ātmaja-śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa-suta-śrīmad-Annammaiy-ōparōdhād=ēta[t*]-kṛita-ma-
ṭhikā-saṁskār-ārthaṁ tath=ātra-nivāsi-paṁcha-Gau-

30 ḍīya-mahā-parshadō nava-janānāṁ Daśamyāś=cha **Bhaga**vatyā var-ākāra-nyāyēna[2] **sarvv**-
ōpakaraṇ-ōpabhōg-ārthaṁ tathā dharmma-chi-

31 ra-sthitayē paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Indrarājadēvaṁ**
**vijñapya** tad-anumatēna śrī-**Saṁyā-**

32 **na**-haṁyamana-paura-dhruva-vishayik-ādhikārikān=mēlayitv=ēh=aiva **Kōlimahāra-**vishay-
āntarvvartti-**Kāṇāḍuk-**ābhidhāna-

33 **grāmaḥ** śāsitō[3] **yatr**=āghāṭanāni [|*] pūrvvataḥ **parvvat**-āpara-vāri-plavaḥ | dakshiṇēn=aitan-
naga-nirggata-nadīm=ārabhya pāshāṇa[4]-Sēmva(mba)k-ā-

34 para-Bhammaharōṁgarikā-dakshiṇa-bhāgaḥ | paśchimatō Bhammaharōṁgarikām=ārabhya
Kallagrāma-pūrvva-sīmānta-vaṭa-madhūka-kumbhika-

35 Chinānu-Hiṁguvāra-dakshiṇa-nadī[ṁ*] yāvad=uttaratō Hiṁguvāra-Chavaśā-Vāghavāsa-
dakshiṇa-vāhinī-pūrvvāṁga-bhavā nadī [|*]

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

36 ēvaṁ chatur-āghāṭan-ōpalakshitaḥ s-ōdraṁgaḥ sa-parikaraḥ[5] sa-bhōga-bhāgaḥ sa-daṇḍa-
daś-āparādhaḥ sa-dhānya-hi-

37 raṇy-ādēyaḥ s-ōtpadyamāna-vishṭi-pratyāyaḥ s-ābhyantara-siddhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśaḥ
sa-vṛiksha-māl-ākulaḥ

38 sa-sīmā-paryantaḥ nidhān-ālīpaka-kumārīsāhasa-dōsha-traya-varjaḥ ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇava-
kshiti-sarit-Sumēru-

39 kulāchala-samakālīnaḥ grāmō dattas=tathā **Dēvīhar-**ākhya-grāma-madhyē bhūmi-dhur-
ārddhaṁ **cha** [|*] tad=ayam=asmad-dāyō=

40 smad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=ch=āgāmibhir=bhūmipālaiḥ pālayitavyō=numantavyaś=cha [|*] yata
āha || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā

41 yatnād=raksha narādhipa | mahīṁ mahībhṛitāṁ śrēshṭha danāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) ||
[24*] tathā ch=ōktaṁ(ktam) | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā

42 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādhibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [25*]
tathā ch=ōktaṁ Rāmabhadrēṇa ||

43 Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=
ētāṁ(tān) bhāvinaḥ pārthivēṁdrān=bhū-

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[1] The name of the person (cf. also verse 35 below) is given as Annammaiya in the prose part of the record (line 29).

[2] This seems to refer to the practice of offering *naivēdya* arranged in a good shape.

[3] I.e. *śāsanīkṛitya pradattaḥ*.

[4] The letter *ṇa*, which was originally omitted, is written above the line.

[5] This is the same as *s-ōparikaraḥ* of many other records.

44 yō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [26*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr=vvai-shṇavī sūrya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ | lōkaṁ(ka)-trayaṁ

45 tēna bhavēd=dhi dattaṁ yaḥ kāṁchanaṁ gāṁ cha mahīṁ cha dadyāt || [27*] yas=tv=ajñāna-paṭal-āndhita-dṛishṭir=anila-va(ba)l-āhata-sa-

46 rit-taraṁga-bhaṁguraṁ tṛiṇ-āgra-lagn-āvaśyāy-ānavasthiraṁ kari-kalabha-karṇṇ-āgra-lōlaṁ śrānta-vihaga-gala-chapalaṁ

47 prakupita-bhujaga-jihvā-taḍit-kshaṇa-dishṭaṁ nashṭaṁ pratikshaṇaṁ=anavasthitaṁ gati-jī[vi]tam=anālōchya ih=ā-

48 mutra cha yasaḥ(śaḥ)-saukhya-nidānaṁ dānāt=puṇya-saṁchayam=anādṛity=ādṛishṭa-phal-ānabhijñō durmmatir=āchchhi-

49 ndyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdēta sa paṁchabhir=mmahā-pātakais=s-ōpa[1]pātakaiś=cha saṁyu-

50 kta[ḥ*] syād=ity=uktaṁ bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna V[y]āsēna || Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi svargē vasa-

51 ti bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumaṁtā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [28*] Vindhy-āṭavīshv=a-tō-

*Third Plate.*

52 yāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dāyaṁ haraṁ(ra)nti yē || [29*]

53 Anyāyēna hṛitā bhūmir=hāritā v=ānumōditā | atīt-āgāmi pāpānāṁ dahaty=ā-

54 saptamaṁ kulaṁ(lam) || [30*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya ha[ṁ]tuḥ

55 prāpnōti-kilvi(lbi)shaṁ(sham) || [31*] Jñātv=aivaṁ mat-pradattō=yaṁ bhūmi-dāyō manīshi-bhiḥ | n=ōchchhēdyō bhāvi-bhūpālaiḥ sa-

56 rvvair=ātma-hitaishibhiḥ || [32*] Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yasa(śa)skarāṇi | nirmmālya-

57 vāṁta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta || [33*] Iti kamala-dal-āṁvu(bu)-viṁdu-lōlāṁ śriyam=avalō-

58 kya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha | ati-vimala-manōbhir=ātmanīnair=mma hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [34*] **Śa-**

59 **ka-narapati-kāl-ātīta-sāmva(sāṁva)tsara-śatēshv=ashṭāsv=ashṭāchatvāriṁ[2]śad-adhikēshu Vaiśākha-śuddh-ākshata[3]-tṛitīyāyāṁ**

60 **Sōmē** aṁkatō=pi **saṁva(saṁva)tsara 848 Vyaya-samva(saṁva)tsarē**='vyaya-dharmma-kōśa-vṛiddhayē likhitam=idaṁ śā-

61 sanaṁ paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-**Akālavarshadēva**-pād-ānu-dhyāta-śrī-**Nitya-**

62 **varshadēv**-ānujñāta-śrī-Sugatip-ājñayā **Saṁyāna**-dhruva-Vathaiy-ānumatēna Sugatēna **śrī-Dhruvarāja**-sāṁdhivigra-

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[1] Better read °*pātakair=upa*°.

[2] The *anusvāra* is wrongly placed on the previous *akshara*.

[3] The usual name of the *tithi* is Akshaya.

63 hik-Ājita-sutēn=ēti ‖ yad=atr=ōn-āksharam=adhik-āksharaṁ vā tat=sarvvaṁ pramāṇam=iti ‖ Grāmaḥ **Kāṇāḍuk-ā-**

64 khyō vara-dharaṇi-dhur-ārddhaṁ cha **Dēvīhar-**ākhyē dattaṁ yēn=ēha·sa śrī-**Sugatipa-**nṛi-patiḥ sūrya-tējaḥ(jāḥ) praśasti[1] | Annaiyaḥ kīrttanēna

65 tribhuvana-jayīnā Rēvaṇaḥ Kautukaś=cha sārddhaṁ Dēvyāḥ prasādād=Amaragiri-vara-sthāyukāḥ saṁnta(tu) sarvvē ‖ [35*] Yāvad=vīchī-taraṁga-pracha-

66 lita-makara-grāha-nakr-ākul-ōrmmi-vyāviddh-ōddhūta-tōya-kshubhita-kalakal-ārāva-raudraḥ samudraḥ | yāvan=nakshatra-chandra-graha-ga-

67 ṇa-kiraṇ-ālaṁkṛit-āṁgaś=cha Mērus=tāvad=Dēvyāḥ prasādād=avihatam=amalaṁ śāsanaṁ sthāsnu bhūyāt ‖ [36*] maṁgalaṁ mahatī cha śrīḥ ‖

## 2. Grant of the time of Kṛishṇa III

This is a **single** plate measuring about 17·5″ in length, 8·8″ in breadth and ·1″ in thickness. It weighs about 130 *tolas*. There is no seal fixed with the plate which is engraved only on one side. There are 50 lines of writing. The engraving is as neatly done as in the other epigraph from the same place, edited above. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory.

The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the inscription of the time of Indra III, edited above. The initial vowels *a* (lines 21, 22, 27 and 39), *ā* (lines 18, 40, 43 and 48) and *i* (lines 17 and 20) occur in the inscription. Final *t*, *n* and *m* are found respectively in lines 50, 10 and 22, while the *avagraha* occurs in lines 37 and 38. The numerical figures 4 and 0 have been used in line 39. The sign for *v* has been employed in indicating *b*.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. In point of **orthography** also the record resembles the record edited above. In a few cases, the rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored even in verses (lines 10, 26). Although final *m* has been used (line 22), it has often been changed wrongly to *anusvāra*. Certain consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The inscription bears **no date.** Since, however, it refers itself to the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), it may be assigned roughly to the **middle of the tenth century A.D.**

The inscription begins with the *Praṇava* which is followed in lines 1-35 by 19 verses. Verse 1 is in adoration of the Mother-goddess. The next stanza (verse 2) introduces the **Yadu** or Yādava dynasty, to which the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** kings are stated to have belonged. Verse 3 speaks of the following rulers of the family : (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) : (2) his successor Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇa I, 756-75 A.D.) ; (3) Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda II, 775-80 A.D.), successor of Kṛishṇarāja ; (4) Nirupama (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.) ; (5) Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III, 794-814 A.D.) ; (6) Amōghavarsha (i.e. Amōghavarsha I, 814-80 A.D.), and (7) Amōghavarsha's son Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II, 878-915 A.D.). The next stanza (verse 4) refers to Indrarāja (Indra III, 915-28 A.D.), while verse 5 speaks of Amōghavarsha (i.e. Amōghavarsha II, 928-29 A.D.) who succeeded Indrarāja. Verse 6 mentions Gōvindarāja (Gōvinda IV, 929-34 A.D.) surnamed Suvarṇavarsha and verse 7 Amōghavarsha (i.e. Amōghavarsha III, 934-39 A.D.). The following four stanzas (verses 8-11) describe the reigning king **Kṛishṇarāja** (Kṛishṇa III, 939-67 A.D.), son of Amōghavarsha. It will be seen that all the rulers of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty from Dantidurga to Kṛishṇa III are mentioned in correct order, although the relationship between the successor and his predecessor has not been indicated

[1] Read *praśāstu*.

in all the cases. It is interesting to note that the reign of Amōghavarsha II has been recognised in the record.[1]

About the reigning monarch **Kṛishṇa III,** verse 10 says that he conquered certain enemies even when he was a crown-prince, while verse 11 enumerates the following as bowing down to his feet : the Pāṇḍyas, Ōḍras, Siṁhalas, Chōlas and Pārasīkas, the Andhra king, the Draviḍas, Varvaras and Tajjikas, and the Vaṁkīṇas, Hūṇas, Khasas, Gūrjaras and Mālavīyas. The success of Kṛishṇa III against the Pāṇḍyas, Siṁhalas, Chōlas and Gūrjaras (i.e. the Gurjara-Prathihāras of Kanauj[2]) is referred to in some of his records.[3] The name Draviḍa seems to have been applied to the Pallavas. A Pallava king named Aṇṇiga is known to have been subdued by him.[4] The Mālavīyas were probably the Paramāras who owed allegiance to him.[5] The Tajjikas (i.e. Tājikas) were the Arabs, some of whom, as we have seen above, were serving under the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings, while the Pārasīkas or Persians appear to be the Parsees who had settled at places like Sanjan in the western coast land forming a part of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire.[6] The king's relations with the remaining peoples mentioned in the verse are not known from any other source.

Verses 12-14 speak of the god **Bhillamāladēva,** also called Madhusūdana (i.e. Vishṇu), worshipped at the unspecified place whence the charter was issued. The deity is stated to have been installed by the descendants of the merchants of **Bhillamāla** which is the modern Bhinmāl in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan. Verses 15-19 state that, at the same place, there was another *maṭhikā*, i.e. monastery or temple, which had been constructed by Kautuka and at the gate of which the goddess called Bhagavatī had been installed for worship. It is clear that the god Bhillamāladēva *alias* Madhusūdana was installed in the temple standing near another made by Kautuka for the Mother-goddess. There is little doubt that Kauṭuka's *maṭhikā* enshrining *Bhagavatī* was the religious institution built by Annaiya (Annamaiya), Kautuka and Rēvaṇa at Saṁyāna and that the goddess is no other than *Bhagavatī* Daśamī installed in it, both mentioned in the grant of the time of Indra III, edited above. Verse 19 of the record under study refers to the *Anagha-parshad* (called *Mahā-parshad* in line 35) in connection with the goddess and this is apparently the *Ārya-dēśīyā Mahā-parshad* or *Pañcha-Gauḍīya-mahā-parshad* of Saṁyāna mentioned in the other epigraph.

The following section in prose in lines 35 ff. records a *vyavasthā* which means 'a legal decision in a dispute' in the present context. It is very interesting to note that, in this case, the decision emanates from a deity and his attendants and not from any judicial or administrative authority. In this respect, the inscription under study offers a peculiar instance.

It is stated that a *vyavasthā* based on an order was offered to the *maṭhikā* (i.e. the monastery or temple of the goddess) and the *svādhyāyikas* or scholars belonging to the *Mahā-parshad* attached to it by the god **Bhillamāladēva** and his *vārikas*. The word *vārika* is known to have been used in the sense of 'an official' and, in the present context, it no doubt means a priest or Paṇḍā of the temple of Bhillamāladēva at Saṁyāna.[7] Apparently the decision of the temple authorities was passed as the order of the god ; but whether any device was adopted to convince the people that it was really the will of the god is uncertain. The terms of the *vyavasthā*, which follow, were that the *maṭhikā* of the goddess should pay forty *drammas* to the god Bhillamāladēva and his *vārikas* as *śrōtaka* for

[1] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 416, note 5. The fact that Amōghavarsha II obtained the throne is also recognised in some other records of Kṛishṇa III (cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 283, verses 18-19).

[2] The suggestion that the Gurjara contemporary of Kṛishṇa III was the Chaulukya king Mūlarāja (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol I, part ii, pp. 283, 420) seems to be wrong as the territories of the Chaulukyas were outside Gurjaratrā in the age in question (cf. below, p. 58, note 5).

[3] Cf. verses 30, 31 and 35 of the Karhad plates (above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.). See also Altekar, op. cit., pp. 115 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. IV, p. 289 (verse 29).

[5] Cf. the Harsola plates (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.).

[6] See Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 444.

[7] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171-72 ; cf. Vol. XXXI, p. 164, note 1.

a small piece of land that belonged to the god but had been enclosed within the northern compound wall of the *maṭhikā*. The word *śrōtaka* is not found in Sanskrit lexicons but was apparently a kind of rent, since the periodical nature of its payment is indicated by the stipulation that the amouut was to be paid on each occasion of *dīp-ōtsava-bhaṅga*, i.e. the end of the festival of lights, obviously in the *maṭhikā* of the goddess.[1] The *Dīp-ōtsava* seems to be no other than the *dīpāvalī*, a festival with illuminations held on the new moon of Āśvina or Kārttika in honour of the goddess Pārvatī. The *dramma* was a coin of copper or silver.[2] The inscription seems to specify the payment in coins minted by a trader named *śrēshṭhin* Gaṁbhuvaka. It appears that this tradesman of Saṁyāna enjoyed a license for minting coins on behalf of the ruling authority.[3]

It is further stated that, now that the *vyavasthā* was offered (cf. *adhunā*), if any devotee of the god (i.e. Bhillamāladēva), whether he is a Brāhmaṇa or a merchant, commits suicide or creates any other trouble with a view to increasing the amount of the *śrōtaka* or to the removal of the wall of the *maṭhikā* enclosing the piece of land belonging to Bhillamāladēva, he should be looked upon as a dog or a donkey or a Chāṇḍāla even if he is dead. If a merchant was involved in such a case, his whole property should have to be confiscated by the government. On the other hand, in case the *śrōtaka* was not duly paid to the *vārikas* of the god Bhillamāladēva, if any one out of the persons belonging to the *Mahā-parshad* attached to the *maṭhikā*, who kept the door of the *maṭhikā* open to the public, or of outsiders who conducted worship of the goddess, committed suicide, he would also share a similar fate even if he was dead. It is stated that this *vyavasthā*, based on the *sthiti* or decree, was a permanent one and had to be observed by both the parties of the dispute, viz. the devotees of the god Bhillamāladēva and those of the goddess worshipped in the *maṭhikā*. To the above is added the statement that anybody who would appropriate the piece of land in his attempt to avoid the payment of the *śrōtaka* should be endowed with all the greater and minor sins.

It is clear from the words of the inscription that a small piece of land belonging to the temple of the god Bhillamāladēva, which seems to have been situated in the vicinity of the *maṭhikā* of the goddess, was lying within the compound wall of the latter and was in wrongful possession of the devotees of the goddess. It is also clear that, while the devotees of the god were trying to recover the land by all means including the offer of hunger-strike, the other party attached to the goddess was trying to obstruct the release of the plot equally obstinately in the same way. The decision to ease this state of tension by fixing an amount of annual rent for the piece of land, payable by the party in the possession of it, was therefore a good one. The respectful mention of the goddess in the present record exhibits a spirit of compromise which is commendable.

The above section of the record is followed in lines 46-47 by a sentence meaning to say that the giver of the decision, viz. the god Bhillamāladēva along with his *vārikas*, expressed his desire in the words of the document as written by the scribe. The following sentence saying that the god favoured the document with his assent is a well known formula with which the royal donors put their signature to a charter originally written on a perishable material and later incised on copper plates. This section is in the style of the charters issued by the contemporary rulers of the area in question.[4]

The charter ends with a stanza (verse 20) followed by a short benedictory passage. The verse mentions the person who was responsible for writing the document with the consent of both the

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[1] For *śrōtaka*, see above, p. 36. For the meaning of *bhaṅga*, see Apte, *Pract. Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *nidrā-bhaṅga, yātrā-bhaṅga*.

[2] Cf. above Vol. XXX, p. 213 and note 2.

[3] Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, pp. 79 ff.

[4] Similar statements are found, e.g., in the grants of the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 279 (Plate III, lines 10-11); above, Vol. III, p. 275, lines 82-84, etc.

parties, viz. the devotees of the god and those of the goddess. This writer was a Kāyastha named Śambhudēva who was the son of Ambaipa (Ambaiya ?) and grandson of Jōggapaiya.

The place where the temples of the god and the goddess were situated is not mentioned in the record. But, as we have seen, they must have stood at **Saṁyāna** within the dominions of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. As indicated above, Saṁyāna is modern Sanjan in the Thana District of Bombay. Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Bhillamāla**, as already pointed out, is modern Bhinmāl about 100 miles to the south-west of Jodhpur in Rajasthan. It is interesting to note that there was a well-organised settlement of merchants of Bhinmāl origin at Sanjan and that they had installed a Vaishnavite deity of their own and named it after their home town. A large number of peoples of various countries are mentioned in the description of Kṛishṇa III. Most of these tracts are wellknown. The **Pāṇḍyas** lived in the Madurai-Ramanathapuram-Tirunelveli region, the **Ōḍras** in modern Orissa and the **Siṁhalas** in Ceylon. The original territory of the **Chōlas** was in the Tanjavur-Tiruchirappalli area and of the **Pārasīkas** in Persia. The name **Andhra** was apparently used to indicate the kingdom of the contemporary Eastern Chālukya king of Vēṅgī, while the name **Draviḍa** was probably applied to Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, the territory of the Pallavas in older times. It is difficult to locate the **Varvaras** known from early Indian literature as a people of the north-west of India.[1] The **Tajjikas** or Tājikas were the people of Arabia and **Vaṅkīṇa** may be the same as Vōkkāṇa mentioned in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 20) and identified with modern Wakhan in Central Asia.[2] The **Hūṇas**[3] appear to have lived in the Punjab and the **Khasas**[4] in Kashmir and Nepal. The Pratihāras of the **Gurjara** stock ruled over wide areas of North India ; but, even as late as the first half of the eleventh century, Al Bīrūnī speaks of the Jodhpur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajasthan as Gujarāt, i.e. Gurjaratrā or the home of the Gurjaras.[5] **Mālava**, the land of the Mālavīyas, seems to have included in this age the territory around Ujjayinī.

## TEXT[6]

[Metres : verse 1 *Drutavilambita* ; verses 2-3, 20 *Sragdharā* ; verse 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5, 8 *Mālinī* ; verses 6-7, 18-19 *Upajāti* ; verses 9, 11, 14-16 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 10, 17 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 12 *Upagīti*.]

1 Ōm[7] Bhagavatyai namaḥ | Bhagavatī bhavatāṁ bhava-bhī-bhidē bhavatu Śuṁbha-Niśuṁbha-vināśanī |

2 suravar-āsura-kinnara-Nārada-prabhṛitibhir=vvinutā varad=ābhavā || [1*] Gōtra[ṁ] bhitvā(ttvā) na bhūtō na madhupa-

3 vasatir=nnō sadā dharmma-vakrō n=ākrāntō daṇḍakō=s[y]a(yaṁ) na cha para-pavan-ākaṁpitō nā nu hīnaḥ |

4 n=ādhastān=nīta-mūla-prakṛitir=ati-ghanō nō raṇē datta-pṛishṭaḥ(shṭhaḥ) sō=pūrvō=st=īha vaṁśō **Yadu**-kula-

5 tilakō **Rāshṭrakūṭ**-ēśvarāṇāṁ(ṇām) || [2*] Tatr=āsīd=Dantidurggaḥ sakala-guṇa-nidhiḥ Kṛipṇa(shṇa)rājas=tatō=bhū-

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[1] Cf. Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍēya Purāna*, p. 319, note ; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, p. 62.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., p. 55.

[3] Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., p. 379, note ; *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., p. 59.

[4] See Pargiter, op. cit., p. 346, note ; Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, trans., Vol. I, pp. 47-48 (note on I, 317) ; Vol. II, p. 430.

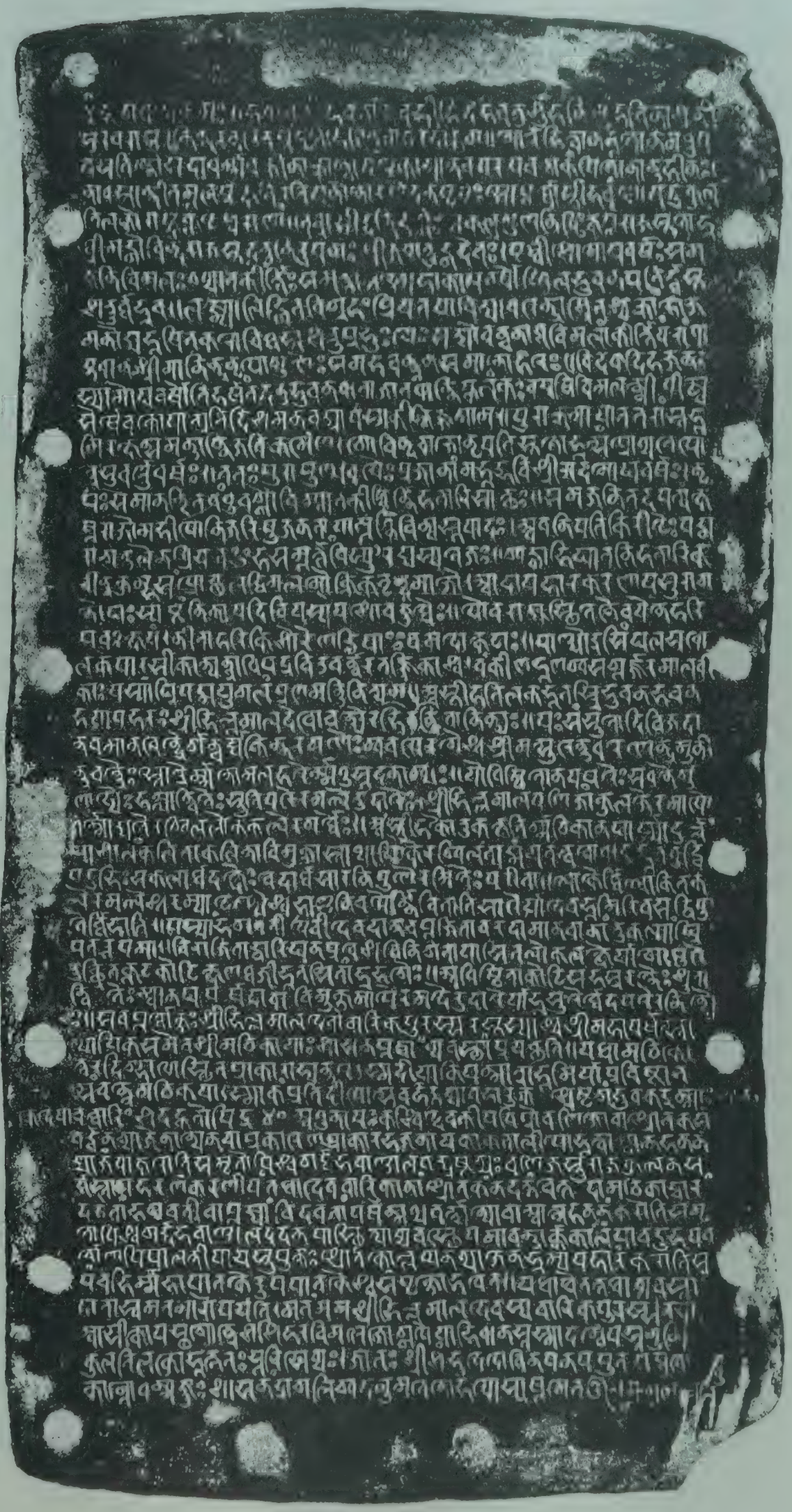
[5] Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 135 ff. The Daulatpurā plate (above, Vol. V, pp. 211 ff. ; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 28) of 843 A.D. includes the Jodhpur region in Gurjaratrā. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang mentions Pi-lo-mo-lo (i.e. Bhillamāla or Bhinmāl) as the capital of Ku-che-lo (i.e. Gurjara).

[6] From impressions.

[7] Expressed by symbol.

RASHTRAKUTA CHARTERS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE II

2. Grant of the time of Krishna III



Scale : Three-Fourths

6 thrī(ch chhrī))mad-Gōvindarājas=tad-anu Nirupamaḥ śrī-Jagattuṅgadēvaḥ | pṛithvīśō-
mōghavarshaḥ sa[ma]-

7 jani vimalaḥ khyāta-kīrttiḥ samantāt=tas[y]=ēh=Ākālavarshō=khila-bhuvana-patir=
ddhvasta-

8 śatrurvva(r=bba)bhūva || [3*] Lakshmy-āliṅgita-vigrahaḥ priyatayā vidyādhar-ēndr-
āśritaś=chakr-āṁbhōja-

9 manōdya(jña)-bhūshita-karō vidhvasta-śatru-prabhuḥ | yaḥ sadyō[1]-va(ba)ndhanāch[2]=cha
vimalāṁ kīrttiṁ parāṁ prā-

10 ptavān śrīmān=Indra-nṛipō guṇaiḥ samabhavan=nūnaṁ samānō Harēḥ || [4*] Vida-
dhad=iha jana-

11 sy=Āmōghavarshō=ti-harshaṁ tad-anu bhuvana-dhātā jātavān=nishkalaṁkaḥ [|*]
vapushi vimala-[la*]kshmī[ṁ*] pī(vī)kshya

12 s-ērsh=ēva kōpāt=prati-diśam=anavadyā yasya kīrttir=jjagāma || [5*] Purā-kram-
āyātatarāṁ sva-bhū-

13 mi[ṁ*] rakshan=samantān=nija-vikramēṇa | Gōvindarājō nṛipatis=tatō=bhūt=saṁ-
prōchyatē yō=

14 ttra Suvarṇṇavarshaḥ || [6*] Tataḥ purā puṇya-chayaiḥ prajānāṁ(nā)m=abhūdbha(d=bhu)vi
śrīmad-Amōghavarshaḥ | nṛi-

15 paḥ samānandita-vaṁ(baṁ)dhu-varggō vikhyāta-kīrttir=nihat-āri-sā[r*]tthaḥ || [7*] Samajani
tad-apatyaṁ **Kṛi-**

16 **sh**[ṇ]**arājō** mahīpō nija-ripu-janatāyā rmū(mū)rdhni vinyasta-pādaḥ | avani-pati-kirīṭaiḥ
padma-

17 rāga-chchhalēna dhriya[3]ta iha samūrttaṁ visphurad=yasya [t]ējaḥ || [8*] Khaḍg-ābhighāta-
nihat-āri-ka-

18 rīndra-kumbha-saṁprōchchhalad-vimala-mauktika-vṛiṁ(vṛi)ndam=ājau | ādāya hāra-
karaṇāya sur-āṁga-

19 n-aughaḥ spaṭaṁ(shṭaṁ) nināya divi yasya yaśō-vad=uchchaiḥ || [9*] Yauvarājya-sthitēn=
aiva yēn=ēha ri-

20 pavaḥ kshayaṁ(yam) | nītā hari-kiśōrēṇa dvipā iva madōtkaṭāḥ || [10*] **Pāṇḍy-Ōḍra-
Siṁgha(ha)la-sa-Chō-**

21 **laka-Pārasīkā Andhrādhipa-Draviḍa-Varnva(rvva)ra-Tajjikāś=cha | Vaṁkīṇa-
Hūṇa-Khasa-Gūrjjara-Mālavī-**

22 **kāḥ**(**yā**) yasy=āṁghri-padma-yugalaṁ praṇamanti nityam || [11*] Ast=īha tilaka-bhūtas=
tri-bhuvana-bhavana-

23 bhay-āpaha(hā)raḥ [|*] śrī-**Bhillamāladēvō** vandyair=abhi[na]nditō=nindyaḥ || [12*] Yaḥ
saṁstutō divija-dā-

24 nava-mānav-ēndrair=gandharvva-kinnara-gaṇaiḥ khachar-ōragaiś=cha [|*] śrīmat-
surēndra-dharaṇēndra-munī-

25 ndra-chandraiḥ stōtrair=mmanō-mala-harair=Mmadhusūdan-ākhyaḥ || [13*] Yō=dhi-
shṭhitō naya-paraiḥ sa-dhanair=gu-

26 ṇ-āḍhyaiḥ[4] bha[k]ty=ānvitaiḥ stuti-parair=amalair=udāraiḥ | śrī-**Bhillamāla**-vaṇijāṁ
kulajair=amāyai[ḥ][5]

27 dharmm-ōdyatair=akhila-lōka-kalair=agarvvaiḥ || [14*] Ast=īha Kautuka-kṛitir=[m]maṭhik=
ānagh=āryyā durllaṁ-

28 ghya-śālaṁ(la)-kalitā Kalinā vimuktā [|*] svādhyāyikair=akhila-vāṁmaya-tatva(ttva)-
vō(bō)dhād=udbhūta-vu(bu)ddhi-

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[1] Two short syllables are wanting in the stanza here.

[2] The word *bandhana* refers to the *yamal-ārjuna-bhaṅga* episode in regard to Hari and to *paṭṭa-bandhana* or coronation with reference to the king.

[3] Originally *yā* was engraved in the place of *ya*.

[4] Read °*ḍhyair*=.

[5] Read °*māyair*=.

29 paṭubhiḥ **sakal-ārtha**-dakshaiḥ ‖ [15*] Vēd-ārtha-sāra-nipuṇair=amitaiḥ **parītā** ‖[1] lōkair=vvilōkita-ka-

30 [l]air=amalaiś=cha ramyā [|*] dēśyaiś=cha bhāṇḍa-nichayair=nnichit=āti-sārair=**yā** dēva-bhūmir=iva sad-vipu(bu)-

31 dhair=vvibhāti ‖ [16*] Yasyāṁ Bhagavatī Dēvī dēva-dānava-pūjitā [|*] varadā mānavā-nāṁ tu Kalpāṁghri-

32 pa-tar-ūpamā ‖ [17*] Virājitā dvāri ghana-pravēśa-vinirgat-ā[2]yāsita-lōka-lakshai[ḥ |*] ryā(yā) gōpurai-

33 r=uchchhrita-kūṭa-kōṭi-kshaṇa-dhvajībhūta-sitāṁ(t-ā)bhra-bhaṁgaiḥ ‖ [18*] Adhishṭhitā kōṭi-sahasra-ratnaiḥ śrut-ā-

34 nvitaiḥ(tai)ś=ch=ānagha-parshadā vā[3] [|*] vimukta-māyair=amadair=udārair=yā bhū-surair=vvēda-parair=anindyai-

35 ḥ ‖ [19*] sa cha pūrvv-ōktaḥ śrī-**Bhillamāladēvō** vārika-purassaras=tasyāś=cha śrī-mahā-parshat-svā-

36 dhyāyika-samēta-śrī-maṭhikāyāḥ śāsana-pū[rvvā]ṁ vyavasthāṁ prayachchhati ‖ **yathā** maṭhik-ō-

37 ttara-dig-bhāgē sthita-prākār-ābhyantarē='smadīyā kiyan-mātrā bhūmir=yā pravishṭā ta-

38 t-saṁva(ba)ndhē maṭhikayā='smākaṁ prati-dīp-ōtsava-bhaṁga[ṁ*] vyāvahāruka-śrēshṭha[4]-Gaṁbhuvaka-drammāḥ śrōta-

39 **kē**[5] dēyā[ḥ*] chatvāriṁśad=aṅkatō=pi dra[6] 40 [|*] adhunā yaḥ kaśchid=dēvakīya-viprō **vaṇijō**[7] **vā śrōtaka-saṁ**

40 **varddhana**-vyājēn=ānyēna vā prakārēṇa prākāra-bha[ṁ*]janāya kākatālīyō bhūtvā ātna(tma)-**hananaṁ**

41 **vyājaṁ** vā karōti **sa** mṛitō=pi śva-garddabha-chāṇḍāla-vad=drashṭavyaḥ [|*] **vaṇijas=tu** rājakulēna sa-

42 rvvasv-āpaharaṇaṁ karaṇīyaṁ tathā dēva-vārikānāṁ(ṇāṁ) śrōtakaṁ na dattaṁ **chēt=tadā** maṭhikā-dvāraṁ

43 dadatāṁ Bhagavatīṁ(tyai) vā pūjyāṁ(jāṁ) vidava(dha)tāṁ parshan-madhyavartty=**anyō** vā[8] ātma-hananaṁ **karōti sa** mṛi-

44 **tō**=pi śva-garddabha-chāṇḍāla-da(va)d=anayā sthitvā vyavasth=ēyam=ā-chandr-ārkka-kālaṁ **yāvad**=ubhaya-va-

45 **rgēṇ**=āpi pālanīyā [|*] yas=tu punaḥ śrōtak-ōllaṁghana-vyājēna bhūmy-apahāraṁ karōti **sa**

46 **paṁchabhir**=mmahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha saṁpṛiktō bhavēta(vēt) ‖ yathā ch=**aitat**=tathā vyavasthā-

47 dātā sva-matam=ārōpayati | mataṁ mama **śrī-Bhillamāladēvasya** vārika-purassarasya [|*]

48 Āsīt=Kāyastha-gōttrē śaśi-[ka][9]ra-vimalē **Jōggapaiy**-ābhidhānas=tasmād=**Amvaipa**[10]-**sūnu**-[r*]=nija-

49 kula-tilakō=bhūt=tataḥ sūri-sēvyaḥ | jātaḥ śrī-Śaṁbhudēdō(vō) vinaya-naya-yuta[ḥ*] sad-dhruvō va(ba)ndhu-

50 kāntō dha[r*]mmajñaḥ śāsanaṁ drāg=alikhad=anumatēn=ōbhayō spashṭam=ētat ‖ [20*] maṁgalam=iti ‖

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[1] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[2] Better read *viniryam-ā°*.

[3] Better read *parshadīyaiḥ*.

[4] Read *vyavahārika-śrēshṭhi°*.

[5] I.e. *śrōtaka-rūpēṇa*.

[6] This is a contraction of *dramma*.

[7] The word *vaṇija* has been used here in the sense of *vaṇik* which is, however, used in line 41 below.

[8] We may add *yaḥ kaśchit* here.

[9] Originally *ha* was incised in the place of *ka*.

[10] The intended name may be *Ambaiya*.

## No. 5—THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI

*(3 Plates)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

Two of the five copper-plate grants discovered at **Chinchani** in the Dahanu Taluk of the Thana District, Bombay, have been edited in the foregoing article. One of them pertains to the reign of king Indra III (915-28 A.D.) and the other to that of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), both the rulers belonging to the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Mānyakhēṭa (Māḷkhēḍ). Of the three other copper-plate charters discovered at the same place, two were issued by a **Mōḍha** chief of **Saṁyāna** (Sanjan in the Thana District). The name of the family to which the issuer of the remaining charter from Chinchani belonged is not mentioned in the record; but he was also a ruler of Saṁyāna and seems to have been a Mōḍha. The family name, viz. Mōḍha, associates these chiefs of Saṁyāna with the Brāhmaṇa and Bāniyā communities of the same name now residing in various parts of the Northern Konkan and its neighbourhood.[1] No ruler of this dynasty was known so far from any other source.[2] The three charters are dated respectively in **Śaka 956** (1034 A.D.), **Śaka 969** (1048 A.D.) and **Śaka 975** (1053 A.D.). Before the inscriptions are taken up for discussion, a few words may be said about the circumstances leading to the rise of the Mōḍhas at Saṁyāna.

We have seen above[3] how an Arab governor was ruling over the territorial division of Saṁyāna on behalf of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A.D.) and Indra III (915-27 A.D.). It is well known that the **Śilāhāras** claimed to be the rulers of the Northern Konkan with their capital at Purī since the days of Amōghavarsha I (814-80 A.D.).[4] The founder of the Śilāhāra house was Kapardin I whose son Pullaśakti (843-44 A.D.)[5] and grandson Kapardin II (851-78 A.D.)[6] are known to have enjoyed the title 'lord of the Konkan' or 'lord of the entire Konkan' as feudatories of the said Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch. The Śilāhāra inscriptions give the names of the following rulers of the family after Kapardin II: (1) his son Vappuvanna, (2-3) Vappuvanna's sons Jhañjha and Gōggi, and (4) Gōggi's son Vajjaḍa I. Little is known about these rulers, although Al Mas'udi speaks about 916 A.D. of Jhañjha as governor of the Lār (Lāṭa) country and

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[1] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, part i, pp. 2-3, 11-12, for the Mōḍha Brāhmaṇas who are believed to have migrated to Gujarat from Upper India, and for the town of Mōḍhērā (cf. also ibid., p. 72; Vol. VII, pp. 608-09) which is supposed to have given the Mōḍhas their name. For the same sub-caste of the Brāhmaṇas in Kutch, Kathiawar, Poona, Rewa Kantha and Thana, see respectively Vol. V, p. 45; Vol. VIII, p. 146; Vol. XVIII, part i, p. 163; Vol. VI, pp. 23-24; and Vol. XIII, p. 80. For the Mōḍha Bāniās in Gujarat, Kutch, Kathiawar and Thana, see respectively Vol. IX, part i, p. 72; Vol. V, p. 50; Vol. VIII, p. 148; and Vol. XIII, p. 112.

[2] For a Mōḍha named Kumyara who was the son of Vaijala and a *Mahākshapaṭalika* of Chaulukya Bhīma II, see an inscription of V. S. 1256 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 72, text lines 41-42. See also Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 208 and note 1.

[3] Cf. p. 50.

[4] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 538 ff. The identification of the city of Purī is not definitely settled. Different scholars have identified it variously with Ṭhāṇa (chief town of the Thana District), Ghārāpurī (Elephanta), Rājapurī in Kolaba and Rājāpur in Ratnagiri. See ibid., pp. 283-84. Some of the Śilāhāra records were issued from Sthānaka or Ṭhāṇa. It is sometimes also believed that Ṭhāṇa was the capital of the Śilāhāras while Purī was their secondary capital (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 402).

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

[6] Ibid., pp. 134-35.

of Samur or Chaul as lying within his territory[1] and Aparājita, son of Vajjaḍa I, is known to have ruled in 993-97 A.D.[2] The recently published grant[3] of Chhadvai, who was a younger brother of Vajjaḍa I and a feudatory of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), seems to have been issued about the close of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king's reign. Chhadvai is not mentioned in the later records of the family and may have really been a usurper of the throne which rightfully belonged to his brother's son Aparājita.[4] In spite of the fact that Aparājita ruled after the end of Rāshṭrakūta supremacy, he also clearly speaks of the subservience of his ancestors to the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs. It seems, however, that, during the reigns of Kṛishṇa II and Indra III and probably for sometime more, the territorial division called Saṁyāna-maṇḍala, comprising wide areas of the Northern Konkan, was under governors who were directly responsible to the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs and had little to do with the Śilāhāras. This fact appears to explain the temporary decline of Śilāhāra power in the Northern Konkan after the reign of Kapardin II as indicated by the paucity of Śilāhāra records of the period in question and also by the Chinchani inscription of the time of Indra III and Madhumati Sugatipa who governed Saṁyāna-maṇḍala on behalf of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and Indra III. In this period, the Śilāhāras appear to have been ruling only over parts of the territory held by Kapardin II. The Chinchani plate of the reign of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) does not mention the local rule of any Śilāhāra feudatory probably because it was issued at a time when the hold of the Śilāhāras over Saṁyāna had not yet been fully re-established.

The Śilāhāra grants mention the descendants of Aparājita in the following order: (1-2) Vajjaḍa II and Arikēsarin or Kēśidēva (1017 A.D.),[5] sons of Aparājita, and (3-5) Chhittarāja (1026-34 A.D.),[6] Nāgārjuna and Mummuṇi or Māmvāṇi (1049-60 A.D.),[7] sons of Vajjaḍa II. The earliest of the three grants of the chiefs of Saṁyāna edited here was issued in Śaka 956 (1034 A.D.). In this record, the chief, who appears to have belonged to the Mōḍha dynasty, although it is not so stated in the inscription, acknowledges the suzerainty of the Śīlāra or Śilāhāra ruler called *Chhinturāja* which is no doubt a variant of the name *Chhittarāja*.[8] It is stated that Saṁyāna-pattana was received by the chief from the Śilāhāra ruler. That Śilāhāra Chhittarāja was ruling at least down to 1034 A.D. is not only known from the present record but also from the Berlin Museum plates[9] issued by himself. It is, however, interesting to note that the other two records

[1] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 23 ; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 404. The Yādava ruler Bhillama II married the daughter of Jhañja while his son Vēsugi married the daughter of Gōgi. R. G. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Jhañjha and Gōgi with Jhañja and Gōggi of the Śilāhāra dynasty of the Northern Konkan (*Bomb., Gaz*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 232-33) ; but Fleet did not support the identifications (ibid., pp. 425, 513, 514 note 2).

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 271 ff. : Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp.46 ff., 55 ff. Cf. Vaidya, *Hist. Med. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 349 f.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff.

[4] The Gaṅga king Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarman Mārasiṁha II (*circa* 960-75 A.D.), who was a feudatory of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, claims to have defeated Vijjaḷa, the younger brother of Pātāḷamalla, and Kielhorn is inclined to identify this Vijjaḷa with Śilāhāra Vajjaḍa I (Kielhorn's Southern List, Supplement, p. 6). If this identification is accepted, it may not be impossible to think that it was the Rāshṭrakūṭa king who subdued Vajjaḍa I and placed Chhadvai on the Śilāhāra throne although the reference to Pātāḷamalla cannot be explained in the present state of our knowledge. Vijjaḷa (i.e. Vijjaḷa) and Vajjaḍa, however, appear to be different names.

[5] *As. Res.*, Vol. I, p. 357.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 276 ff.; *ZDMG*, Band 90, 1936, pp. 265 ff.

[7] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 ff.; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 ff.

[8] As will be seen below, *Mahāmātya* Nāgaṇaiya and *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Nāupyaiya, known from Chhittarāja's grants, served under Chhinturāja of our record, while we have a charter of Chhittarāja issued in the same year, viz. Saka 956 (1034 A.D.).

[9] *ZDMG*, Band 90, pp. 265 ff.

from Chinchani, dated respectively in Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) and Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.), in both of which the donor is described as a Mōḍha, are conspicuous in their silence about the allegiance of the ruler of Saṁyāna to the Śilāhāras. This fact may suggest that, for some time about the middle of the eleventh century, Śilāhāra hold on Saṁyāna became week. This seems to be further indicated by the record of Śaka 975 (1053 A.D.) in which the Mōḍha chief is endowed with the typical Śilāhāra title ' lord of Tagarapura ' and is stated to have been ruling over ' the new kingdom ' obtained by the strength of his own arms (line 8). In the inscription of Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.), he calls himself *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara* in imitation of the Śilāhāras. We have also to note that the Saṁyāna chiefs enjoyed the same feudatory titles as the Śilāhāra rulers and that one of them claimed to have ruled over nearly a half of the Northern Konkan. It was probably Śilāhāra Mummuṇi or Māmvāṇi who subdued or supplanted the Mōḍhas and re-established Śilāhāra authority over the Saṁyāna region shortly after the middle of the eleventh century. The Kharepatan plates[1] (Śaka 1016=1095 A.D.) of Anantadēva or Anantapāla, son of Nāgārjuna and successor of Mummuṇi or Māmvāṇi, speak of his success against a calamity facing the Śilāhāras of the Northern Konkan owing to *dāyāda-vairi-vyasana*,[2] although it is difficult to say whether the chiefs of Saṁyāna were encouraged to rule without reference to the Śilāhāras in the period of trouble referred to in that record.

### 1. Grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja, Subordinate of Śilāhāra Chhinturāja, Śaka 956

This is a **single** plate measuring 10·5″ in length, 7·5″ in height and ·1″ in thickness. There are altogether 32 lines of writing, 20 on the first side and 12 on the second. A ring-hole disturbs the continuity of writing in the first two lines both on the obverse and the reverse of the plate. But no ring or seal was found with it. Since the writing was completed on both sides of a single plate, no ring bearing seal may have been attached to it. The plate weighs 77½ *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Northern Class of alphabets and closely resemble those of the Śilāhāra inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.[3] The draft of the record as well as its engraving exhibits an amount of carelessness. The letter *ś* has been written in two different ways ; cf. *śavda* and *śrī* in line 2. Although medial *ē* is generally of the *prishṭha-mātrā* type, its *śirō-mātrā* form is also used in a few cases (cf. *maṇḍalē*° in line 6). The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse. In point of **orthography** and style also the inscription resembles the contemporary Śilāhāra records and little calls for special mention. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 15-16 as **Śaka 956 expired, Bhāva, Bhādrapada-badi 15**, both in words and figures. The date seems to correspond to the **15th September 1034 A.D.** It may be recalled in this connection that the Berlin Museum plates of Śilāhāra Chhittarāja were issued only a few months earlier on Dvitīya-Chaitra-sudi 14 of the same year, viz. Śaka 956, Bhāva.[4]

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the *maṅgala* : ' May there be victory and prosperity.' Next follows a stanza in adoration of the god Gaṇanāyaka (Gaṇēśa). We know that many of the Śilāhāra grants begin with the same passage and the same stanza.[5] Lines 2-4 introduce the reign (*kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya*) of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Chhinturāja** described as ' the supreme lord of Tagarapura ', ' the illustrious **Sīlāra** (Śilāhāra) king ' and ' one horn

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 ff.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 34-35, text lines 52-53. Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 411.

[3] See above, Vol. III, pp. 271 ff. ; Gadre, op. cit., pp. 46 ff., 55 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277 ; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 ff. ; Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 ff. ; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 ff. ; *ZDMG*, Band 90, pp. 265 ff.

[4] See *ZDMG*, Band 90, pp. 284-85.

[5] See, e.g., above, Vol. XXV, p. 55 ; *ZDMG* Band 90, p. 280 ; etc.

in the family of Jīmūtavāhana'. As in many other records of the Śilāhāra dynasty, Chhinturāja is credited with the banner bearing the golden Garuḍa and endowed with the titles *Abhimāna-mahōdadhi* and *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara*. As already pointed out above, Chhinturāja of our inscription is no other than the well-known king **Chhittarāja** of the Northern Konkan branch of the Śilāhāra family.

Lines 4-6 speak of the *Mahāmātya* Nāgaṇaiya and the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Nāupyaiya, both of whom served under the Śilāhāra king and are already known to us,[1] and of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Chāmuṇḍarāja** who was governing **Saṁyāna-pattana**, i.e. the town of Saṁyāna, granted to him by Chhinturāja. Besides the usual feudatory titles *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Samadhigat-āśēsha-pañcha-mahāśabda* and *Mahāsāmanādhipati*, Chāmuṇḍarāja is endowed in lines 7-9 with the titles *Nija-bhuja-vikram-āditya*, *Sāhasa-chakravarttin*, *Lāṭa-prākāra-rāya-dhvaṁsaka*, *Tribhuvana-nīla* and others. Among these, *Lāṭa-prākāra-rāya-dhvaṁsaka* seems to refer to Chāmuṇḍarāja's success against some ruler or rulers of **Lāṭa** identified by scholars with the present Nausari-Broach region.

Lines 10-14 state that, while ruling over Saṁyāna, Chāmuṇḍarāja passed an order regarding a grant, to be made by him, to his subordinates and others including the elders (*mukhya*) of the *haṁyamana* (i.e. the Parsee community),[2] the courtiers and officials as well as the officers like Alliya, Mahara and Madhumata, the city elders named *Śrēshṭhin* Kēsarin, Suvarṇṇa and Kakkala, the merchants such as Uva, Suvarṇṇa and Sōmaiya, the district officer (*vishayin*) Vērthalaiya, the *śālā-sthāna-mukhya* Yājñikara, the district officials such as Kshita, Limbaiya, Vēlaiya and Kēsavaiya, and the members of the *Mahā-parshad* such as Agasti, Gavī, Sīluva, Bhāskara, Arjuna, Dinakara, Dēdē, Ārya, Sindūra, Ādityavarṇa, etc. Chāmuṇḍarāja's officials called Alliya, Mahara and Madhumata appear to have been foreigners as the names are apparently of Arabic origin. The name Madhumata (Arabic *Muḥammad*) is found in the form *Madhumati* in the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III, which apply it to a Tājika or Arab governor of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, while a Tājiya (i.e. Tājika or Arab) officer of the Kadambas of Goa is known to have borne the name Madhumata.[3] Alliya appears to be the same as the well-known Arabic name 'Alī. Whether the word *śālā* in *Śālā-sthāna-mukhya* means 'a stable' is difficult to determine. The *Mahā-parshad* is no doubt the same as the Pañcha-Gauḍīya or Ārya-dēśīya *Mahā-parshad* of Saṁyāna mentioned in both the Chinchani epigraphs of the time of Indra III and Kṛishṇa III, edited above.[4]

Lines 14-21 describe the **object** of the record which was the grant of a *ghāṇaka* or oil-mill, made by **Chāmuṇḍarāja** in favour of the Kautuka-maṭhikā, i.e. the temple or monastery built at Saṁyāna by Kautuka and others and known from the two Chinchani records of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs, referred to above. This section begins with the stanza *Chalā vibhūtiḥ*, etc., found in so many Śilāhāra records,[5] and is followed by the date already indicated above. The purpose of the grant was to burn a lamp in front of the Bhagavatī known from both the Chinchani inscriptions of the time of Indra III and Kṛishṇa III to have been worshipped in Kautuka's *maṭhikā* at Saṁyāna, as well as for besmearing oil on the feet of the *svādhyāyikas* or scholars apparently belonging to the *Mahā-parshad* attached to the *maṭhikā* and of the Brāhmaṇa visitors

[1] Both the officers are mentioned in Chhittarāja's Berlin Museum plates. See *ZDMG*, Band 90, pp. 282-83 text lines 32-33). In the same king's Bhandup plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 278, text lines 6-7), the same passage occurs; but the name of the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* is quoted as Sīhapaiya whom Nāupaiya appears to have succeeded.

[2] Above, p. 48.

[3] Ibid., p. 47.

[4] See pp. 45 ff., 55 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 273; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277; etc.

to the *maṭhikā*. The *svādhyāyikas* of the *Mahā-parshad* or Kautuka-maṭhikā of Saṁyāna are mentioned several times in the Chinchani plate of the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III as well as in the last of the three grants edited here. One of the *svādhyāyikas*, Chīhaḍa by name, received the gift which was made as a *namasya-vṛitti* (i.e. a permanent tax-free holding), free from all obligations. People were warned not to cause any obstacle in the enjoyment of the oil-mill by the donee. It is stated that the mill was granted together with the oil and oil-cakes (*ghaṭika* for Sanskrit *khalika*) produced by it probably meaning that the produces of the mill were free from taxation like the mill itself.

Lines 21-28 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas together with certain prose passages of similar import, which are both generally met with in the Śilāhāra charters. The concluding part of the record in lines 29-32 states, in the style of the Śilāhāra grants, how the donor made his decree known through the language of the charter as drafted by the scribe and how the authoritative character of the grant could not be challenged on the basis of mistakes creeping into the text. The sentence beginning with *mataṁ mama* in this section refers in the usual way to the signature of the donor put on the original document later incised on the plates. But a peculiarity of the present inscription is that Chāmuṇḍarāja's name is mentioned here together with a string of epithets. One of these refers to the 64 black horses received by him from an unspecified source. In the passage in question, *Tribhuvana-nīla Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Chāmuṇḍarāja** is represented as the son of *Āhava-nīla Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Vijja-rāṇaka.** The charter is stated to have been written by *Dhruva* Mammalaiya. The official designation *Dhruva* is a contraction of *Dhruv-ādhikaraṇika*, etc., which indicate an officer in charge of the collection of the royal share of the produce from the farmers.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces Chāmuṇḍarāja, ruler of Saṁyāna under Śilāhāra Chhinturāja (Chhittarāja), as also Vijja-rāṇaka, father of Chāmuṇḍarāja and probably an earlier ruler of Saṁyāna under the same Śilāhāra king. The family to which Vijja and Chāmuṇḍa belonged is not mentioned. Since, however, the name Vijja-rāṇaka or Vijjala was also borne by the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna who issued the other two charters to be edited below, it is not impossible that the two Vijja-rāṇakas belonged to the same family. Thus Chāmuṇḍa may have belonged to the Mōḍha dynasty. But it should be admitted that the relationship that may have existed between Chāmuṇḍa, who issued the present grant in 1034 A.D., and Vijja or Vijjala, who issued the other two grants a few years later in 1048 and 1053 A.D., cannot be determined without further light being thrown on the subject by future discoveries.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, **Tagarapura,** to which the Śilāhāras appear to have traced their origin, is now generally identified with Ter in the Naldrug District of the former Hyderabad State.[1] Chāmuṇḍa is stated to have been ruling over the *pattana* or **town** of **Saṁyāna** (elsewhere called only Saṁyāna), which had been granted to him by Śilāhāra Chhinturāja (Chhittarāja). Saṁyāna-pattana is of course the present town of Sanjan in the Thana District. But the exact extent of the land under Chāmuṇḍa's rule cannot be determined, although it may have been much smaller than the Saṁyāna-maṇḍala under Madhumati Sugatipa of the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III and the Saṁyāna-pattana 700 mentioned in the second of the two sets of Chinchani plates of Mōḍha Vijja, to be edited below. Chāmuṇḍa is also stated to have destroyed certain ruler or rulers of the **Lāṭa** country in the present Nausari-Broach region. The inscription does not state where the Kautuka-maṭhikā was situated ; but we know from the Chinchani plates of the time of Indra III that the *mathikā* was built by Kautuka and others at Saṁyāna itself.

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[1] Cf. *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 537 ff.

## TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 3-4, 6 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Vaṁśastha ;* verse 5 *Śālinī.*]

*First Side.*

1 [Siddham[2]] jayaś=ch=ābhyudayaś=cha || Labhatē sarvva-kāryēshu pūjayā gaṇanā yakaḥ | vighna[ṁ*] nighnaṁ(ghnan) sa vaḥ pāyād=apāyād=Ga-

2 ṇanāyakaḥ || [1*] samadhigatapañchamahāśavda(bda)-mahāsāmantādhipati-Tagarapuraparamēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Sīlāra**-na-

3 rēndra-Jīmūtavāhan-ākva(nva)ya-prasūta-suvarṇṇa-[Ga]ruḍadhvaj-[ā]bhimānamahōdadhi-sa-(śa)raṇāgatavajrapaṁjar-ēty-ādi-

4 samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalaṁkṛita-mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)ra-śrīmach-**Chhinturājadēva**-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē ētadīya-ma-

5 hāmātya-śrī-Nāgaṇaiyē mahāsāndhivigrahika-śrī-Chāupyaiyē[3] nṛi(cha) na(va)rttamānē mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-śrī[ma*]kchhi(ch-Chhi)nturājēna

6 pradatta[ṁ*] mahāmaṇḍalēś[v]a[ra]-śrī-**Chāmuṇḍarāja(jaḥ)** śrī-**Saṁyāna-pattanaṁ** prahōkūrisati[4] [|*] atha svakīya-puṇy-ōdayā[ta](yāt)

7 samadhigatāśēshapaṁchamahāśavda(bda)-mahāsāmantādhipati-nijabhujavikramāditta(tya)-sāhasachakravartti-a[5]-

8 rimaṇḍalīkādhisā[6]bhuja[ṁ]ga-Lāḍā(ṭa)pra(prā)kārarāyadṁ[v]a[ṁ*]saka-vipaksharāyabhuaggarla[7]-u[5]bhayakuladhavala-vairi-

9 gaja[5]-aṁkusa(śa)-tṛi(tri)bhuvananīla-prabhṛiti-samasta-rāj-āvalī-samalaṁkṛita-mahāmaṇḍalēsva-(śva)ra-śrī-**Chāmuṇḍarā[ja]**-

10 dēvēna[8] samanuśrā(śā)sati [**Śaṁy**]**ānaṁ**[9] sarvvā[nyē(n=ē)va] sva-samva(mba)dhyamānakān=anyā[n=a*]pi [ha]ṁyamanīya-mukhya-vallaṇa(bha)-vyavaharakavalkā[10]

11 smavyavaharaka[11] Alliya-Mahara-Madhumat-ādayaḥ[12] paura-mukhya(khyān) śrēshṭhi-Kēsari-Suvarṇṇa-Kakkala(lān) vaṇijō(jaḥ) Uva-Suvarṇṇa-

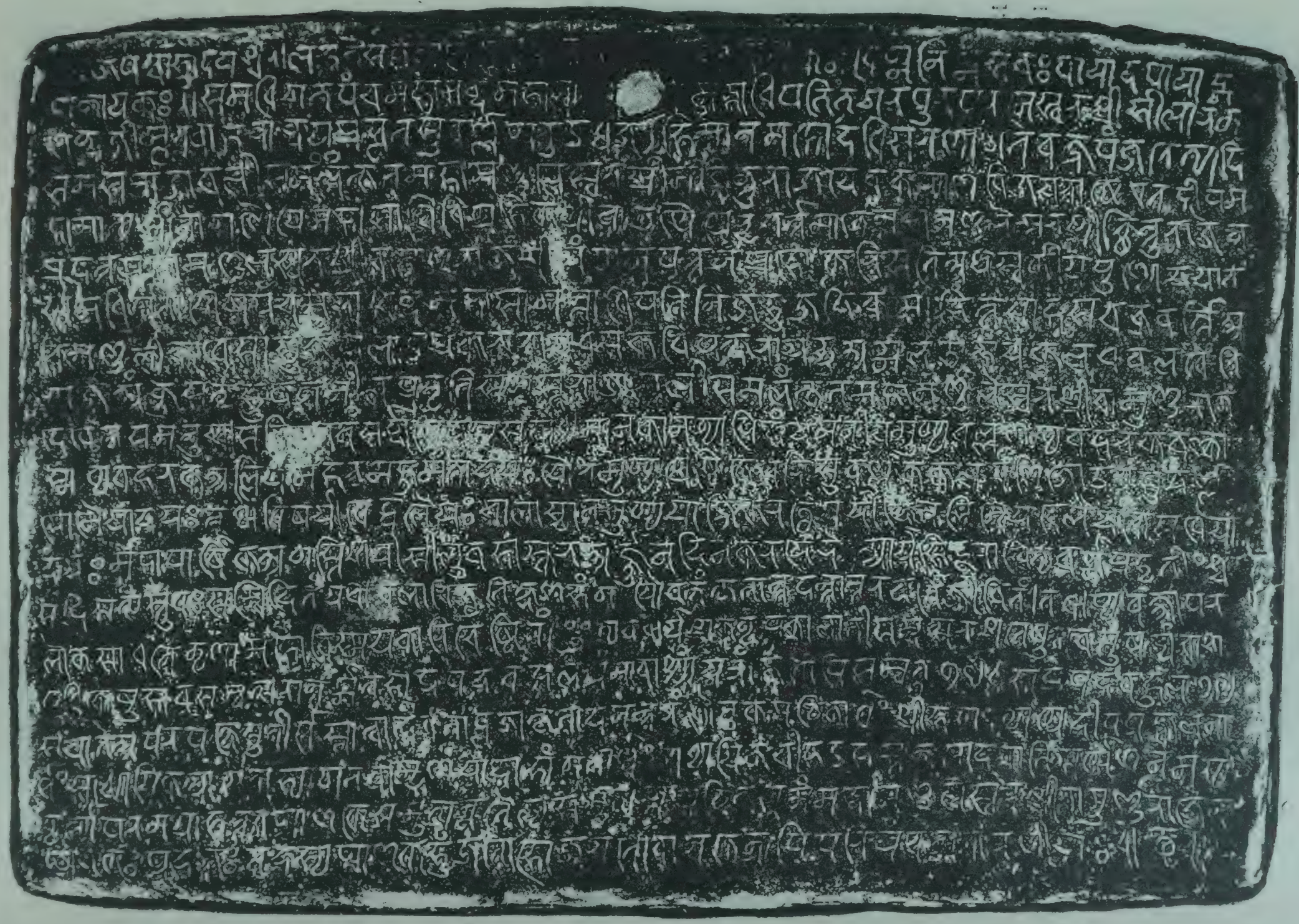
12 Sōmaiy-ādayaḥ[12] tathā vishayī(yi)-Vērthalaiyaḥ(yaṁ) śālā-sthāna-mukhya-Yājñikara[ṁ*] nnaishayī[13] Kshi[ta]-Limvai(mbai)ya-Vēlaiya-Kēsavaiy-ā-

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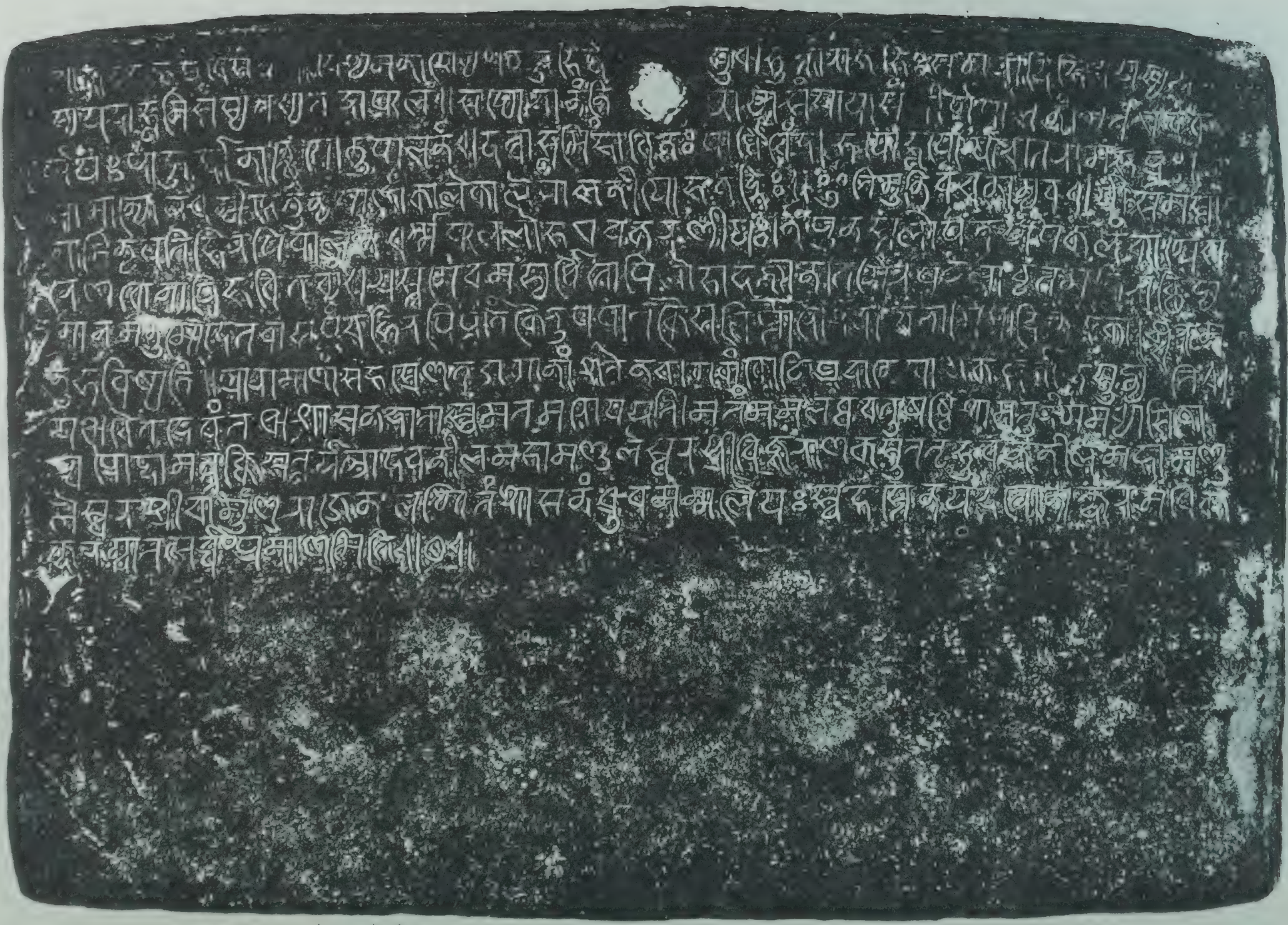
[1] From impressions.
[2] Expressed by symbol.
[3] Better read *Nāu°* as in the Berlin Museum plates (*ZDMG*, Band 90, p. 283, text line 32).
[4] The intended reading seems to be *pratipālayati.*
[5] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[6] Read °*k-ādhīśa*°.
[7] The intended expression is *bhuj-ārgala.*
[8] Read °*dēvē* or *dēvaḥ.*
[9] The words *sa ēva* are here required if *dēvēna* is corrected to *dēvē.*
[10] Read *vyavahāri-karaṇikān.*
[11] Read *saṁvyavahārikan.*
[12] Read °*ādīn.*
[13] Read *vishayiṇa ḥ*

THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE I

1. Grant of Chamundaraja, Saka 956



Scale : Four-Fifths



13 dayaḥ[1] mahā-pārshika[2] Agasti-Gavī-Sīluva-Bhāskara[3]-Arjjuna-Dinakara-Dēdē[3]-Ā[r]ya-Sī[ṁ]-dūr-Āvi(di)tyavarṇṇa-prabhṛitīṁś=cha

14 sa[ṁ]disa(śa)ty=astu vaḥ samvi(saṁvi)ditaṁ yathā Chalā vibhūti[ḥ*] kshaṇa-bhaṁga(gi) yauvanaṁ Kṛitānta-dant-āntara-vartti jīvitaṁ(tam) | tadha(th=ā)py=avā(va)jñā para-

15 lōka-sādhanē nṛiṇām=ahō vismaya-kāri chēshṭitaṁ|(tam || 2) ity=avadhārya **Śaka-nṛipa-kālātī[ta*]-samva(saṁva)tsara-śatēshu navasu shaṭ-paṁchāśa-**

16 **[d-a]dhikēshu Bhāva-samva(saṁva)tsar-āntarggata-Bhādrapada-va(ba)hula[3]-amāvā[śy]āṁ(syāṁ) yatr=āṁkatō=pi Samva(Saṁva)t 956 [Bhādra]pada-va-(ba)hula 15**

17 saṁyātē apara-pakshē su-tīrthē snātvā dēvatā-pūjā-kṛitād=anantaraṁ Kautuka-maṭhik-ārthaṁ[4] śrī-Bhagavatyā(ty-a)grē dīpa-prajvalan-ā-

18 rthaṁ svādhyāyika[3]-āgat-[ā]bhyāgata-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-pād-ābhyaṁga(ja)n-ārthaṁ svādhyāyika-Chīhaḍa-hastē [kṛit]-ōdak-ātisarggēṇa namasya-

19 vṛirttyā(ttyā) paramayā bhaktyā ghāṇakē samutpanna-tailya(la)-samutpanna-ghaṭika[5]-samaṁ mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Chāmuṇḍarājēna**

20 ghāṇakaḥ pradattaḥ [ |*] tad=asya ghāṇaka[ṁ*] bhuṁjatō bhōjayatō vā na kēn=āpi pari-paṁthanā karaṇīyā ||[6] chha[7] ||

*Second Side*

21 āchāṭa-bhaṭṭa[8]-pravēsa(śam) anādēśyam=anāśēdhyaṁ[9] | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya ya-

22 sya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [3*] Sadyō-dānaṁ nir-āyāsaṁ s-āyāsaṁ dīrgha-pālanaṁ(nam) | ata ēvava[10]-

23 rshayaḥ prāhur=ddānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) || [4*] Datvā(ttvā) bhūmiṁ bhāvinaḥ pārthiv-ēṁdrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ |

24 sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-hē(sē)tu[r*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [5*] iti muni-vachanāny=avadhāryā(rya) samast-ā-

25 gāmi-nṛipatibhir=api pālana-dharmma-phala-lōbha ēva karaṇīyaḥ | na punas=ta[l*]-lōpana-pāpa-kalaṁk-āgrēsa-

26 rēṇa kēn=āpi bhavitavyaṁ(vyam) || yastvam=ē[11]vam=abhyarthitō=pi lōbhād=a[jñā]na-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=ā[12]chchhidya-

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[1] Read *°ādīn.*
[2] Read *°pārshadakān.*
[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[4] Better read *maṭhikāyāṁ.*
[5] The intended word seems to be *khalika.*
[6] There is a *visarga*-like mark before this double *daṇḍa.*
[7] This marks the end of a section of the writing. See above, Vol. XXX, p. 218.
[8] Read *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa°.* The passage quoting certain usual terms governing the grant of land seems to be rather out of place here.
[9] Read *°sēdhyam.*
[10] Read *ēv=a°.*
[11] Read *yas=tv=ē°.*
[12] Read *°r=āchchhindyād=ā°.*



27 mānam=anumōdēta vā sa paṁchabhir=api pātakair=upapātakai[ś=cha*] sa[ṁ*]liptō raurav-
āksha(ndha)tāmiśchā(sr-ā)di-narakā[ṁ*]ś=chiram=a-

28 nubhavishyati || Ā[rā]māṇāṁ sahasrēṇa taḍāgānāṁ śatēna cha | gavāṁ kōṭi-paradānē ghāṇaka-
harttā na su(śu)ddhyati || [6*][1]

29 yathā ch=aitad=ēvaṁ tathā śāsana-dātā sva-matama(m=ā)rōpayati | mataṁ mama lavdha-
(bdha)-chatu[ḥ]shashṭi-śā(śyā)ma-turaṁgama(m-ā)dhyāsi-vā-

30 dya-prōddāma-ttrakkisa-t[ū]rya[2]-Āhavanīla-mahāmaṇḍalēsava(śva)ra-śrī-**Vijja-rāṇaka**-suta-
Tṛi(Tri)bhuvananīla-mahāmaṇḍa-

31 lēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Chāmuṁ(mu)ṇḍarājēna**[3] [|*] la(li)khitaṁ śāsanaṁ dhruva-Mammalaiyaḥ-
(ya)-svahastēna [|*] yad=atr=ōn-āksharam=adhik-ā-

32 ksharamvā(raṁ vā) tat=sarvvaṁ pramāṇam=iti || [4] ||

## 2. Grant of Vijjala, Śaka 969

This is a set of **two** plates, each measuring 7·35″ in length, 5·425″ in height, and ·1″ in thickness. They have writing only on the inner side and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are affixed beneath a **seal.** The counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing deity looking like Vishṇu or the Sun-god. The inscription consists of 30 lines of writing, 14 of which are engraved on the first plate and 16 on the second. The weight of the two plates together with the ring bearing the seal is about 140 *tolas*.

The **characters** resemble those in the grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja, edited above. For the two types of *ś* referred to in connection with the other epigraph, see *śavda* in line 2 and *śayana* in line 4. There is close similarity between the two records also in regard to **language** and **orthography** and little calls for special remark in these respects. The **date** of the charter is quoted in the last line (line 30) as the **Śaka year 969** (written in figures only) without any other details. But the occasion of the grant is referred to as the **Māgha-saṅkrānti** in lines 11-12. The grant therefore seems to have been issued on the **22nd January in the year 1048 A.D.**[5]

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the word *svasti* and the *maṅgala* : 'May there be victory and prosperity.' But there is no stanza in adoration to any deity as in the record edited above. Then in lines 1-6 *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Vijjaladēva,** also styled *Samadhigata-āśēsha-pañcha-mahāśabda,* is represented as flourishing at **Vijayapura.** Vijjala is endowed with several other epithets, of which *Śaraṇāgata-vajra-pañjara* was imitated from the Śilāhāras, although it is found in the records of some other royal families as well. He is also described as 'the sun that opened the lotus bud which is the illustrious **Mōḍha** family'. Another of his epithets seems to refer to his success against certain adversaries called Sādhāra, Sēlla and Sahasrabāhu. They appear to have been small local chiefs ; but their identification is uncertain. In the description of Vijjala, there is a stanza in lines 6-7, saying that he was successful against his enemies even when he was the *Yuvarāja.* The same stanza is found in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records in the description of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and must have been adopted from the said source. But whom Vijjala served as *Yuvarāja* cannot be determined.

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[1] There is a metrical defect in the stanza.

[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. The word *ttrakkisa* is difficult to explain.

[3] Read °*rājasya*.

[4] There are two concentric circles between the double *daṇḍas*.

[5] See below, p. 70, note 3.

Lines 7-19 record the grant of the *siriḍirkā* (apparently a sort of tax or cess) relating to the village of **Kaṇāḍḍa-grāma** in the possession of the Kavatika-maṭhikā in favour of the house-holders Bahudhara and Kāṅkua as well as the scholars Mahādēva and Lakshmīdhara, all of them apparently attached to the *maṭhikā* of Kavatika, on the occasion of the **Māgha-saṅkrānti**. There is no doubt that *Kavatika* is a modification of *Kautuka*, the name of one of the builders of the *maṭhikā* at Saṁyāna, which is not only known from the record of Chāmuṇḍarāja, edited above, but also from the Chinchani plates of the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III and Kṛishṇa III. Lines 8-9 state that the grant was made in consultation with the ministers (*mantrin*) including *Varishṭhaka* Mummuraka and *Ṭhakkura* Ḍōmbalaiya, the first of the two being the chief minister (*sarv-ādhikāra-niyukta*). It is also stated that it was made by the chief after having worshipped the lord Mayūkha-mālin, i.e. the Sun-god. This fact coupled with the possible representation of the Sun-god on the donor's seal seems to suggest that the Mōḍhas of Saṁyāna were devotees of the said deity. The well-known stanza beginning with *chalā vibhūtiḥ* is quoted in this section. The grant was made on a permanent basis (apparently as a permanent endowment) and people were warned not to create any obstacle in the enjoyment of the gift by the donees.

Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 20-27. Another stanza in lines 27-29 prays for the continued rule of **Vijjala**, the donor of the grant. The date in the Śaka year is quoted in lines 29-30. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by Limbāditya.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, **Vijayapura** seems to have been the name of the capital of the chief Vijja or Vijjala. The name, apparently coined after that of the chief, may have been applied to a suburb of Saṁyāna. I am not sure about the location of **Kaṇāḍḍa-grāma** (same as Kāṇāḍuka ?) in the possession of the Kavatika-maṭhikā (Kutuka-maṭhikā). As stated above, the *maṭhikā* is known from other records to have been situated at Saṁyāna, modern Sanjan in the Thana District.

## TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 9 *Śālinī* ; verse 10 *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*.]

*First Plate*

1 Siddham[2] svasti [|*] jayaś=ch=ābhyū(bhyu)dayaś=cha | śrī-**Vijayapurē** samadhigat-āśēsha-paṁcha-mahā-

2 śavda(bda)[ḥ*] śrī-**Mōḍha**-kula-kamala-kalikā-vikāśa-bhāskara[ḥ*] sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-

3 paṁjara[ḥ*] ari-maṇḍalīka-raṇa-vijaya-lakshmī-svayaṁvara-dra(ra)ṅga-jalanidhi-jala-

4 śayana-pad-ākrātta(nta)-Lakshmī-vilāsa-Nārāyaṇa[ḥ*] vidyādharī[3]-urasthala-muktāphal-ā-

5 hāra-rāya[ḥ*] Sādhāra-Sēlla-Sahasravā(bā)hv-ādi-vija[4]-vijay-āṅka-mālā-virājita[ḥ*]

6 mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-śrī-**Vijjaladēvaḥ** [|*] Yuvarāj**ya-sthitēn**=ēha yēn=aiva ripavaḥ |[5]

7 kshayaṁ(yam | ) nītā hari-kisō(śō)rēṇa dvipā iva **mad-ōtkaṭāḥ**|[| 1*][6] tat-pāda-padm-ōpajī-

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[4] Read *vīra*.

[5] This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[6] This stanza is quoted from the description of Kṛishṇa III as found in the Rāshṭrakūṭa records. See above, p. 59, text lines 19-20.

8 **vi sarvv-ādhikāra-niyukta-varisṇṭhaka-śrī-Mummurakaḥ** tathā ṭhṭhakura[1]-śrī-Ḍōmva(mba)-
laiy-ā-

9 dayaḥ ētair=maṁtribhir=maṁtrayitvā | Chalā vibhūtiḥ kshaṇa-bhaṁga(gi) yauvanaṁ kritāṁ-
(tā)nta-da[ṁ*]t-ā-

10 tta(nta)ra-vartti jīvitaṁ(tam | ) tath=āpy=avajñā paralōka-sāva(dha)nē[2] ahō nṛiṇāṁ visma-
ya-kā-

11 ri chēshṭitaṁ(tam) || [2*] ētat-saṁsār-āsāratāṁ jñātvā bhagavan-Mayūkhamālinē ch=ārgha-
[ṁ*] datvā(ttvā) **Mā-**

12 **gha-saṁkrāntau** || Śatam=iṁdu-kshayē dānaṁ sahasraṁ tu dina-kshayē[3] [|*] vishuvē śata-
sāhasra[ṁ*] vya-

13 tīpātēshv=anaṁtakaṁ(kam) || [3*] śrīmat-Kavatika-maṭhikā-prabhujyamāna-**Kaṇāḍḍa-**
**grāma-**

14 **sirisirikā** śrīmat-Kavatika-maṭhikā-gṛihastha-Va(Ba)hudharaḥ tathā

*Second Plate*

15 **Kāṅkuaḥ** | tathā s[v]ādhyayaka[ḥ][4] Mahādēvaḥ tathā Lakshmīdharaḥ | ētē-

16 bhyō hast-ōdakēna pradattā ā-chaṁdr-ārka-kālaṁ yāvata(vat | ) na kēn=āpi khaśchā[5]

17 karaṇīyā | yas=tu punaḥ kāma-krōdha-lōbh-āntaritaḥ[6] pāpa-timir-āvṛita-

18 chakshuḥ asya pratighātaṁ vidhāsyati vidhīyamānaṁ ch=ānumōdayishyati sa

19 paṁcha-mahāpātakair=upapātakaiś=cha saṁyuktō bhavishyati | tathā cha Vyāsaḥ |

20 Prāsādā yatra sauvarṇṇā vasu-dhārāś=cha kāmadāḥ [|*] Gaṁdharvv-Āpsarasō yatra tatra ti-

21 shṭhati dānadaḥ || [4*] Kalpa-kōṭi-sahasrāṇi kalpa-kōṭi-śatāni cha [|*] nivasēd=Vra(d=Bra)-
hmaṇō

22 lōkē dharma-dāyaṁ karōti yaḥ |[| 5*] Dhavalāny=ātapatrāṇi dantinaś=cha mad-ōtkaṭāḥ |

23 sudhā-[dh]autāni harmyāṇi yuvatyō ratna-bhūshaṇā[ḥ] || 6*] Dharma-dāyasya pushpāṇi **phala-**

24 m=anyad=bhavishyati[7] |[| 7*] Shashṭhi(shṭi)r=vvarsha-sahasrāṇi svargē tishṭhati dānadaḥ
[|*] āchchhētā(ttā) ch=ānu-

25 maṁtā cha tāvyē(ny=ē)va narka[ṁ*] vrajēt |[| 8*] Sarvvān=etāna(tān) bhāgi(vi)naḥ pā-
rthivēṁ[d]rān **bhūyō bhū-**

26 yō pā(yā)chatē Rāmabhadraḥ [|*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanī-

27 yō bhavadbhiḥ || [9*] Yāvat=tōyam=apā[ṁ*]patēr=vvasumatī saṁtishṭhatē ch=āchalā |[8]
viṁvaṁ[9] chā[ṁ*]drama-

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[1] Read *ṭhakkura*.

[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Read *nṛiṇām=ahō*.

[3] Hēmādri (*Dānakhaṇḍa*, Banaras, p. 75) assigns the stanza to Yājñavalkya (sic. *Laghu-Śātātapa-smṛiti*, verse 150) and quotes (ibid., pp. 82-83) Vasishtha and the *Padma Purāṇa* interpreting *dinakshaya* as the day that witnesses the end of two *tithis*. If Śaka 969 is regarded as current, the Māgha-saṅkrānti day (January 22, 1047 A.D.) witnessed such a phenomenon.

[4] Read *svādhyāyikaḥ*.

[5] Read *bādhā*. The intended word may be *khashpaḥ*.

[6] Better read °*rita-matiḥ*.

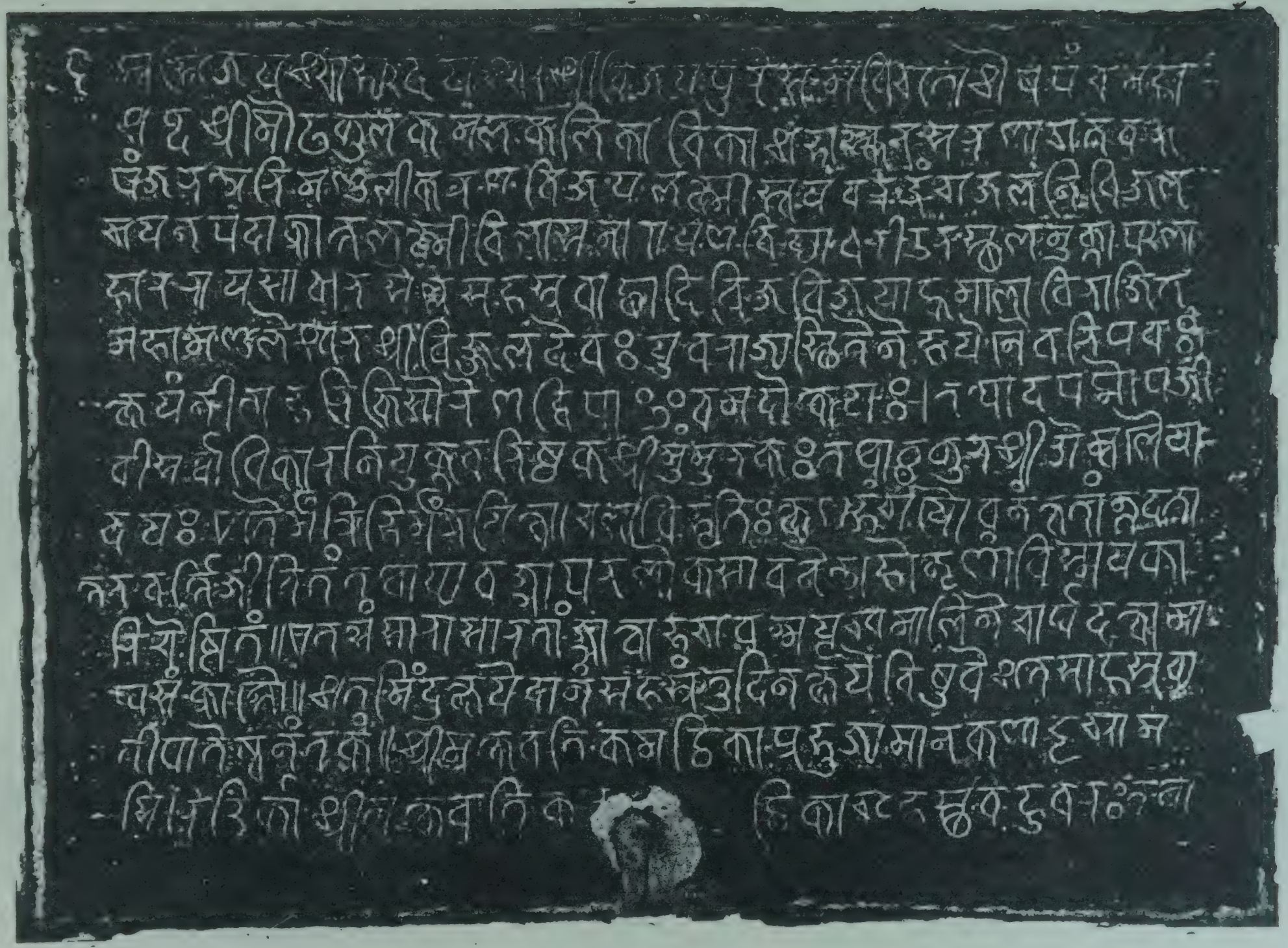
[7] This is only half of a stanza in *Anushṭubh*. The first half is sometimes quoted as *Śaṅkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ chhatraṁ var-āśvā vara-vāraṇāḥ*. The last foot of the stanza is sometimes quoted as *phalaṁ svargaḥ Purandara*.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

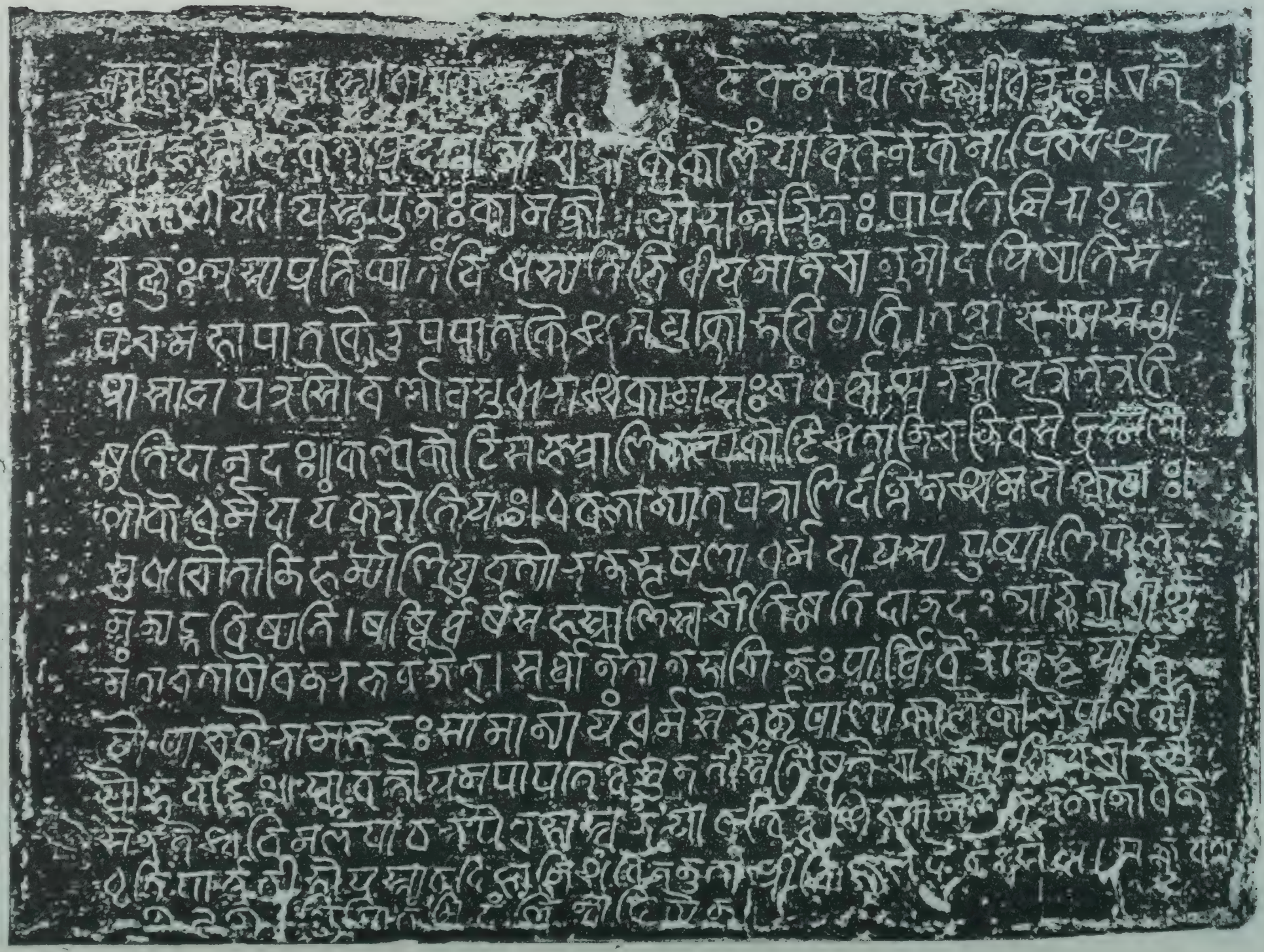
[9] Read *bimbaṁ*.

# THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE II

## 2. Grant of Vijja or Vijjala, Saka 969



Scale : Actual Size



28 sa[ṁ*] ravēś=cha vimalaṁ yāvat=tapēt(pēd) bhāsvaraṁ(ram | ) yāvatvi(t=tv=I)nd[u]śikhā-
maṇē[r=yu]va-na(ta)nau dhanē(ttē)

29 dhṛiti[ṁ*] Pārvvatī bhōya(gāṁ)s=tāvad=ih=āniśaṁ vitanutāṁ śrī-Vi[jja]ladēvaḥ[1] sadā
|[| 10*] **Sa(Śa)kmu(ka)-vatsa**[2]

30 **969** likhitam=idaṁ Limvā(mbā)dityēna ||

### 3. Grant of Vījala (Vija, Vīja or Vijja), Śaka 975

This is also a set of **two** plates, each measuring 10″ in length, 7·15″ in breadth, and ·15″ in thickness. They have writing only on the inner side. A ring bearing the **seal** of the issuer of the charter passes through a hole made in the side of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered beneath the seal. The figure on the countersunk surface of the seal is similar to that found on the seal attached to the second of the two inscriptions edited above. There are in all 50 lines of writing on the two plates, 24 of them on the first and 26 on the second. The two plates together with the ring and seal weigh 278¾ *tolas*.

In respect of **palaeography, language** and **orthography,** the inscription resembles the two other epigraphs from Chinchani edited above. Initial *i* has been written for *yi* in lines 25 and 31. The draft of the document and its engraving exhibit considerable carelessness on the part of the scribe and the engraver. The **date** of the charter is quoted in lines 27-29 as the expired **Śaka year 975** (in words only), **Vijaya, Kārttika-badi 15,** and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a **solar eclipse.** The details of the date work out correctly and it corresponds to the **13th November 1053 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the *Praṇava*. Next follow the passages : 'Salutation to Vināyaka (Gaṇēśa)', and 'May there be victory and prosperity'. The above is followed by the stanza in adoration of Gaṇanāyaka (Gaṇēśa), which is also found in the Chinchani plate of Chāmuṇḍa, edited above, and several Śilāhāra grants. Lines 3-4 introduce the chief **Vija-rāṇaka** who is described as born in the **Mōḍha** family and as having obtained the grace of the goddess Khadirāvatī, apparently the family deity of the Mōḍhas of Saṁyāna. The name of the ruler also occurs elsewhere in the inscription in lines 4, 7, 8, 48 and 49 in various forms. In lines 8 and 48 it is spelt as *Vijja*, while in lines 7 and 49 it is written respectively as *Vījala* and *Vīja*.

In the sentence referred to above (lines 3-4), Vija-rāṇaka is stated to have been *śrī-Dīmarāka-śrī-Aigala-suta*. This passage may mean to say that Vija-rāṇaka was the son of Aigala *alias* Dimarāka. But considering the carelessness of the scribe and engraver exhibited by the inscription, it is not impossible that a word like *pautra* has been omitted through oversight after the mention of Dīmarāka, so that the passage was really intended to indicate that Vija-rāṇaka was the son of Aigala and grandson of Dīmarāka. No royal title is applied to either of the two names. The next sentence in the same ruler's description in lines 4-5, which is extremely corrupt, states that he was responsible for the prosperity of the Mōḍha family even when he was a child. It is, however, interesting to note that this sentence is a modification of a stanza in the description of the Śilāhāra ruler Chhittarāja as found in the records of the Śilāhāra dynasty probably suggesting that Chhittarāja ascended the throne fairly early in his life. The same may have been the case with the Mōḍha chief who issued the charter under review. The following sentence or clause in lines 5-8 speak of **Vījaladēva** of the **Mōḍha** family, described as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Samadhigat-āśēsha-pañcha-mahāśabda, Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Tagarapura-paramēśvara*. It is really unnecessary and uncalled for in the text. But apparently it was modified from a passage in the earlier records of the Mōḍha

[1] The *akshara la* in the name is in excess of the metrical requirement.

[2] This is a contraction of the word *vatsara*.

family referring to the contemporary Śilāhāra ruler to whom the Mōḍhas then owed allegiance. This suspicion seems to be supported by the typical Śilāhāra title 'supreme lord of **Tagarapura**' applied here to Mōḍha Vījala apparently through oversight. It was over-looked by the officer responsible for the draft of the present charter that, while replacing the name of a Śilāhāra ruler by that of a Mōḍha chief in the passage in question, a title suiting only the former was left unmodified.[1]

It may be argued that Mōḍha Vījala mentioned in line 7 is different from Mōḍha Vija of line 4 and that the latter was a subordinate of the former. But I do not think it possible to agree with such a view. In the first place, *Vījala* is phonetically the same as *Vijjala* which is again a mere variant of *Vijja*. It is a popular Kannaḍa name and is generally found in the various forms *Vijjala*, *Vijjana*, *Vijjaṇa*, *Bijja*, *Bijjaṇa*, *Bijjala* and *Bijjaḷa*.[2] Secondly, the issuer of the present charter is apparently identical with the Mōḍha chief Vijjala of the Chinchani plates of Śaka 969 (1048 A.D.) edited above, in which the chief does not represent himself as a subordinate of any other ruler. Since the Śilāhāras were still a ruling power in the Northern Konkan, it is difficult to believe that the ruler of Saṁyāna, who issued the present grant, would have acknowledged allegiance to anybody other than a ruler of the Śilāhāra dynasty. There is no evidence of the emergence of a Mōḍha king in the Northern Konkan in the period in question, to whom the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna could have offered allegiance. Thirdly, we have to note the fact that, as will be shown below, the Mōḍha chief of Saṁyāna seems to have been ruling over a wider territory in 1053 A. D. than he was holding without reference to a master five years earlier in 1048 A. D. While the chief now claimed to have ruled over the Saṁyāna 700 division, the Śilāhāra king Chhittarāja, to whom the rulers of Saṁyāna originally owed allegiance, claimed to have held the Koṇkana 1400 country.[3] About 1053 A. D., the Mōḍhas were thus ruling about a half of the Northern Konkan.

Lines 8-12 state that, when *Maṇḍalīka* **Vijja-rāṇaka** was ruling over the **Saṁyāna-pattana 700** which was a *Maṇḍala* or district consisting of 4000 *draṅgas* and extending as far as Ākāśikā, the burden of the administration of his kingdom lay on the head of *Varishṭhaka* Mummuraka and that of the administration of **Saṁyāna** (apparently meaning the town which was the headquarters of the Mōḍha territory) on the head of *Mahāṭhakkura* Ḍōmbalaiya, while there were other chief officers such as the *Mahāpradhāna* Buddhappaiya. As we have already seen, the chief minister Mummuraka and the minister Ḍōmbalaiya are also mentioned in the Mōḍha chief's earlier record issued in Śaka 969 (1048 A. D.).

The chief's order in respect of the grant to be made was addressed to the following subordinates (lines 12-15) : the future princes, ministers, priests, administrative officers (*amātya*) and chief officials (*pradhāna-niyōgika*) as well as the officers in charge of the *rāshṭras* (territorial units), the cities and the *Dhruvas*, as also the people of the countryside. It was also addressed with due respect to the *haṁyamana* (Parsee community), the citizens, and the Mōḍha Brāhmaṇas of **Śrīsthāna** (i.e. modern Ṭhāṇa). The Mōḍha Brāhmaṇas mentioned here probably hailed from Śrīsthāna and were settled at Saṁyāna. Then follows in lines 16-26 a long section in prose and verse dealing with the transitoriness of life and wealth, the propriety of giving grants, etc. It is found in some Śilāhara grants[4] and, in a smaller form, not only in most of the Śilāhāra charters but also in the two records edited above. It also contains some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. Lines 26 ff. state how, on the date and occasion indicated above, the Mōḍha chief made a grant after having worshipped Trailōkyachakshus (i. e. the Sun-god) and Trailōkyasvāmin (either

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[1] For a similar case found in inscriptions, see *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, p. 213.

[2] See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 222 ff., 468, 470.

[3] Cf. *Purī-pramukha-chaturdaśa-grāma-śatī-samanvitāṁ samasta-Kōnkaṇa-bhuvaṁ samanuśāsati* (e.g. in *ZDMG*, Band 90, p. 282, line 31).

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXV, pp. 59 f. (lines 44 ff.)

Śiva or Vishṇu). The language of the passage recording the grant, which follows in lines 30 ff., is defective ; but it apparently means to say that the amount of three *drammas* received by the government as *śiriḍikā* (the same as *siriḍirkā* of the previous record, meaning a sort of tax or cess) on account of the village of **Kēṇasā-grāma** in the possession of the Kautuka-maṭhikā was granted in favour of the householders and scholars attached to the *maṭhikā* in the form of a permanent endowment for the purpose of feeding 25 Brāhmaṇas probably per day. It will be seen that Kautuka's *maṭhikā* at Saṁyāna is mentioned in all the five grants discovered at Chinchani, including the three edited here, although, in the second of the three epigraphs now under study, the name Kautuka is spelt as *Kavatika*. The endowment has been called a *bhōjan-ākshayaṇī* or *bhōjan-ākshayanī*, the word *akshayaṇī* or *akshayanī* being a corruption of Sanskrit *akshaya-nīvī* meaning 'a permanent endowment'. The expression thus means a permanent endowment created for the purpose of providing food free of cost. In line 42, the endowment is referred to merely as *bhōjana* and in line 46 as *grāsa*.

The following section in lines 33-47 in prose and verse contains some more of the benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. Lines 47-48 contain the statement that the donor's decree was contained in the text of the document as written by one of his officers styled *Dhruva* (i. e. the collector of the royal share of the produce from the farmers). This is followed in lines 48-49 by the sentence : 'Confirmed by me, the *Maṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious **Vijja-rāṇaka'**, in the well-known style of putting the signature of the donor on a document later engraved on copper plates. The next sentence says that *Dhruva* Mammalaiya wrote the document at the request of both the parties (i.e. the donor and the donees) under orders of *Maṇḍalēśvara* **Vīja-rāṇaka**. It is further stated in line 50 that the text of the charter was to be regarded as authoritative. The record ends with a *maṅgala* of the usual type.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the charter, the most interesting is the **Saṁyāna-pattana 700** forming a *maṇḍala* consisting of 4000 *draṅgas*. It was apparently the district round the town of Saṁyāna (Sanjan). But it is difficult to explain the passage used in the inscription to indicate the territorial unit. We know that expressions like 'Saṁyāna-pattana 700' normally meant 'the Saṁyāna-pattana division consisting of 700 villages or hamlets' although the number may have been conventional or exaggerated.[1] But the word *draṅga* generally means 'a town' and it is impossible to believe that a territorial division consisting only of 700 villages or hamlets contained as many as 4000 towns. It therefore seems that *draṅga* in the inscription is a mistake for *dramma*. The intended meaning of the passage in question may therefore be that the annual revenue income of the territory under the rule of the Mōḍha chief of the Saṁyāna district consisting of 700 villages or hamlets was 4000 *drammas* possibly meaning coins of silver. A locality called **Ākāśikā** is stated to have stood on the borders of the said district. The donor seems to have made a permanent endowment out of the *śiriḍikā* tax or cess amounting to 3 *drammas*, probably payable annually or periodically to the government by the Kautuka-maṭhikā at Saṁyāna on account of a village called **Kēṇasā-grāma** in its possession. I am not sure about the location of this village.

## TEXT[2]

Metres : verses 1, 3-9, 12-16 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 10 *Pushpitāgrā*, verse 11 *Śālinī*.]

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[1] See *JBRS*, Vol. XL, part i, pp. 9 ff.

[2] From impressions.

*First Plate*

1 Siddham[1] Ōṁ Vināyak[ā]ya [nama]ḥ | jayaśchī(ś=ch=ā)bhyudaya aś=cha | **Labhatē** sarvva-kāryēshu

2 pūjayā gaṇanā yakaḥ [|*] vighna[ṁ*] nighnāṁ(ghnan) sa vaḥ pāyād=apāda[2] Gaṇanāya-

3 kaḥ ||[| 1*] śrī-**Mōḍh-ānvaya**-prasūta-śrī-Khadirāvatī-lavdha(bdha)-prasāda-śrī-Dī-

4 marāka[3]-śrī-Aigaladēva-sutō(taḥ) śrī-**Vija[4]-rāṇakō** nṛipatirvva(r=bba)bhūva [|*] śrī-**Mōḍh-ānvaya-**

5 p[r]asūta-vaṁśē śasināpiṁ=unnatim=unnatēna[5] [|*] atha svakīya-puṇy-ōdayāt=samadhi-

6 gat[ā]śēsha-paṁchamahāśavda(bda)-mahāsāmantāvi(dhi)pati-**Tagarapura-**paramēsva-(śva)-

7 ra-śrī-**Mōḍh-ānvaya**-prasūta-mahāmaṁḍalēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Vījaladēva**[ḥ*] pratipālasa-(ya)ti[6] [|*]

8 Maṇḍalīka-śrī-**Vijja-rāṇaka(kē)** nija-bhūj-ōpārjjit-ābhinava-rājyē chatuḥ-sahasra-

9 draṁga[7]-maṁḍalaṁ **Saṁyāma(na)-pattana**-sapta-sa(śa)taṁ(tam) **Ākāśikā**-paryantam=anusā(śā)sati ēta-

10 dīya-rākā(jya)-samasta-chintā-bhāra[ṁ*] samudvahati varishṭhaka-śrī-Mummurakaḥ tathā **Saṁ[y]ā-**

11 **nīya-**chintām=udvahati mahāddhākura[8]-Ḍōmva(mba)laiyaḥ viśēshēṇa samasta-**rājya-**dhana-

12 śarīra-hita-kāriṇō mahāpradhāna-śrī-Vu(Bu)ddhappaiyaḥ[9] sarvānyē(n=ē)va sva-

13 saṁmva(ba)dhyamānakānu(kān) sāmāgāmī(mi)-rājaputra-maṁtri-uparōhita-a[10]mātya-pradhā-

14 na-niyōgikāṁcha (ś=cha) rāshṭ[r*]apati-ma(na)[ga]rapati-dhruvapati-janapadān haṁya-mana-

15 paura-**Śrīsthāna**-Mōḍhavrā(brā)hmaṇa-prabhṛiti(tīn) sa-praṇati-pūjā-samādēśai[ḥ*] sa[ṁ]diśaty=astu vaḥ[11]

16 Chalā vibhūtiḥ kshaṇa-bhaṁga(gi) yauvanaṁ tva(kṛi)tānta-dant-āntara-vartti jīvitaṁ-( tam | ) tath=āpy=ava-

17 jñā paralōka-s[ā]dhanē nṛiṇām=ahō vismaya-kāri chēshṭitaṁ(tam || 2) tath=āntar-llīna-jarā-

18 rākshasī-prāravdha(bdha)-grāsaṁ yauvan-ādikaṁ svarggē vāsānuraktapātasamish-ṭasama-

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[1] Expressed by symbol.

[2] Read °*apāyād*. The letter *da* had been at first omitted and was later incised beneath *ga*.

[3] It is not impossible that the word *pautra* has been omitted here through oversight either by the scribe or by the engraver.

[4] The name is spelt *Vijja* in lines 8 and 48, *Vīja* in line 49 and *Vījala* in line 7.

[5] Read °*tēna vaṁśō nītaḥ śiśun=āpi tēna parām=unnatim=unnatēna*. This is really taken out from a stanza in the description of Śilāhāra Chhittarāja of the Northern Konkan. Cf. *Tad-bhrātṛijō Vajjaḍadēva-sūnuḥ śrī-Chhittarājō nṛipatir=babhūva | Śīlāra-vaṁśaḥ śiśun=āpi tēna nītaḥ parām=unnatim=unnatēna* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277, text lines 14-15 ; Vol. IX, p. 34, text lines 38-39 ; *JBBRAS*, Vol. XXI, p. 508 ; above, Vol. XXV, p.58, lines 26-27 ; etc.).

[6] We may add the expression *Saṁyāna-maṇḍalam* here.

[7] The intended reading may be *dramma*. It is difficult to say whether *nija.....maṇḍalam* contains a genuine claim or not. See *IHQ*, Vol. XX, p. 78.

[8] Read *mahā-ṭhakkura*.

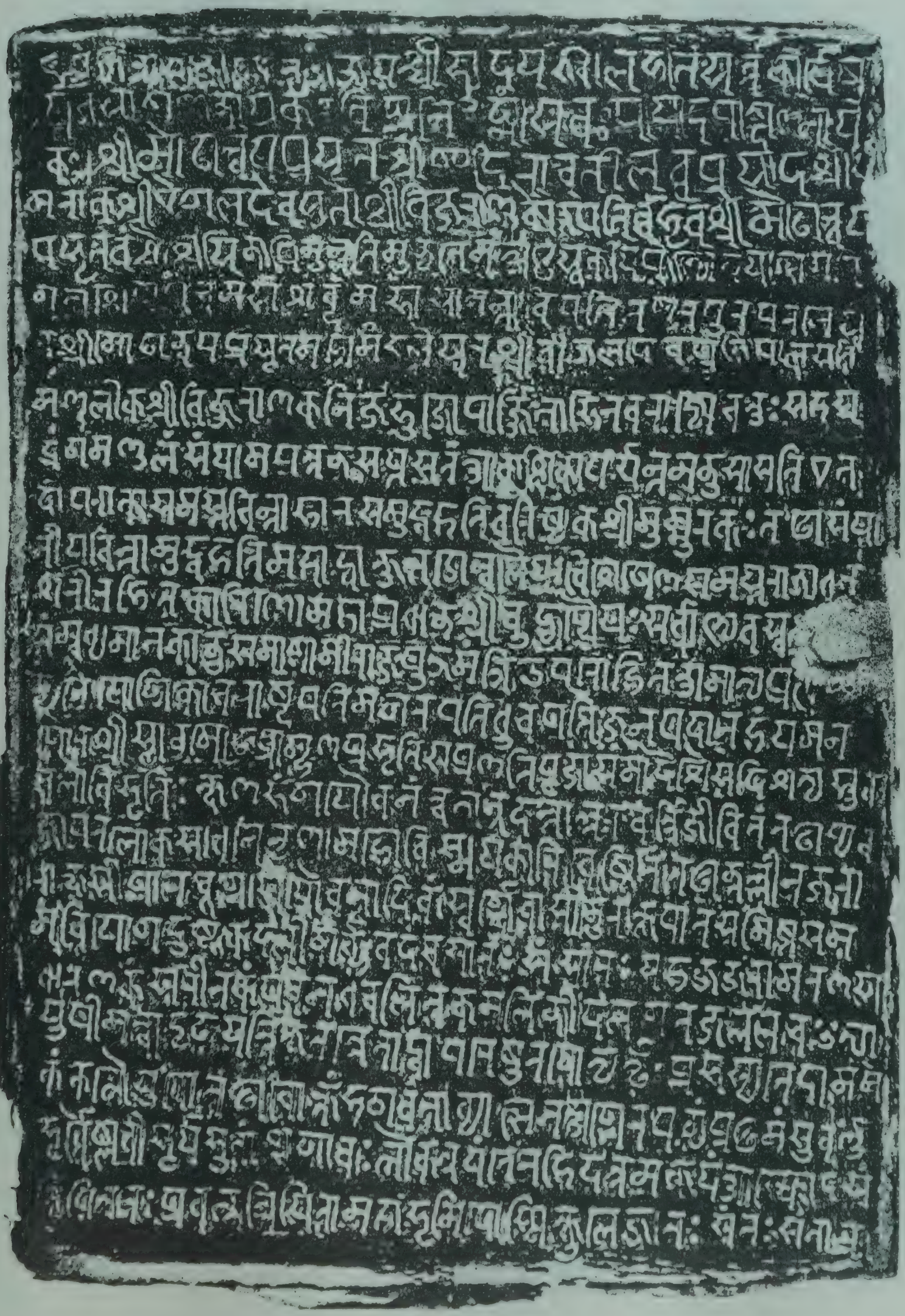
[9] Read °*ppaiy-ādayaḥ*. The words *sa ēva* may be added after this.

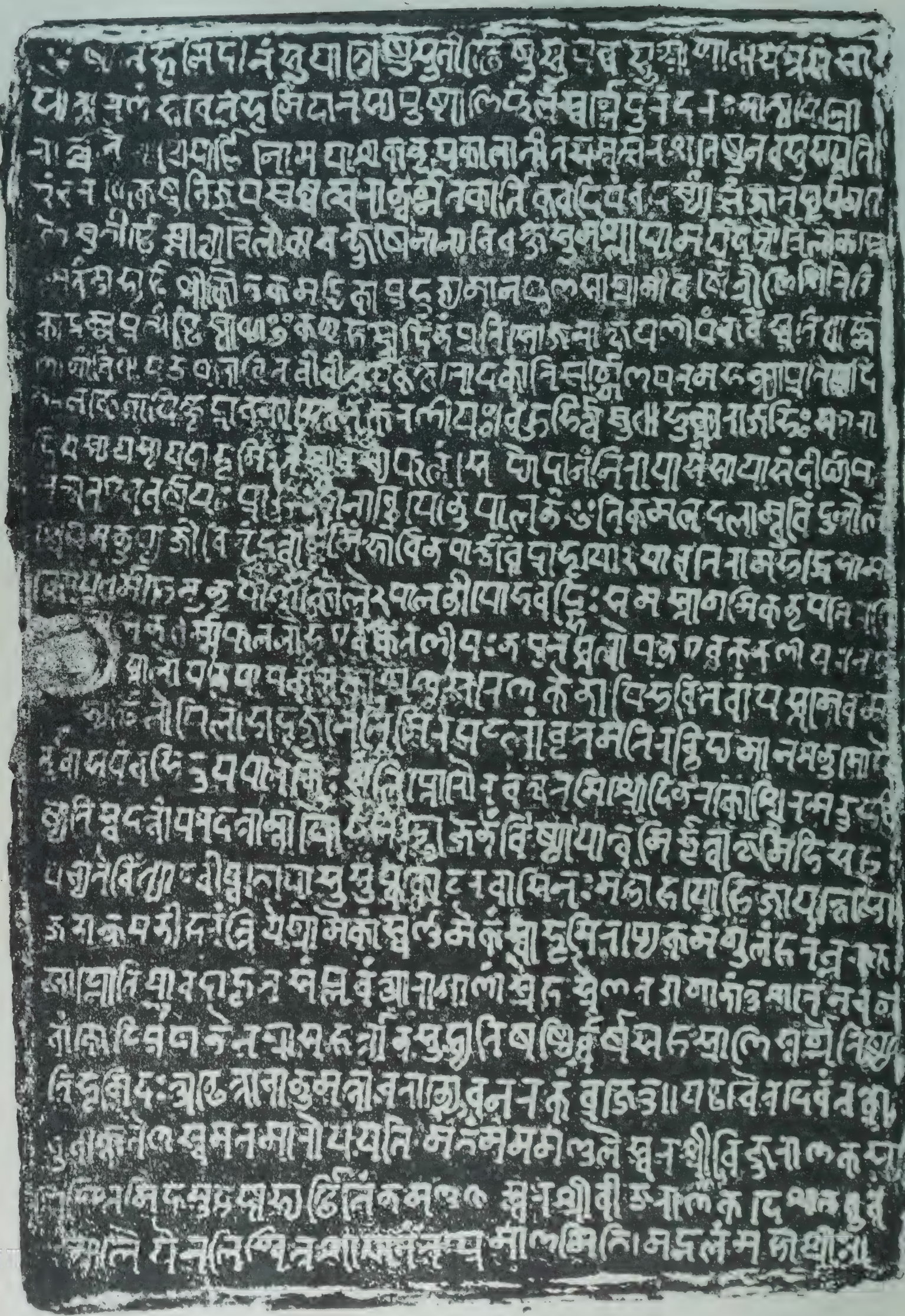
[10] Read *purōhit-ā°*. The intended reading may be *uparika-purō°*.

[11] The words *saṁvidituṁ yathā* are omitted here through oversight.

THREE GRANTS FROM CHINCHANI—PLATE III

3. Grant of Vijala





19 maviyōgadushṭa[1] kadalī-garvbha-vadachasāraḥ[2] saṁsāraḥ sahaja-jarā-maraṇa-sā-

20 dhāraṇakaṁ sa(śa)rīrakaṁ pavana-dhavaliīa[3]-kamalinī-dala-gata-jala-lava ity=ā-

21 yushī[4] matvā dṛiḍhayaṁnti[5] Kṛita-Trētā-Dvāparēshu tapō=tyarthaṁ prasa(śa)syatē [|*][6] dānam=ē-

22 kaṁ Kalau yugē |[| 3*] tathā ch=ōktaṁ bhagavatā Vyāsēna [|*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ

23 bhūr=vvaishṇavī Sūrya-sūtāṁ(tā)ś=cha gāvaḥ |[7] lōka-trayaṁ tēna hi dattam=aka-(ksha)yaṁ(yam || 4)[8] Āsphōṭa[ya] ṁ-

24 ti pitaraḥ pravalganti pitāmahāḥ [|*] bhūmidō=smin=kulē jātaḥ [sa] naḥ saṁtāra-

*Second Plate.*

25 i(yi)shyati [|| 5*] Bhūmi-dānaṁ su-pā[tr]ēshu su-tīrthēshu su-parvvasu [|*] agādhā yatra saṁsā

26 syattaraṇaṁ bhavēt[9] [|| 6*] Bhūmi-dānasya pushpāṇi phalaṁ svarggē Puraṁdaraḥ (ra || 7*)[10] mātā-pitrō-

27 r=ā[tva]ni[11][ś=cha] śrēyā(yō)-rthinō(nā) mayā **Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-samva(saṁva)-tsara-śatēshu navasu saptati-**

28 **paṁcharadhikēshu[12] Vijaya-samva(saṁva)tsar-ānva(nta)rggata-Kārti(tti)ka-vadi-paṁchada[ś]yāṁ saṁjāta-sūrya-graha-**

29 **ṇē** su-tīrthē snātvā Trailōk[y]achakshushē nānāvidha-kusuma-ślāghyam=argham datvā-(ttvā) Trailōkyastā(svā)-

30 minaṁ(nam) abhyartha(rchya) śrī-Kautuka-ma[ṭhi]kā-prabhujyamāna-**Kēṇasā-grāmī** varshē trīṇi śiriḍi-

31 kā-dramma-pratīthē[13] svādhyāï(yi)ka-gṛihasthadinaṁ[14] prati [bhō]jan-ākshayaṇī[15] paṁchaviṁsva(śa)ti-Vvā(Brā)hma-

32 ṇānāṁ vidhāya uparōvi(pi)ta-vī(nī)vī-[va(ba)ndha]kaṁ kṛit-ōdak-āti-sarggēṇa parama-bhaktyā pratipādi-

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[1] Read *svarga-vāsān=naraka-pāta-samam=ishṭa-samāgama-viyōga-duḥkham* (C. P. No. 24 of 19 56-57 ; cf. above. Vol. XXV, p. 59,text lines 46-47).

[2] Read °*garbha-vad=asāraḥ* or °*vach=ch=āsāraḥ*.

[3] Read *prachālita*.

[4] Read °*lava-vad=āyur=iti*.

[5] Read *muni-vachanāni dṛiḍhayanti dāna-phalam=ity=avadhārya*.

[6] The passage *munayō=tra praśaṁsanti* has been omitted here through oversight.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is wrongly placed between *va* and the *visarga*.

[8] The second half of the stanza should have been : *lōka-trayaṁ tēna bhavēd=dhi dattaṁ yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāṁ=cha mahīṁ=cha dadyāt*.

[9] Read *agādh-āpāra-saṁsāra-sāgar-ōttāraṇaṁ bhavēt* (cf. above, Vol. XXV, p. 60, text lines 53-54).

[10] This is only half of a stanza in *Anushṭubh*. The first half is sometimes quoted as *dhavalāny=ātapatrāṇi dantinaś=cha mad-ōddhatāḥ* (cf. loc. cit., text line 54).

[11] Read *ātmana*°.

[12] Read *paṁchasaptaty-adhi*°.

[13] The language is defective here. But the idea seems to be °*grāma-sambaddhēna prati-varsha-dātavya-tri-dramma-mātra-śiriḍik-ākhya-pratyāyēna kṛitāṁ*.

[14] Read *gṛihasth-ādīn*.

[15] Read °*ākshaya-nīvīṁ*.

33 taḥ(tā) [|*] na kēn=āpi kshūdrādakāstrēna[1] karaṇīyaḥ | Bahubhir=[v]vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ā-

34 di[bhiḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ(mis=)tasya tasya [tadā*] phalaṁ|(lam || 8) Sadyō-dānaṁ nir-āyāsaṁ s-āyāsaṁ dīrgha-pāla-

35 naṁ(nam | ) ata ēv=avarshayaḥ[2] prāhu[r=dā]nāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam || 9) Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-viṁdu-lōl[ā]ṁ

36 śriyaṁ=anu[chintya manu*]shya-jīvitaṁ [cha || 10*][3] Datvā(ttvā) bhūmiṁ bhāvina-[ḥ*] pārtha(rthi)vēṁdrā[n*] bhūyō 2[4] yāchatē Rāmabhadrē(draḥ | ) sāmā-

37 nyō=yaṁ dharma-hē(sē)tu[r*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē 2[5] pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [ || 11*] samast-āga(gā)mika-nṛipati[bhi*]r=adhi(pi)-

38 pālana-dharmma-phala-lōbha eva kata(ra)ṇīyaḥ [6]na punasta lōpana ēva karaṇīyaḥ | na pu-

39 nastā(s=tal)-lōpana-pāpa-kalaṁk-āgrēṇa[sa]rēṇa[7] kēn=āpi bhavitavyaṁ yas=tam=ēvam[8]=a-

40 bhyartthitō=pi lōbhād=ajñāna-timira-paṭalāṁ(l-ā)vṛita-matira[9]chchidyamānam=anumōdē-

41 tu(ta) vā sa paṁchabhir=u[10]papātakaiḥ sa[ṁ]liptō Raurava(v-Ā)[ndha]ta(tā)miśrō(sr-ā)di-narakō(kāṁ)ś=chiram=anubha[vi]-

42 shyati [|*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāmvā(ttāṁ vā) yō [harē]d=bhōjanaṁ[11] [|*] [sa*] vish-ṭhāyāṁ tva(kṛi)mir=bhūtvā kṛimibhi[ḥ*] saha

43 pachyatē [ || 12*] Viṁdhy-āṭavīshv=a-tōyāsu supka-[12]kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*] mah-āhayō hi jāyantē [bhō]-

44 jan-ākshayanī haraṁ(ra)nti yē[13] [ || 13*] Grā(Gā)m=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkaṁ mvā(vā) bhūmi(mē)r=apy=ēkam=aṁgulaṁ(lam | ) haraṁ(ra)n=naraka-

45 m=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam || 14) Ārāmāṇāṁ srē(sa)hasrēṇa taḍāgānāṁ tu[14] śatēna cha [|*] ga-

46 vāṁ kōṭi-pradānēna grāsa-harttā na su(śu)ddhyati [ || 15*] Sha[sh]ṭhi(shṭi)r=vva-rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭha-

47 ti bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakaṁ vrajētu(jēt) || [16*] yatha(thā) ch=aitad=ēvaṁ tathā

48 dhruv-āksharēṇa sva-matam=ārōpayati [|*] mataṁ mama maṇḍalēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Vijja-rāṇakasya** [|*]

49 likhitam=idam=uha(bha)y-ābhyarthitēṁ(tē)na maṇḍatē(lē)sva(śva)ra-śrī-**Vija**[15]**-rāṇaka-**(k-ā)dēśāta(śāt) dhruva-

50 Mamvā(mbā)laiyēna [|*] likhita-śāsanaṁ tat=pramāṇam=iti | maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || 

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[1] Read *kshudrō=pi vyāghātaḥ*.

[2] Read *ēv=arshayaḥ*.

[3] This is only half of a stanza in *Pushpitāgrā*. The second half is generally quoted as *sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha buddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ*.

[4] I.e. *bhūyō bhūyō*.

[5] I.e. *kālē kālē*.

[6] The following 13 letters (from *na* to *karaṇīyaḥ* |) are redundant.

[7] Read °*āgrēsarēṇa*.

[8] In this context, we have often *yas=tv=ēvam*°.

[9] Read °*r=āchchhindyād=ā*°.

[10] Read °*r=mahāpātakair=u*°.

[11] Read *harēd=bhōjana-nīvikāṁ*.

[12] Read *śushka*.

[13] Better read *bhōjan-ākshaya-nīvihāḥ* for the sake of the metre.

[14] Omit this syllable for the sake of the metre.

[15] As already indicated above, the name is spelt as *Vija* in line 4 and as *Vijja* in lines 8 nd 48, while it is spelt as *Vijala* in line 7.

# No. 6—GOLD COINS OF DANDINAGOVA

*(1 Plate)*

P. B. Desai, Dharwar

In November 1956 plaster casts of ten gold coins were received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. These coins with two more, according to the information furnished, were sent to the said Museum by the Mamalatdar of **Ramdurg**, Belgaum District, Mysore State. The details regarding the discovery of the coins as communicated by the Numismatist of the said Museum in his letter, dated the 24th January 1957, are as follows:

> "The coins were found on the 16th June 1950 by one Shri Namadevappa Ningappa Badiger in a field belonging to Shri Shankarappa Devarayappa Badiger in the village of **Mudakavi**, six miles from Ramdurg, about a furlong from the Ramdurg-Badami Road. It is said that the man, while going through the field, noticed a small earthern pot lying there. On breaking it, he recovered the 12 gold coins which were later deposited at the Ramdurg Police Station."

These ten coins which are circular in shape bear close resemblance to one another in their mould and design. Their diameter is about 1·5 centimeter on average. Their weights ignoring slight variations are stated to be as follows: Nos. 1-2—60 grains; Nos. 3-8—59·75 grains; No. 9—60·25 grains and No. 10—59 grains.

On the **obverse** of the coins is depicted under decorations the figure of a warrior facing right, going for a fight. He wears a helmet and armour, holding in the right hand a long dagger pointing to the front and a hawk in the left hand which is bent and turned upwards. Figures of the sun and crescent moon are shown to the right and left of the warrior's head. This figure apparently represents the issuer of the coins, whose identity is discussed below. The **reverse** bears the **legend** in Kannaḍa characters of the 12th century, inscribed within two circles, the outer one of which is dotted. The coins appear to have been struck from more than one die. On account of the difference in the arrangement of the letters in the legend, it is clear that at least two different dies were used for the two legends. The readings of the legend on the two types are as follows:

| | I | | II |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Nigaḷaṁ-* | | *Śrī-Niga-* |
| 2 | *kamala-Daṁḍi-* | | *ḷa[ṁ]kamala-Da[ṁ]-* |
| 3 | *nagōva* | 3 | *ḍinagō[va*]* |

The above legend is a combination of two titles *Nigaḷaṅkamalla* and *Daṇḍinagōva*. Both these titles are familiar to the students of Kannaḍa epigraphy as having been enjoyed by different rulers of various dates. But, for the identification of the particular chief who issued these coins under his titles only, interesting information is available from an inscription of the area.

This inscription[1] comes from Torgal in the Ramdurg Taluk. It is dated 1187-88 A.D. and describes the achievements of a local chief by name **Barma-bhūpāla** who was administering the areas round about Toragale (modern Torgal) which was his capital. By virtue of his valour,

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 95 ff.

# GOLD COINS OF DANDINAGOVA




Scale : Actual Size

this chief earned the distinctive title *Daṇḍinagōva* meaning 'the protector of the army like the Cowherd God'. He is also referred to in the record by another title *Nigaḷaṅka* which is an abbreviation of *Nigaḷaṅkamalla* meaning 'a warrior adorned with the chain of distinction'. The inscription further relates that this Barma-bhūpāla proceeded at the behest of his overlord and suzerain on a conquering expedition along the four quarters and acquired the tracts of Lōkāpura-Twelve, Hoḷalgunda-Thirty, Doḍḍavāḍa, Navilgunda-Forty and Koḷenūru-Thirty, all of which came under his direct rule. The areas mentioned above as being governed by Barma-bhūpāla embrace parts of the present Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar Districts.

An examination of the above details together with the provenance of the coins leads us to the conclusion that it was this Barma-bhūpāla who issued them under his distinguished title *Daṇḍinagōva*. The period in which Barma-bhūpāla lived was characterised by a state of uncertainty caused by the decline of imperial power, both the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and their adversaries of the Kalachuri dynasty having virtually vanished from the political arena, making way for enterprising leaders like Bhillama of the Yāḍava family. It was under these circumstances that Barma-bhūpāla appears to have made a bold bid for territorial expansion and power and issued coins as an independent king.

As for the remaining two coins of the group, they appear to be what are known as *Padma Ṭaṅkas*, generally associated with the rulers of the Kadamba family. One of them (No. 11) is identical with the coin published in Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, Plate II, No. 67. The other coin (No. 12) is of a similar pattern, though not identical in all respects.

I am indebted to Shri Parameswari Lal Gupta, Numismatist, Prince of Wales Museum, who was kind enough to give me an opportunity for studying these interesting coins.[1]

[1] Coin No. 2 could not be illustrated.

## No. 7—SACRIFICIAL INSCRIPTION FROM SONDA

*(1 Plate)*

P. B. Desai, Dharwar

This inscription was copied by me at Honnehaḷḷi, near **Sōndā,** in January 1940, in the course of an epigraphical survey of the Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara District, formerly in the Bombay State, but now in Mysore. The slab bearing the epigraph was set up near the Narasiṁha-shrine inside the Svarṇavalli *maṭha*.[1] The record[2] is edited here for the first time with the help of impressions taken under my supervision.

The slab measures 31 inches long and 28 inches broad. Its upper part is shaped into a broad curve. In the space at the top above the inscription proper are cut in relief the figures of the sun and the crescent. Above, below and to the right of these symbols are engraved the two invocations in Kannaḍa characters, *Viśvēśvarō jayati* and *śrī-Nṛisiṁhō jayati*, and another in the Nāgarī script referring to a third deity.[3] About the middle of the slab are carved in relief **four figures** which are eminently conspicuous. The main figure at the centre is elongated and made up of four curves. The one to its north is almost a square ; another towards the east is a semi-circle and the third one to the south is a circle. The significance of these figures will be pointed out below.

The inscription is engraved in the Kannaḍa **alphabet** and **language.** The characters are late being normal for the date of the record. Noteworthy is the form of initial *ā* (line 12), its length being denoted by a sign attached to it and looking like the medial *ā* mark. In some cases a superfluous curve is appended to the lower limb of *t* giving the impression that it is doubled ; cf. ***sarasvatī*** in line 3 and *pratipāḷisi* in line 6. The doubling of the letter *ḷ* in *haḷḷi* in line 3 and *beḷḷi* in line 9 is denoted by a curve affixed to its lower part In line 8 the word *śrauti* is misspelt as *śraüti*.

The epigraph commences with the **date** which is given as **Śālivāhana-Śaka 1595, Pramādi, Māgha-śu. 4, Saturday.** This date regularly corresponds to the 31st January 1674 A.D. It is stated that at this time Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyaka, the chief of Sōde, was ruling the principality. The **object** of the epigraph is to commemorate the completion of a sacrifice which was caused to be performed by Sarvajña-sarasvatī, a pontiff of Honnehaḷḷi, for the prosperity of the above chief. The ritual was conducted by *Agnihōtrin* Kēśava-bhaṭṭa of Kaḍatōke under the guidance of *Śrauti* Viśvapati-bhaṭṭa who was specially invited for the occasion from the holy city of Kāśī. The performance lasted for five days and was completed on Wednesday, the 8th of the bright half of the above month. The passage at the end of the inscription indicates that the stone bearing the record was set up to mark the sacred site where the sacrificial ceremony actually took place. From the duration of the sacrifice it appears to have been a Sōma-yāga.[4]

An interesting part of the epigraph is the representation, on the commemorative tablet itself, of the **sacrificial spot,** which, as described above, consists of four figures. The central elongated figure stands for the *Vēdi* or the raised seat intended for the performer. The adjoining three figures to the south, east and north respectively depict the three pits wherein the three sacred fires, known as Gārhapatya, Daskhiṇa and Āhavanīya, are kept burning throughout the performance.[5] The tablet thus presents **a unique instance of sacrificial memorial.**[6]

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[1] This *maṭha* belongs to the pontiffs of the Havyaka or Havik community of Brāhmaṇas largely residing in the area.

[2] B. K. Coll., No. 15 of 1939-40.

[3] [See below, p. 81, note 2.—Ed.]

[4] Cf. A. Chinnaswami Sastri's *Yajñatattvaprakāśa,* ed. A. M. Ramanatha Dikshita, for illustrations of the sacrificial fire-pits.

The chief Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyaka of Sōde who was instrumental for the sacrificial performance is not known from other sources. The principality of Sōde, more familiarly known as Svādi,[1] played a significant role in the later period of Karnāṭak history and an authentic account of its Nāyaka rulers remains to be worked out in detail with the help of epigraphical, literary and archaeological sources.

In this context it would be worthwhile to review briefly the contents of a few epigraphs bearing on the Nāyaka chiefs of Sōndā, copied by me while conducting an epigraphical survey of the Sirsi Taluk. An inscription[2] in the Sōndā fort called Hosakōṭe belongs to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II and is dated 1432 A.D. It introduces his subordinate *Mahāprabhu* Arasappa of Sōvade, who was the son of Saṁkaṇṇa. This is the earliest epigraph mentioning the Sōndā chiefs so far known. This Arasappa appears to be the first ruler of the name who founded the principality and his father's name is disclosed here for the first time.

Arasappa-nāyaka I, it appears, continued to rule during the subsequent reigns of the Vijayanagara kings. For instance, a record[3] from Hulekal belonging to the reign of Virūpāksha and citing the cyclic year Hēviḷambi (1478 A.D.) introduces Arasappa-nāyaka of Sōde, and another from Chaḷgār,[4] dated 1478 A.D., refers to a ruler of Sōde having the same name.

Arasappa-nāyaka II was the next distinguished chief who is said to have ruled from 1555 to 1598 A.D.[5] As the gap between Arasappa-nāyaka I and Arasappa-nāyaka II is fairly big, we have to assume that another chief whose name is not known to us ruled in the interval.

We have five records for Arasappa-nāyaka II. The earliest from Honnehaḷḷi,[6] dated 1556 A.D., speaks of Arasappa-nāyaka as ruling at Sōmadāpurī. The next one[7] is dated 1569 A.D. in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva. The information furnished by this epigraph is that this chief claimed his descent from the solar lineage and had a daughter named Arasamma. The third epigraph,[8] which apparently has to be assigned to this chief, belongs to the reign of the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭapati and cites the date 1593 A.D. The fourth record[9] from Hulekal referring to the death of a warrior in the service of Arasappa-nāyaka gives the date, Durmukha, Vaiśākha-paurṇimā, Sunday, corresponding to May 2, 1596 A.D. The last epigraph from Karasvaḷḷi[10] is dated in 1602 A.D. and extends the rule of this chief by four years. Two more inscriptions on hero-stones, one at Hulekal and another at Pañchaliṅga,[11] the dates of which cannot be determined with precision, may also be assigned to this ruler.

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[1] Sōde has become Sōndā under the influence of English. For the variants of this name and importance of the place, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p.292. In an inscription from Guttal, Haveri Taluk (B.K. Coll., No.51 of 1932-33), dated 1162-63 A.D., mention is made of a *Vaḍḍabyavahāri* (i.e. merchant-chief) described as an ornament of the Sōnde family. This appears to be the earliest reference to Sōndā so far known. [See below, p. 81, note 2.—Ed.]

[2] B. K. Coll., No. 71 of 1939-40.

[3] Ibid., No. 24.

[4] Ibid., No. 10.

[5] *North Kanara Gazetteer*, Part II, p. 120.

[6] B. K. Coll., op. cit., No. 16.

[7] Ibid., No. 76.

[8] Ibid., No. 75.

[9] Ibid., No. 28.

[10] Ibid , No. 46.

[11] Ibid., Nos. 32 and 59.

SACRIFICIAL INSCRIPTION FROM SONDA



Scale : One-Third

TEXT[11]

1 Svasti [|*] Śrī-jay-ābhyudaya Śālivāhana-**Śaka-varsha**
2 **1595** neya Pramādi-nāma-saṁvatsarada Māgha-śu
3 4 Sthiravārada[1]llū śrī-Hoṁn[e]haḷḷiya Sarvajña-sarasvatī-
4 śrīpādaṁgaḷū śrī-maṁgaḷa-mahāprabhu **Sō-**
5 **de Savāyi Rāmachandra-nāyakarū** sukha-saṁkathā-vi-
6 nōdadiṁ rāja(jya)vanu pratipālisikoṁ[ḍu] baruttirahalli
7 avara appaṇeyalli arasugaḷa abhyudayā-
8 rthavāgi Kāśīkshētradiṁda Śraüti Viśvapa-
9 ti-bhaṭṭaranu karasi Kaḍatōkeya Beḷḷi Śaṁ-
10 bhudēvaru-bhaṭṭara maga Agnihōtri Kēśava-
11 bhaṭṭara kayyallu Arasagaḷanū karasikoṁḍu
12 **yajñavanū** āraṁbhava māḍisi ā-śu 8 Budha-
13 vārā parisamāptiyiṁda yajñava māḍisidaru [|*]
14 **Agnihōtrada maṁṭapa-vēdi** [|*][3]

[1]From impressions.

[2] This *da* which was omitted first is inserted slightly above the line between *ra* and *llū*. Read °*dalu*.

[3] [The Nāgarī passage reads *Śrī-Dhuṁḍhir=jayati*....—The language of lines 3-6 seems to suggest that Sarvajña-Sarasvatī and Rāmachandra were ruling together and that the sacrifice was performed under their orders.—The name of the sacrifice performed is not mentioned; but the *ṛitu* indicated does not seem to suit a Sōmayāga. The last sentence speaks of the *vēdi* (sacrificial altar) in the *maṇḍapa* for the celebration of *Agnihōtra* (a daily sacrifice), with reference to its representation on the stone.—The name Sōndā is not due to English influence since it is called Sōnde and Sōmadā respectively in B. K. No. 51 (Śaka 1084) of 1232-33 and No. 16 (1556 A. D.) of 1939-40. See also Sōnda in *SII*, Vol. IX, part. I, No. 339 (Śaka 1145), line 20.—Ed.]

## No. 8—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUR DISTRICT

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

It is now nearly a decade and a half that Mr. P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur, who is an energetic student of the antiquities of the Guntur District of the Āndhra State, published the tentative transcripts of two interesting early epigraphs in the now-defunct periodical entitled *Journal of Āndhra History and Culture*.[1] The first of these two stone pillar inscriptions was found at **Velpūru**[2] in the Sattenapalle Taluk and Mr. Sastri's short note on it was published in the said journal, Vol. I, No. 2 (July 1943), p. 64, with a small facsimile. He published his short note on the second epigraph, stated to have been found 'at some distance from Reṇṭachintala in the Palnad Taluk', in the same journal, Vol. II, No. 2 (July 1944), pp. 68-69, without any facsimile. On reading Mr. Sastri's notes, I, as one interested in the early history of the area in question, felt that the inscriptions should be properly edited with good illustrations. In January 1957, when I was camping for a few days at Guntur, Mr. Sastri showed me a few estampages of both the records and requested me to edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. This roused in me a special interest in the inscriptions. I visited Velpūru where I examined the original stone bearing the first of the two records and prepared fresh impressions of it. The pillar was found lying in front of the temple of the god Rāmaliṅgeśvara, although it is stated to have been formerly built into the shrine of the village goddess by the road-side in the neighbourhood of the other temple. I was told that the second inscription had been found in the village of **Mañchikallu** in the Palnad Taluk. But, on reaching the village, I learnt that the inscribed stone had been removed to the Taluk office at Gurazala some six months previously. I went to Gurazala but only to learn from the Tahsildar that the inscription had been transferred to the Bungalow of the Collector of the District at Guntur. I therefore came back to Guntur where the inscribed stone, which is the fragment of an octagonal pillar, was ultimately traced in the Collector's old Bungalow. In the search of the inscriptions, I received considerable help from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Superintendent of the Nagarjunikonda Excavations Project, who takes great interest in matters relating to the early history of Āndhra.

### 1. Velpūru Inscription of Aira Mā[na]sada

The inscription consists of six lines of writing covering an area about eleven inches in length and twelve inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are roughly about 1″×1″ or slightly bigger. The inscribed surface of the stone is damaged at both the left and right ends of the writing and a letter at the beginning or end of the lines is generally damaged or broken away. In a few cases, two letters at the commencement of the lines are similarly affected. The first three letters at the beginning of the last line are now completely lost ; but the second and the third of them are traceable on the impressions of the inscription prepared by Mr. Seshadri Sastri in 1939. The layer of stone had broken away even before the Epigraphic Branch copied the record in 1940-41. Some *aksharas* in the central part of lines 3-6 are also damaged. An original defect in the stone which compelled the engraver to leave some space further affects the same lines.

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[1] A few volumes (Volume I, 1943 ; Volume II, 1944) of this Journal were published from Guntur under the editorship of Dr. M. Rama Rao. Both the inscriptions are noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* as No. 468 of 1940-41 and No. 22 of Appendix E of 1939-40. See the *Reports* for the years 1939-40 to 1942-43, pp. 127, 229, and for the years 1943-44 to 1944-55, p. 85.

[2] Macron over long *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

The **characters** resemble very closely those of the inscriptions[1] of the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*circa* 106-30 A.D.) and his son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (*circa* 130-59 A.D.) from Nāsik, Amarāvatī and other places.[2] The inscription may therefore be assigned to a date about **the first half of the second century A.D.** The alphabet employed in the inscription under study is decidedly earlier than the Jaggayapeṭa[3] (Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District) and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[4] (Paland Taluk, Guntur District) inscriptions of the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta who flourished about the middle of the third century A.D.[5] The letter *n* has a straight horizontal base, while *l* has not the angular or flat base noticed in the Ikshvāku inscriptions. The letter *t* also does not exhibit the looped type noticed occasionally in the Sātavāhana epigraphs of the age of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi but generally in the Ikshvāku records of the time of Vīrapurushadatta. The forms of the letters *l*, *t* and *n*, as found in the present epigraph, may be compared with their forms generally noticed in the later Sātavāhana inscriptions discovered in the Krishna-Guntur region and its neighbourhood such as the Amarāvatī inscription[6] of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the Kodavali inscription[7] of Chaṇḍa or Chandra Śāta, the Myakadoni inscription[8] of Puḷumāvi and the Chinna inscription[9] of Yajña Śātakarṇi. The comparison would suggest that the inscription under study should have to be assigned to a date about the time of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and not to the period after the end of Sātavāhana rule in the said area about the close of the first quarter of the third century A.D.[10]

The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit and no influence of Sanskrit is noticed in it except in the use of the vowel *ai* in the word *Airasa* in line 2. As regards **orthography**, there is no case of the reduplication of consonants or the use of conjuncts. But the modification of *j* to *y* in the word *mahārāyasa* (lines 2-3) is interesting to note.

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[1] Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff. and Plates; *Arch. Surv. S. India*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI, No. 1.

[2] For the date of the Sātavāhana kings, see *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 202, 204. In spite of the great difference between the palaeography of this record and that of the Mañchikallu inscription edited below, both the epigraphs have been assigned in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*, referred to above, to the third century A.D. The Mañchikallu inscription no doubt belongs to the end of the third century; but the present record is certainly earlier by more than a century.

[3] *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, Plates LXII-LXIII.

[4] See, e.g., above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

[5] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 16; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 225.

[6] *Arch. Surv. S. India.*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI, No. 1.

[7] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and Plate. This inscription has been differently read and interpreted by Sten Konow and Krishna Sastri. We are inclined to disagree with the views of both the scholars and to read the epigraph as follows:

1 Sidhaṁ raṁño Vāsiṭhī-
2 putasa sāmi-sir[i]-
3 Cha[ṁ]ḍa[sāta]sa [sava]chhare
4 [10 1] he pa 2 diva[sa] 2 [| ]
5 amacha-Sa[ta]mi[t]ene(na) dhama
6 thāp[i]ta |

The inscription therefore seems to be dated on the second day of the second fortnight of *Hemanta* (i.e. winter) of the eleventh regnal year of Vāsishṭhīputra Chaṇḍa Śāta (or Chandra Śāta), when his *amātya* (i.e. a minister or executive officer) named Satyamitra established a *dharma* in the vicinity of the inscription. The word *dharma* here apparently means a religious object or institution, traces of which have been noticed near the findspot of the record (cf. op. cit., p. 317).

[8] Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 155 and Plate.

[9] *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, Plate XVI. The palaeography of this record closely resembles that of the Ikshvāku inscriptions of about the middle of the third century and does not look earlier than the Kodavali and Myakadoni inscriptions, although the rulers mentioned in these two records are generally supposed to have flourished later than Yajña Śātakarṇi.

[10] Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 163.

Considering the length of the other lines, it is clear that two letters at the beginning of line 1 are lost, although traces of the second of these two are visible. These lost *aksharas* appear to have been *sidha* or *sidhaṁ* (Sanskrit *siddham*), the *maṅgala* found at the commencement of numerous early records. The above is followed by the words *namo Bhagavato* (Sanskrit *namaḥ Bhagavate*), 'Obeisance to the Lord'. This kind of adoration without mentioning the name of the deity in question is known from other inscriptions.[1] The Ikshvāku inscriptions often begin with the *maṅgala : namo Bhagavato Budhasa*, 'Obeisance to the Lord Buddha'. But the word following the word *Bhagavato* in the present record is not *Budhasa* and does not appear to be the name of a deity. The first two letters of this expression, viz. *gala*, are engraved at the end of line 1 and the third letter at the beginning of line 2 is broken away, while the last two letters are clearly *yasa*. It is not possible to restore the word with any amount of certainty. But it is tempting to suggest *Gala-*[*ve**]*yasa* (Sanskrit *Gālaveyasya*), 'of the Gālaveya', Gālaveya possibly being the *gotra* or clan name of the king mentioned further on. The following letters of line 2 are *Airasa Mahārāya*° with a partially damaged *sa* (completing the second of the two expressions) at the beginning of line 3. It is clear from this passage that the king, whose name follows, enjoyed the royal title *Mahārāja* and claimed to have belonged to the **Aira** family. *Aira* as a family name also occurs in the inscriptions of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga.[2] Some scholars think that the word stands for Sanskrit *Aila* (i.e. a descendant of Ilā) while others equate it with Sanskrit *ārya* through the Prakrit forms *ariya*>*ayira*>*aïra*. We are inclined to agree with the second group of scholars, especially because the change of *r* to *l* does not appear to be a characteristic of the language of the inscription under study. Moreover, the forms *ayira* and *aira* (for Sanskrit *ārya*), from which *aira* seems to have been derived, are actually found in the Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.[3]

The letters following the damaged *sa* in line 3 are : *Hāriti*[*putasa si*]*r*[*i-Mā*]. The name of the king, who enjoyed the metronymic *Hārītīputra*, 'born of a lady belonging to (i.e. whose father belonged to)[4] the Hārīta *gotra*', cannot be determined with certainty as the letter following *Mā* at the beginning of line 4 is damaged, although the following three *aksharas* read *sadasa*. Traces of the damaged letter in the facsimile published by Mr. Seshadri Sastri, however, appear to suggest the reading *na*.[5] Now, it may be supposed that the letters *dasa* go with the following expression and that *sa* preceding *dasa* represents the sixth case-ending added to the king's name in two syllables. The name of the king in that case may be Māna, if our view regarding the reading of the second letter is accepted. Since, however, *dasa* added to the following word scarcely gives any sense, the suggestion does not seem to suit the context. The other possibility is that the king's name was written in four syllables beginning with *mā* and ending with *sada*. In that case, the name of the king may be taken, at least tentatively, to be *Mānasada* ; but whether *sada* representing the second half of the name stands for *Śāta* cannot be determined. A ruler named Sivamaka Sada

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[1] See *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 85, 105 (Nos. 48-49). The god referred to in line 1 of the inscription under study seems to be the one mentioned by name in lines 5-6. Sometimes a god is mentioned by name in the adoration at the beginning of the epigraph and later only by the epithet *Bhagavat* (cf. *JBRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 4-5).

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206, 214. See above, Vol. XX, p. 80. For a king named Ārya-Viśākhamitra who ruled over Magadha in the second century A.D., see above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 229 ff.

[3] See Lüders' List, Nos. 1276, 1280 ; above, Vol. XX, p. 26.

[4] In ancient India, marriage was often performed without *gotr-āntara*, i.e. the change of the wife's paternal *gotra* to that of her husband. See *Proc. IHC*, Annamalainagar, 1945, pp. 48 ff.

[5] It may be conjectured that the damaged letter is *tu*, so that the passage would read *sirimātu Sadasa* (Sanskrit *śrīmatah Śātasya*),' of the illustrious Śāta'. Cf. *sirimāto* for Sanskrit *śrīmān* in a Nanaghat record (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 184). In the Prakrit epigraphs, however, the name of a king is generally preceded by the word *siri* in compound. Moreover the damaged letter at the beginning of line 4 does not look like *tu*.

is known from an Amarāvatī inscription[1] and the latter part of the name is generally taken to stand for *Śātakarṇi* or *Sātavāhana*. Consequently, Sivamaka Sada is assigned to the Sātavāhana family.[2] The present epigraph, however, does not look like a Sātavāhana record and seems to show that a king of the Krishna-Guntur region bearing a *sada*-ending name belonged to the Aira (possibly also called Gālaveya) and not to the Sātavāhana family. Whether Sivamaka Sada, whose inscription has to be attributed to the same age as the epigraph under study on grounds of palaeography, belonged to the Aira family cannot of course be determined without further evidence.[3]

The next word in the latter half of line 4 reads: *disidhārikāya* (Sanskrit *dṛiśī-dhārikayā*),[4] ' by the female torch-bearer '. The first letter of the name of this female official of the Aira king contained in the first word of line 5 is lost, the following two letters of the word reading [*vā*]*ya*, ' by ... vā '. The name was therefore something like *Revā*, *Devā*, etc.

The following four letters of line 5 are damaged ; but the second and third appear to read *gava* and the expression may be restored as *Bhagavato*, ' of the Lord ' which is followed by what looks like *Bhūtagā*[*ha*][*ka**]*sa* containing the name of a deity. Of this name, which may be compared with the word *Bhūtagṛihya* meaning a class of domestic spirits, the fourth letter is partially damaged at the end of line 5 while the last letter was broken away at the beginning of the next line even when Mr. Sastri copied the inscription eighteen years ago. As already indicated above, *sa* (the last *akshara* of the above expression) and *ma* (the first letter of the following word *maḍa*[*pā*(*po*)]) were lost at a slightly later date. The above is followed in line 6, with which the inscription concludes, by the words *eko* [*ni*]*vahito*, the passage *Bhagavato Bhūtagāhakasa maḍapo eko nivahito* (Sanskrit *Bhagavataḥ Bhūtagrāhakasya maṇḍapaḥ ekaḥ nirvāhitaḥ*) meaning ' one *maṇḍapa* of the god Bhūtagrāhaka has been completed.' The word *maṇḍapa* may mean here ' a building consecrated to a deity [in the vicinity of his temple] ' The inscription thus appears to record the construction of a building for a god called Bhūtagrāhaka by a lady in the service of a *Mahārāja* of the Aira family and probably of the Gālava *gotra*.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that the rule of the **Aira(Ārya)** family over the Guntur District and the adjoining areas in the second century A.D. is known from it for the first time. We know that about the end of the first century B.C., the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhana king Khāravela of Kaliṅga, who claimed Aira (Ārya) descent, ruled over the territory lying to the immediate east of the dominions of the contemporary Sātavāhana king Śātakarṇi and that the former besieged the city called Asikanagara (Sanskrit *Ṛishikanagara*) situated on the bank of the river Kanhaveṇā (Sanskrit *Kṛishṇaveṇā*, i.e. the modern Kṛishṇā) probably within the latter's dominions.[5] In the absence of any reference to the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhana family in our inscription and of epithets like *Hārītīputra* in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga, it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine the exact relation of the Aira king mentioned in our epigraph with the family of Khāravela. But it is equally difficult

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[1] *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 61, Plate LVI, No. 2.

[2] Cf. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. lii.

[3] According to some scholars, the Chinna inscription prefixes the Prakrit word *araka* for Sanskrit *āryaka* to the name of Yajña Śātakarṇi (above, Vol. I, p. 96, note 8 ; Vol. X, Appendix, p. 160, No. 1340), although there are other scholars who disagree with this view and hold different opinions on the subject (*ARASI*, 1913-14, pp. 213-14 ; *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 329-30). Even if, however, it may be believed that *araka* of the Chinna inscription stands for Sanskrit *āryaka* and for *Aira* of the Velpūru inscription, it is difficult to determine whether Yajña Śātakarṇi (not described as a Sātavāhana in the Chinna inscription) belonged to the Sātavāhana family but was so called because he was born of an Aira princess (cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 316).

[4] Apte's *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1924, p. 509) recognises ' light ' as one of the meanings of the word *dṛiśi* or *dṛiśī*. Cf. the official designation *dīpadhara* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VIII, 322.

[5] See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 206 ff. ; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 213.

to dissociate the rule of the Airas over the Guntur region in the valley of the Kṛishṇā in the second century A.D. from the above facts of the early history of Kaliṅga especially in view of the title *Mahārāja* claimed by Mānasada, which was popular with the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas but not with the Sātavāhanas. It is thus not impossible that Aira rule was established in the Krishna-Guntur region as a result of one of Khāravela's expeditions in those areas.

In the second century A.D., the title *Mahārāja*, enjoyed by the Aira king in our record, indicated an imperial status. The Aira rule in the Kṛishṇā valley in the period in question seems to go against the suggestion that the Sātavāhanas, called Andhras in the Purāṇas, ruled over the Krishna-Guntur region in the heart of the present Āndhra country from the post-Maurya age down to the beginning of the third century A.D.[1] Elsewhere we have suggested that the Andhra people were originally living in the northern parts of the Deccan, that the early rulers of the Sātavāhana family belonging to the Andhra race ruled over territories to the north of the Kṛishṇā and that it was Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (*circa* 130-59 A.D.) who conquered the Krishna-Guntur area in the second quarter of the second century A.D.[2] The main argument in favour of the suggestion is that no inscription of the Sātavāhanas down to the days of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*circa* 106-30 A.D.) has been discovered in the area in question and that no land lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā seems to be included in the long list of territories quoted in the Nasik inscription[3] of the ninteenth regnal year of Puḷumāvi as comprised in his father's dominions. The present inscription seems to support our view. It now appears that the Airas ruling over the Krishna-Guntur region were supplanted by the Later Sātavāhanas. This is indicated by the existence of many Later Sātavāhana epigraphs in this region such as the Amarāvatī (Guntur District) inscription[4] of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Chinna (Krishna District) inscription[5] of Gautamīputra Yajña Śātakarṇi, Kodavali inscription[6] of Chaṇḍa or Chandra Śāta and the Myakadoni (Bellary District) inscription[7] of Puḷumāvi.

## TEXT[8]

1 . . [9][|*] namō Bhagavato [|*] Ga[la]-

2 . yasa[10] **Airasa** Mahārā[ya]-

3 [sa] Hāriti[putasa] [s]ir[i]-[**Mā**]-

4 . [**sa**]**dasa**[11] di[s]i-[dh]ārikāya

5 . [v]āya[12] . [gava].[13] Bhūtagā[ha]-

6 . .[sa[14] ma]ḍa[pā(po)] [e]ko [niva]hito [||*]

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[1] Cf. K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 5.

[2] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 193 ff., 204.

[3] *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 196, 198 note.

[4] *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 100, Plate LVI, No. 1.

[5] Above, Vol. I, pp. 95f. ; *JASB*, Vol. XVI, 1920, pp. 327 ff.

[6] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 155.

[8] From impressions and the facsimile published in *JAHC*, Vol. I, No. 2, Plate facing p. 64. We have also utilised one of Mr. Sastri's impressions for illustrating the present article.

[9] The lost word may be *sidha* or *sidhaṁ*.

[10] The intended reading may be *Galaveyasa* (i.e. *Gālaveyasa*)=Sanskrit *Gālaveyasya*.

[11] Traces of the damaged letter at the beginning of the line seem to suggest the reading *na*. The name of the king thus appears to have been Mānasada.

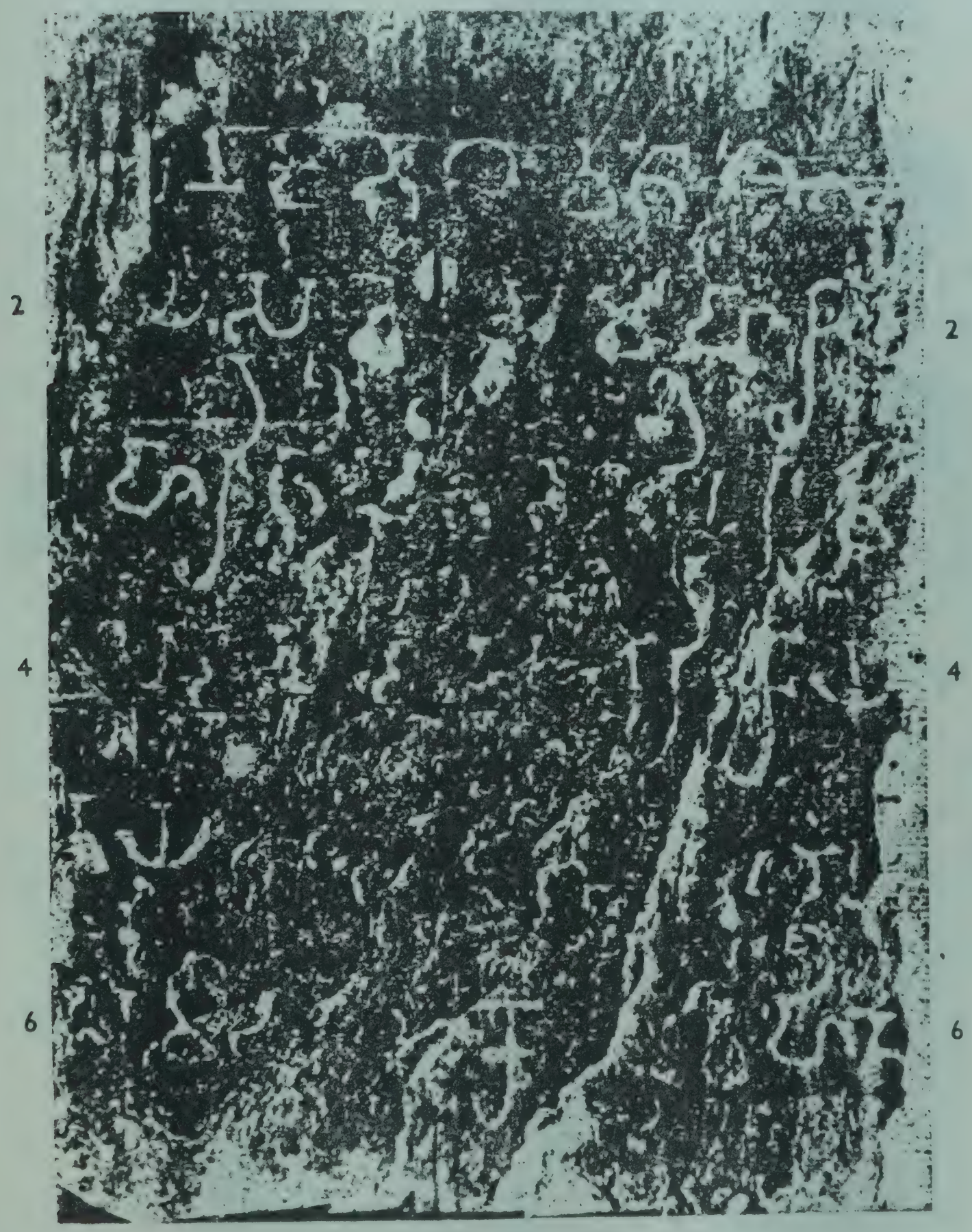
[12] As suggested above, the name of the lady was something like *Revā*, *Devā*, etc.

[13] The word may be restored as *Bhagavato*.

[14] The intended reading seems to be *Bhūtagāhakasa*. The *akshaṛas sa* and *ma* are traceable on Mr. Sastri's impressions but are lost now on the stone.

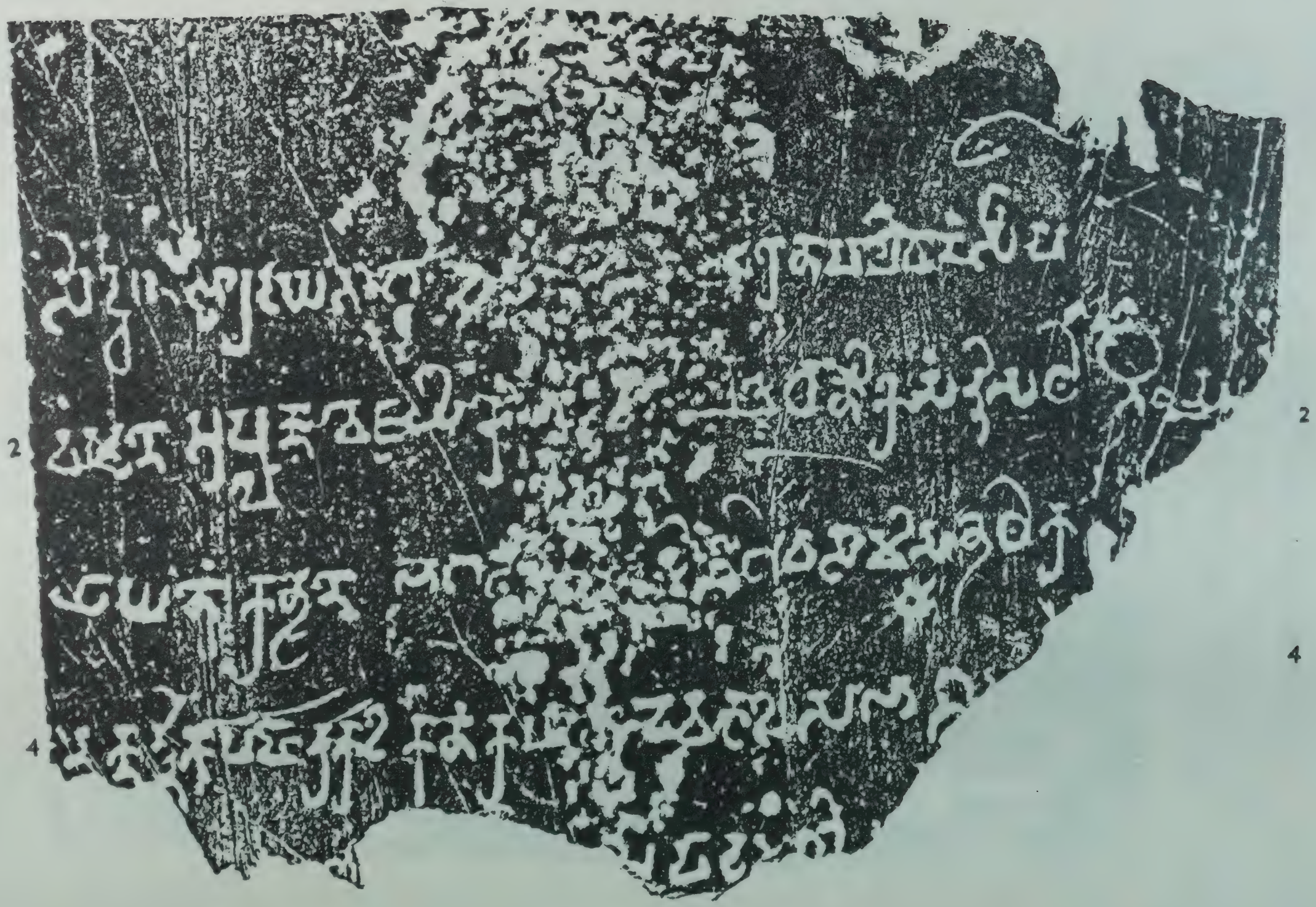
# TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUR DISTRICT

## I. VELPURU INSCRIPTION OF AIRA MANASADA (?)




Scale: One-half

## 2. Manchikallu Inscription of Pallava Simhavarman



Scale: One-half

TRANSLATION

May there be well! Obeisance to the Lord. One *Maṇḍapa* for the Lord Bhūtagrāhaka has been completed by . vā who is the *Dṛiśī-dhārikā* (i.e. the female torch-bearer) of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Mā[na]sada**, the son of Hārītī (i.e. the queen belonging to the Hārīta *gotra*), the **Aira** (*and*) the Gālaveya.

## 2. Mañchikallu Inscription of Pallava Siṁhavarman

The area covered by the writing measures about seventeen inches in length and nine inches in height. The lower part of the inscription is broken away and lost. There are altogether five lines of writing. The first letter of line 4 is damaged and the last two or three *aksharas* of it are broken away, while only a few letters of line 5 are visible. The *aksharas*, each measuring about $\frac{2}{3}'' \times \frac{2}{3}''$ or more, are boldly and neatly engraved; but some of them about the middle of all the lines are severely damaged.

The **characters** very closely resemble the Ikshvāku inscriptions from Jaggayapeṭa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and other places and little calls for special remark in this connection. The consonant *t* has a looped (cf. *vardhaṁntike* in line 2, *kātūṇa* in line 3, *tethikāna* in lines 3-4 and *kātaṁ* in line 4) as well as an unlooped (cf. *sagottena* in line 1, *saṁnti* in line 2 and *kurttakā*° in line 4) form. The letter *n* generally exhibits the unlooped form (cf. *vardhaṁntike* and *saṁnti* in line 2, *tethikāna* in lines 3-4). But *ṇ* shows both the looped (cf. °*dhareṇa* in line 1, °*yāyaṇaṁ* in line 3) and unlooped (cf. *Palavāṇaṁ* in line 1, °*vaṁmaṇa* in line 2, *kātūṇa* in line 3) forms. *Y* is of two types; cf. *Bhāradaya* in line 1 and *vejayike* in line 2. The medial *ū* mark in *kātūṇa* in line 3 is interesting to note. Double *daṇḍa* has been used to indicate the mark of punctuation after *siddhaṁ* in line 1. The record can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to a date about the second half of the third century A.D. to which the Ikshvāku epigraphs have been attributed, although the language and internal evidence, as discussed below, would suggest the close of the century. The letters *niya*, in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters of about the seventh century A.D., are found at the end of line 2 while there are traces of similar *aksharas* at the end of line 3 as well. These appear to have belonged to a different record which had nothing to do with the inscription under study and is now almost completely lost.

The **language** of the record is Prakrit; but its orthography is considerably influenced by literary Prakrit and Sanskrit. Reduplication of consonants is noticed in *siddhaṁ* and *sagottena* in line 1, *ap[p]aṇo* in line 2 and *bhaṭṭā*° in line 4, while in line 5 we have the word *kurtaka* which not only exhibits the influence of Sanskrit in its spelling but is also of lexical interest. In *vaṁmaṇa* in line 2, however, *anusvāra* has been employed instead of the reduplication of *m*. Double nasal has been used in *vardhaṁntike* and *saṁnti* in the same line. In most cases, *n* has been changed to *ṇ*, although its use is noticed in a few words (cf. *nti* twice occurring in line 2 and *na* at the beginning of line 4). The seventh case-ending in *e* is used in *pādamūle* in line 5 and in *vejayike* and *vardhaṁntike* in line 2; but in the last two words the seventh case-ending seems actually to be meant for the fourth. These features are also noticed in other records; e.g., the Mayidavolu plates of Pallava Śivaskandavarman[1] have the passage: *Sivakhaṁdavammo Dhaṁñakaḍe vāpataṁ ānapayati amhehi dāni amhavejayike dhaṁm-āyu-bala-vadhanike ya.....gāmo.....saṁpadatto* (Sanskrit *Śiva-*

[1] Some scholars are inclined to take *śiva* in the name as an honorific and Skandavarman as the real name of the king. This is unwarranted not only because *śiva* as an honorific is scarcely used singly without any other honorific like *śrī* as in the records of this ruler but also because the popularity of similar names like Śivaskanda, Bhavaskanda, Śivashaṇmukha, etc., in South India throughout the ages, can easily be demonstrated. Cf. *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 166-67.

*skandavarmā Dhānyakaṭe vyāpṛitam=ājñāpayati asmābhiḥ idānīm=asmad-vaijayikāya dharm-āyur-bala-vārdhanikāya cha..grāmaḥ sampradattaḥ*)[1]. A consideration of some of these characteristics of the language and orthography would suggest for the inscription a date about **the end of the third century.**[2]

The inscription begins with the *maṅgala* : *Siddhaṁ*, followed by a double *daṇḍa*. Then the Pallava king Siṁhavarman of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* is introduced in the passage (lines 1-2) : *Bhāradaya-sagottena.....[dha]reṇa Palavāṇaṁ Sīhavaṁmaṇa* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-sagotreṇa.....dhareṇa Pallavānāṁ Siṁhavarmaṇā*), ' by **Siṁhavarman** who belongs to the **Pallavas** (i.e. the Pallava family), who is.....*dhara*, [and] who belongs to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* '. The epithet of king Siṁhavarman ending in *dhara* cannot be satisfactorily restored.

The next passage in lines 2-3 runs : *ap[p]aṇo vejayike.....[la]-vardhaṁntike saṁnti-sathiyāyaṇaṁ kātūṇa* (Sanskrit *ātmanaḥ vaijayikāya.....la-vārdhanikāya śānti-svastyayanaṁ kṛitvā*), ' having performed *śānti-svastyayana* for his own victory and increase of.....'. The traces of the damaged letters before *la-vadhaṁntike* in line 2 appear to suggest *dhaṁma-ba*° and probably not *dhaṁm-āyu-ba*° as in the Mayidavolu plates. We may have here a reference to the increase of the merits and prowess of the king, for which the *śānti-svastyayana* was performed. The expression *śānti-svastyayana* means certain propiciatory rites, *śānti* being a rite for averting evil and *svastyayana* for attaining prosperity.

The concluding part of the sentence in lines 3-4 reads : *Bhagavato.....Jivaśivasāmisa tethikāna kurttakā(k-o)pahārakādi kātaṁ* (Sanskrit *Bhagavataḥ.....Jīvaśivasvāminaḥ tairthikebhyaḥ kurttak-opahārakādi kṛitam*), ' made presents of *kurttakas* and other [benefactions] in favour of the *tairthikas* of Lord...Jīvaśivasvāmin '. The word lost before the name of the god seems to be *siri* (Sanskrit *śrī*). The whole sentence in lines 1-4 thus means to say that the Pallava king Siṁhavarman of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* made certain presents including the present of *kurttakas* in favour of the *tairthikas* of the god Jīvaśivasvāmin on the occasion of certain propiciatory rites apparently performed by the *tairthikas* for the victory and increase of merits, etc., of the king. The expressions *tairthika* and *kurttaka* used in the concluding section of the sentence quoted above are of lexical interest. The word *tīrthika* or *tairthika* means ' an adherent or head of any other than one's own creed.' In the present context, the word *tethika=tairthika* seems to be used to indicate the priests of the temple of Jīvaśivasvāmin who was probably a representation of the god Śiva. The word *kurttaka* is not found in Sanskrit lexicons ; but *kuttaka* is recognised in Pali in the sense of ' a woollen carpet '. Our inscription seems to use *kurttaka* in this sense. The word does not appear to have any relation to *kurtā* and *kurtī* current in Hindī, Bengali, etc., in the sense of ' a shirt, tunic, bodice or jacket ', as these are believed to be borrowed from Turkish during the Muslim period. Moreover, in India (especially in South India), the priests of a temple scarcely use such a garment.

The next sentence of the inscription in lines 4-5 cannot be fully read. It refers to the *Bhaṭṭāraka* (i.e. a male divinity) worshipped in a *devakula* or temple, the name of which is doubtful. The letters *sa pādamūle*, ' at the feet of.....', in line 5 suggest that the king made a gift in favour of the deity worshipped in the temple referred to.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the earliest epigraphic record of the Pallava family. There is no doubt that king Siṁhavarman, to whom it belongs, was an ancestor

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[1] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 434. The expressions *amhavejayike* and *dhaṁm-āyu-bala-vadhanike* were formerly taken by us to be adverbs standing for Sanskrit *asmad-vaijayikam* and *dharm-āyu-bala-vārdhanikam*.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71. Such characteristics are noticed in a few records of the time of Ikshváku king Ehuvula Śāntamūla, son of Vīrapurushadatta. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 229.

of Śivaskandavarman who issued from the city of Kāñchī the Mayidavolu plates[1] as a *Yuvamahārāja* (crown-prince) and the Hirahadagalli plates[2] as a *Dharmamahārājādhirāja*. While the first grant was issued very probably during the reign of Śivaskandavarman's father, the second records the renewal of a grant originally made by his father mentioned as *nāhārāja-bappa-svāmin* (i.e. the lord who was the issuer's father and enjoyed the title *Mahārāja*) without quoting his personal name.[3] The first record shows that Andhrāpatha with its headquarters at Dhānyakaṭa (Amarāvati near Dharaṇīkoṭa in the Guntur District) formed a part of the Pallava empire when Śivaskandavarman was the crown-prince apparently during the reign of his father. The present inscription seems to suggest the presence of king Siṁhavarman in the said area. It is thus not impossible that it was he who extended Pallava power in the Krishna-Guntur region and annexed it to the dominions of the Pallavas of Kāñchī. Considering the proximity between the date of the inscription under study (i.e. about the close of the third century A.D.) and that of the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman (i.e. about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.), as suggested by their language,[4] it is also possible to conjecture that Siṁhavarman was the father and immediate predecessor of Śivaskandavarman. The close resemblence between the palaeography and language of the present epigraph and those of the Ikshvāku records would further suggest that it was the Ikshvākus who were supplanted from the Krishna-Guntur area by the Pallavas about the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The presence of Pallava Siṁhavarman in the vicinity of the Ikshvāku capital of Vijayapura situated in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, as suggested by the inscription under study, seems to show that it was he who was responsible for the destruction of that city together with its Buddhist establishments. The bull crest of the Pallavas, as indicated by their coins and the seals attached to their copper-plate charters,[5] appears to point to their Śaiva inclinations. In this connection it may be noted that many of the Pallava kings who flourished between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D. claimed to have been *Kaliyuga-doshāvasanna-dharm-oddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* which seems to refer to the fact that they were determined to revitalise their Brahmanical faith which had been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism during the age of the Later Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus.[6]

## TEXT[7]

1 Siddha[ṁ] || Bhāradāya-sago[ttena].....[8][dha]reṇa **Palavāṇaṁ Sī[ha]-**

2 **vaṁmaṇa** ap[p]aṇo vejayike.....[la[9]-va]rdhaṁ(rdha)ntike saṁ(sa)nti-sathi-[10]

3 yāyaṇaṁ kātūṇa Bhaga[vato].... [11][Jīvaś]ivasāmisa tethik[ā]-

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, I p. 433 ff.

[2] Ibid., pp. 437 ff.

[3] Some scholars take Bappa to be the personal name of Śivaskandavarman's father. But the use of the word in similar passages in numerous inscriptions clearly goes against the suggestion. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 438, note 3.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.

[5] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 296-97; Vol. XXIX, p. 90.

[6] See *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 196-97; below, p. 94.

[7] From impressions.

[8] About four *aksharas* damaged here cannot be restored with certainty.

[9] The faint traces of the letters suggest the reading *dhaṁma-bala*.

[10] As indicated above, there are two Telugu-Kannaḍa letters after this. They have nothing to do with the inscription under study.

[11] The damaged letters may be *siri*.

4 na kurttakā(k-o)pahārak-ādi kāṭaṁ [|*] Ki[ha].[1][d]evakulasa Bhaṭṭ[ā][2] .....

5 .....[sa] pāda[mūle] .....

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) May it be well. Presents of woollen carpets and other (*presents*) have been made by **Siṁhavarman** who belongs to the **Pallavas** (i.e. the Pallava family), is..*dhara*, and belongs to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, in favour of the *tairthikas* (probably, priests of the temple) of the lord, the illustrious Jīvaśivasvāmin, after having performed *śānti* and *svastyayana* for his own victory (*and*) the increase of his merits and prowess.

(Lines 4-5).....at the feet of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*.....in the temple of Kihatthi(?) .....

[1] The first *akshara* may also be read as *ka* and the second as *pa*. The last *akshara* of the name of the *devakula* looks like *tthi*. so that the name may be *Kihatthi*. But, if the second letter is *pa*, there was possibly another *akshara* between this and the last letter.

[2] The two letters after this may be conjecturally restored as *raka*.

## No. 9—VUNNA GURAVAYAPALEM PLATES OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN I, YEAR 19

(*1 Plate*)

D.C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Seshadri Sastri, Guntur

Some time ago a set of three inscribed copper plates strung on a copper ring bearing a bronze seal was shown to Sastri by the son of the Village Munsif of **Vunna Guravayapalem** in the Podili Taluk of the Nellore District of Āndhra. Sastri had prepared a transcript of the inscription and got the surface of the seal and the inscribed faces of the plates photographed before the record was returned. The photographs of the plates, however, were taken without cutting the ring holding them together and taking them out of it.[1] Thus some letters on all the inscribed faces of the plates are seen covered by a portion of the ring in the photographs. In January 1957, a set of the photographs was received by Sircar from Sastri. Sircar then tried to secure the original plates for examination with the help of the State Government; but the attempt was a failure.

Each one of the three plates is of almost the same size as any of the three inscribed plates of the Rēyūru grant[2] of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman II who, as will be seen below, was the son and successor of the issuer of the charter under discussion. But they have writing on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second, while the Rēyūru grant has writing also on the reverse of the third plate. The number of lines in the inscriptions on both the sets of plates is the same. The twenty five lines of writing in the present epigraph are distributed on the plates as follows : I—6 lines, IIa—6 lines, IIb—6 lines and III—7 lines, whereas the Rēyūru grant has five lines each on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second and six lines on the outer side of the third plate. The hole about the left border of the plates, for the seal-ring to pass through, was made in both the records before the incision of the documents in question. The space between the hole and the border of the plates is slightly bigger in the present set than in the Rēyūru grant. The size of the letters in the inscription under study is slightly smaller than in the other epigraph, although they are almost as neatly and carefully engraved.

The ends of the ring holding the plates together are soldered to the bottom of the seal having a circular surface. The central part of this counter-sunk surface of the seal bears the representation of a recumbent bull with its head towards the proper left and face slightly turned towards front. There appear to be a crescent and a *liṅga* above the head of the bull which is known to have been the emblem of the Pallavas. The upper part of the surface, above the back of the bull is occupied by the crude representation of what looks like a deity seated on a throne. Below the bull, there is a legend in three *aksharas* which appear to read *Śri-ṇadī* apparently standing for *Śrī-Nandī*. This was probably a *biruda* of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I (sometimes called Paramēśvarapōtavarman or Īśvarapōtarāja) who issued the charter under review.[3] It has, however, to be admitted that this secondary name of the Pallava king is as yet unknown, although we know many of his other *birudas* such as *Atyantakāma*, *Śrīnidhi*, *Śrībhara*, *Raṇajaya*, *Tarmṇ-*

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[1] The first letter of the lines is often found partially or fully cut off from the photographs.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 89-97 and Plates. There are two more uninscribed plates in this set.

[3] The legend on the seal does not appear to refer to the bull represented on it.

*āṅkura*, *Kāmarāga*, *Anugraśīla*, *Kālakāla*, *Samaradhanañjaya*, *Atiraṇachaṇḍa*, *Vidyāvinīta*, *Lōkāditya* and *Ugradaṇḍa*.[1]

It will be seen that, in spite of the bull emblem,the seal described above does not resemble those attached to the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallava kings as they do not bear any legend.[2] It is interesting to note that the seal of the Rēyūru grant of Narasiṁhavarman II resembles in this respect the seals of the Early Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters, whereas the seal of the Kurram plates[3] of Paramēśvaravarman I, who was the father of the said king and issued the present charter as well, bears a legend. Still more interesting is the fact that the seal of the Kurram plates and that of the present charter, both issued by the same Pallava king, do not exhibit any close resemblance between them. The seal of the former grant has been described by Hultzsch in the following words : " The seal is about 2½ inches in diameter and bears a bull which is seated on a pedestal, faces the left and is surmounted by the moon and a *liṅga*. Further up, there are a few much obliterated syllables. A legend of many letters passes round the whole seal. Unfortunately it is so much worn that I have failed to decipher it. "[4]

The **date** of the record is quoted (lines 23-24) as Sunday, Pausha-su. 13 in the **ninteenth regnal year** of king **Paramēśvaravarman I.** In line 13, the **Ayana** or **Uttarāyaṇa** (i.e. the Makara-saṅkrānti) is mentioned as the occasion of the grant. The importance of the date will be discussed later on.

The **characters** belong to the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet of the seventh century A.D. They generally resemble the characters employed in the Rēyūru grant, although some *aksharas*, e.g. *ñch*, *y*, *r*, etc., have different forms, and on the whole the present record exhibits an earlier look. Of initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 12, 15 and 17 ; *ā* in lines 13, 22 and 24 ; *i* in line 19 ; *u* in line 13 ; and *ē* in lines 17 and 23. The *upadhmānīya* has been employed many times in lines 4 (twice), 8 (twice), 9 (twice), 14, 15 and 18, while the *jihvāmūlīya* only once in line 8.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The major part of it is written in prose, although there are three stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre in lines 19-23. Two of these are the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The third stanza contains the name of the executor of the document and is also found in a modified form in the Rēyūru grant.

Among **orthographical** peculiarities, mention may be made of the general reduplication of many of the consonants following *r*. The rules of *Sandhi*, which are optional in prose composition , have not been observed in some cases. Cases of *Sandhi* in expressions like *pāpaś=śārīra*° in line 19 are interesting. The writing exhibits a general tendency to use the class nasal and, excepting a few cases (cf. *saṁra*[*ṁ**]*jana* in line 8, *saṁbhūtō* in line 29), the *anusvāra* has been changed to class nasals in *Sandhi*. The final *m* at the end of a stanza has in one case (line 20) been wrongly changed to *anusvāra*. In another case (line 24,) it has been similarly changed before a vowel. Double nasal has been used in *saṁñcharantaḥ* in line 18.

In **style**, the record under discussion closely resembles that of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallava rulers.[5] Among copper-plate charters of the Later Pallavas of Siṁhavishṇu's line,

[1] Cf. above, Vol. X, pp. 8-12 ; *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 13, 150 ; Sewell's List, p. 376. Hultzsch (*SII*, Vol. I, p. 147) seems to be wrong in taking Vidyāvinīta to be the name of a relative of Paramēśvaravarman I. Some of these *birudas* are also known to have been assumed by his grandfather Narasiṁhavarman I and son Narasiṁhavarman II. See *SII*, Vol. I, p. 13 ; *A.R.Ep.*, 1913, paragraphs 8-9 ; Sewell, loc. cit.

[2] See above, Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 297. The Prakrit charters of the earlier Pallava ruler Śivaskandavarman (about the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.) have, however, seals bearing legend (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 433, note 3, 437).

[3] *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 144 ff.

[4] Ibid., p. 144. See *SII*, Vol. XII, Plate VII.

[5] Cf. the Chendalur grant of Kumāravishṇu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 233 ff.) ; Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman (ibid., Vol. III, p. 142) ; Omgodu grant of Skandavarman II (ibid., Vol. XV, p. 246) ; Uruvupalli grant of Vishṇugōpavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V. p. 50) ; Omgodu, Pikira, Mangalur and Vilavatti grants of Siṁhavarman (above, Vol XV, p. 246 ; Vol. VIII pp. 159 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 154 ; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 301).

this characteristic is noticed only in the Rēyūru grant of Narasiṁhavarman II and not even in the Kurram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I who issued the present charter. The records of the early rulers of the Later Pallava house (i.e. the branch represented by Siṁhavishṇu and his descendants) are mostly on stone. The only copper-plate grants of this house, issued by rulers who flourished before Nandivarman Pallavamalla (a descendant of Bhīmavarman, brother of Siṁhavishṇu), are only three in number, viz. the Kuram plates and the present record belonging to Paramēśvaravarman I and the Rēyūru grant of Narasiṁhavarman II. Of these, the Kurram plates bear close affinity in respect of the script and style with the grants of Nandivarman Pallavamalla such as the Udayendiram and Kasakudi plates.[1] It is an elaborate *praśasti* written in Sanskrit prose and verse and Tamil prose and in the Grantha and Tamil alphabets and contains, besides the details of the grant, three lengthy sections, viz. an invocation, a legendary account of the origin of the Pallavas and a description of the issuer of the charter and his ancestors. The style of the present record as well as of the Rēyūru grant, on the other hand, is, like that of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas, much simpler. Many of the passages occurring in the Early Pallava grants have been used in these two records without any modification or with slight modification.[2] The same or similar epithets applied to different rulers in different records would suggest that the officers who drafted the documents were scarcely very scrupulous about the accuracy of statement. The number of epithets used with reference to the donor and his ancestors in the present record is smaller than in the Rēyūru grant.

As in the case of the Rēyūru grant and many of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas the inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the *maṅgala* : *jitaṁ Bhagavatā*, " Victorious is the Lord ". The next passage refers to the issue of the charter from **Kāñchīpura.** Then (lines 1-2) the **Pallava** family, to which the donor of the charter belonged, is introduced as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and as having performed many sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha. As in many Early Pallava charters, this no doubt refers to the horse-sacrifice celebrated by two of the Early Pallava kings, viz. Śivaskandavarman and Kumāravishṇu.[3] In lines 2-10, the donor of the grant, king **Paramēśvaravarman I,** is introduced as the son of Mahēndravikramavarman (i.e. Mahēndravarman II, *circa* 668-69 A.D.), the grandson of Narasiṁhavarman I (*circa* 630-68 A.D.) and the great-grandson of Mahēndravarman I (*circa* 600-30 A.D.). The epithets *sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya*, *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍala*, *madhyama-lōka-pāla* and *lōka-pālānām=pañchama*, applied in the present record to Mahēndravarman I, are used with reference to his grandson Mahēndravikramavarman or Mahēndravarman II in the Rēyūru grant and in connection with some other rulers in the Early Pallava charters. It is difficult to believe that all the rulers called *sva-vīry-ādhigata-rājya* succeeded in adding any territory to their paternal kingdom ; but the epithet seems to suit Mahēndravarman I (son of Siṁhavishṇu) better than his grandson of the same name. We do not agree with the view[4] that the epithets *madhyama-lōka-pāla* and *lōka-pālānām=pañchama* refer to the god Varuṇa. As we have elsewhere[5] shown, the four *Lōka-pālas* or the guardians of the four different quarters were Yama, Varuṇa, Kubēra and Vāsava,[6] and the king's description as the fifth *Lōka-pāla* means to say that he was a protector of the earth like those divine guardians of the quarters. In classical Sanskrit literature also the king is often called *madhyama-lōka-pāla* or protector of the central world (i.e. the earth bounded by the four quarters guarded by the Lōka-pālas).[7]

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273 ff. ; *SII*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 91.

[3] See *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 189, 201, 206.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 95, note 9.

[5] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 196.

[6] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 149 ; Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, II, 331 ; Lüders' List, No. 1112. For the four Lōkapālas of the Buddhists, see Childers' Pali Dictionary, s.v. *mahārājā*.

[7] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, II, 16. *Madhyama-lōka* may also mean the earth lying between the heaven and the lower world.

Among the three epithets applied to Narasiṁhavarman I in the present record, the Rēyūru grant applies *bahu-samara-labdha-yaśaḥ-prakāśa* and *vidhi-vihita-sarva-maryāda* to Paramēśvaravarman I and *vasudhātal-aika-vīra* (forming the latter part of a bigger epithet) to Narasiṁhavarman II. In the inscription under study, Paramēśvaravarman I has been called *prajā-saṁraṁjana-paripālana-nitya-yukta* and *Kaliyuga-dōsh-āvasanna-dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha* while these epithets are applied to Narasiṁhavarman II in the Rēyūru grant in the slightly modified forms : *prajā-saṁraṁjana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satya-vrata-dīkshita* and *Kali-yuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha*. The claim of the Pallava rulers from the fifth century down to the age of the present charter to have up-lifted Dharma above the *dōsha* of the Kali age seems to suggest that their ideal was to revitalise their Brahmanical faith which had been encroached upon by heretical doctrines like Buddhism.[1] The donors of both the Rēyūru grant and the present charter are called ' devotee of the feet of the lord, the father ' ; but, while the Rēyūru grant describes Ṇarasiṁhavarman II as a *paramabhāgavata* (i.e. devotee of the Bhagavat or the god Vishṇu), *paramamāhēśvara* (i.e. devotee of Mahēśvara or Śiva) and *paramabrahmaṇya* (i.e. devotee of the god Brahman or devoted to the Brāhmaṇas), his father was a *paramamāhēśvara* and a *paramabrahmaṇya* but not a *paramabhāgavata* according to the present grant.

Another interesting fact is that the Rēyūru grant applies the epithet *yathāvad-ābhṛi(hṛi)t-āśvamēdh-ady-anēka-kratu-yājin* to Paramēśvaravarman I. The present record of Paramēśvaravarman I himself, however, does not credit him with the celebration of the horse-sacrifice. On the other hand, it applies the same epithet to the Pallava family. This shows that the epithet has been wrongly applied in the Rēyūru grant to Paramēśvaravarman I who did not perform the Aśvamēdha till his nineteenth regnal year (i.e. the date of the present grant) and probably never at all.

Lines 10-17 record the grant proper. It is stated that the king made the grant on the occasion of the **Ayana**, i.e. the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti (Makara-saṁkrānti) in this case since the month specified in line 23 is Paushya. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Dēvaśarman who was the son of Dōṇaśarman (Drōṇaśarman ?) and grandson of Svāmiśarman. The donee's family hailed from the village called Urpuṭūru-grāma and belonged to the Maudgalya *gōtra* and Āpastamba *sūtra*. His grandfather is described as an expert in the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsas and Purāṇas exactly as the grandfather of the donee of the Rēyūru grant.

The gift village was **Kubuṇūru** situated on the right or southern bank of the river **Musuṇa** within the **Pūmi** *rāshṭra*. The village was made a *brahmadēya* and endowed with all kinds of exemptions. In the description of the village, there is an expression which seems to read *Muvuvaḍya-mārggē* which either means 'on the road leading to Muvuvaḍya' or ' in the subdivision called Muvuvaḍya'. The king's order was addressed to the inhabitants of the said village which is stated to have been granted for the increase of the longevity and health of the donor. This seems to suggest that the grant was made in connection with the king's recovery from an illness. The officers were ordered to exempt the gift village from the collection of taxes and other levies while on their tours of collection. The transgressor of the order was liable to physical punishment.

The above section is followed in the document in lines 19-21 by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. Another verse that follows in lines 21-23 says that the executor of the grant was Kuḷavarman who was the son of Nagī° or Tagī-pallava and the ruler of **Nandakuṟṟa**. This stanza is also found in lines 20-21 of the Rēyūru grant in the following modified form :

*Sōmāditya-suta[ḥ*] śrīmān=Nandakuṟṟa-nṛipēśvaraḥ [|*]*
*ājñāpti[ḥ]=śāsanasy=āsya Rājāditya[ḥ*] pratāpavān [||*]*

[1] *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 196-97. See also above, p. 89.

The executor of the Rēyūru grant was therefore Rājāditya who was the son of Sōmāditya and the ruler of Nandakuṟṟa. The word *nṛipēśvara* in these cases apparently means 'a ruler' and not 'a king of kings' or 'a ruler named Īśvara'.[1] The chiefs of Nandakuṟṟa were no doubt feudatories of the Pallava kings of Kāñchī at least during the reigns of Paramēśvaravarman I and Narasiṁhavarman II. Rājāditya, son of Sōmāditya, was preceded in the rulership of Nandakuṟṟa by Kuḷavarman, son of Tagī° or Nagī-pallava whose name seems to point to his descent from the Pallava family. But what relations existed between the two cannot be determined without further evidence.

Lines 23-25 record that the document was written by Viśēshavidita belonging to the Ghanaskandha family (or, the family of Ghanaskandha who may have been an ancestor of the scribe) on **Sunday, Paushya-sudi 13 in the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I.** The record then ends with the *maṅgala* : *svasty=astu gō-Brāhmanēbhyaḥ*, "Let happiness come to the cows and Brāḥmaṇas."[2]

The **importance** of the present inscription lies in its **date.** No dated inscription of Paramēśvaravarman I has hitherto been published and this happens to be the first record of the king, which offers a verifiable date. So long there was no means to determine the date of this king's accession with any amount of certainty. Now, with the help of this record and the Rēyūru grant which is the only dated inscription of his son, the reign period of Paramēśvaravarman I can be determined with a fair degree of precision.

The Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I seems to have been living about the year 668 A.D. when, with his help, Mānavarman succeeded in seizing the throne of Ceylon,[3] whereas the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya I is known from the Gadvāl plates,[4] dated the 25th April, 674 A.D., to have fought with the three successive Pallava kings named Narasiṁha (i.e. Narasiṁhavarman I), Mahēndra (i.e. Mahēndravarman II), and Īśvara (i.e. Paramēśvaravarman I). These facts show that the death of Mahēndravarman II and the accession of his son Paramēśvaravaṟman I took place sometime between 668 A.D. and the 25th April of 674 A.D. Now the charter under study was issued in the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I, that is to say, sometime between 687 A.D. and April 693 A.D. The exact date when the charter was written is Paushya-sudi 13, Sunday, while the grant was made on the occasion of the Ayana or Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti (i.e. Makara-saṅkrānti).

In his recent work entitled *A History of South India*,[5] Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives the duration of the rule of Paramēśvaravarman I as 670-80 A.D. and of his son and successor Narasiṁhavarman II as 680–720 A.D., while we have suggested the following reign-periods for these two Pallava kings: Paramēśvaravarman I, *circa* 670-95 A.D.; Narasiṁhavarman II, *circa* 695-722 A.D.[6] In the absence of any dated record of the time of the rulers in question, difference of opinion as regards the duration of their reign-periods was of course inevitable. But now we have a record of each of the two kings, both of them bearing verifiable dates. From the present epigraph we learn that Paramēśvaravarman I ruled at least down to his nineteenth regnal year and that, in the said year of his reign, Paushya-sudi 13, was a Sunday, although whether Uttarāyaṇa occurred on the same day or a few days earlier or later cannot be determined from the words of

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[1] The interpretation of the above verse of the Rēyūru grant offered elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 93, note 6) seems to be wrong. The name of the *ājñāpti* has been taken there to be Īśvara who is supposed to veha been the son of Sōmāditya and grandson of Rājāditya.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 441 (text line 55).

[3] Sewell's List, p. 24; *The Classical Age*, p. 289.

[4] Above, Vol. X, pp. 101 ff.

[5] Op. cit., 1955, pp. 148, 163.

[6] *The Classical Age*, 1954, pp. 280-81, 283.

the epigraph since the document may have been written sometime after the grant had been made on the day of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti or a few days before to keep the document ready for the occasion of the grant to be made on the day of the *saṅkrānti*. If therefore Paramēśvaravarman I ascended the throne about 670 A.D., he could not have ended his rule much earlier than 689 A.D. Similarly, the Rēyūru grant was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the twelfth regnal year of Narasiṁhavarman II and, about the approximate period of this king's rule, lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon of Vaiśākha only in the years 701, 702, 711 and 720 A.D. suggesting that his first regnal year roughly corresponded to 690, 691, 700 or 709 A.D.[1]

We have seen that the nineteenth regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I could not have fallen earlier than 687 A.D. and later than April 693 A.D. During this entire period, Pausha-sudi 13 fell on a Sunday only in the year 687 A.D., although the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti occurred on the previous day. The date corresponds to the 22nd of December 687 A.D., while the *saṅkrānti* took place on the 21st of the same month. Thus the 19th regnal year of Paramēśvaravarman I fell between December 686 and December 688 A. D. He therefore ascended the throne between December 668 and December 669 A. D. His first regnal year should probably be regarded as having corresponded to 669-70 A. D. His son and successor Narasiṁhavarman II seems to have ascended the throne about 690-91 or 700 A. D.

The following **geographical** names are mentioned in the inscription : **Kāñchīpura** whence the charter was issued ; **Kubuṇūru-grāma** which was the subject of the grant ; **Pūmi-rāshṭra** in which the gift village was situated ; the Muvuvaḍya(?)-mārga and the **Musuṇa-nadī** near the gift village ; **Urpuṭūru-grāma** where the donee's family lived ; and Nandakuṟṟa which seems to have been the capital of the chief who executed the grant. Of these, **Kāñchīpura**, the capital of the Pallavas, is well-known, while **Nandakuṟṟa** has been tentatively identified with modern Nandavaram in the Udayagiri Taluk of the Nellore District. The Musuṇa-nadī seems to be no other than the modern Musi which runs along the boundary line between the Kandukuru Taluk in Nellore and the Ongole Taluk in Guntur and falls in the Bay of Bengal to the north of the mouth of the Pālēru. Since the village of Kubuṇūru stood on its southern bank, it seems to have been situated in the present Podili-Kandukuru region of Nellore. The Pūmi *rāshṭra*, to which it belonged, appears to have comprised parts of the Nellore District lying to the south of the ancient Muṇḍa-rāshṭra. Urpuṭūru is apparently the present village of Uppuṭūru in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District.

## TEXT[2]

### *First Plate*

1 [Sva]sti [|*] [jita][3]ṁ Bhagavatā [|*] śrīmat-**Kāñchīpurāt=Pallavānāṁ** Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāṇām yathāvad-ā-

2 [hṛi]t-āśva[mē][3]dh-ādy-anēka-kratu-yājināṁ sva-vī[r*]yy-ādhigata-rājyasya pratāp-ōpan-ata-rāja-

3 [ma]ṇḍalasya madhyama-lōka-pālasya lōkapālānām=pañchamasya [śrī]-**Ma-**

4 **[hē]ndravarmmaṇaḥ**=prapautraḥ bahu-samara-labdha-yaśaḥ-prakāśas[y]a vidhi-

5 [vi]hita-sarvva-ma[r*]yyādasya vasudhātal-aika-vīrasya śrī-**Narasiṁhaṁ[4]varmmaṇaḥ**

6 [pau]traḥ dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyinō vivṛiddha-vinayasy=ānēka-gō-

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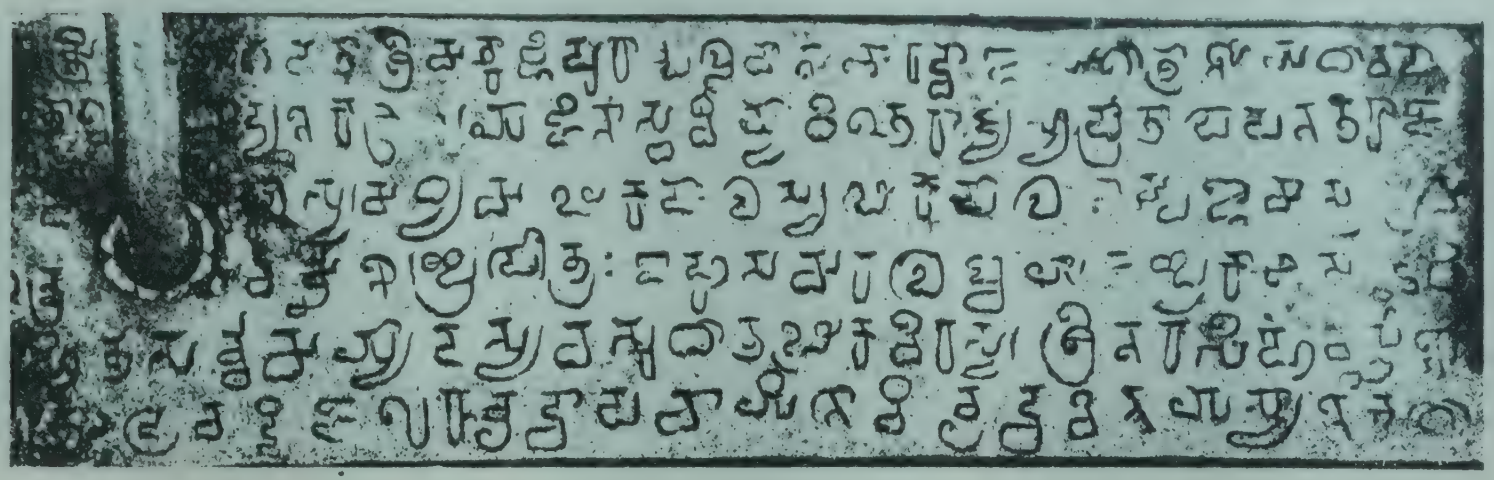
[1] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 92.

[2] From a set of photographs.

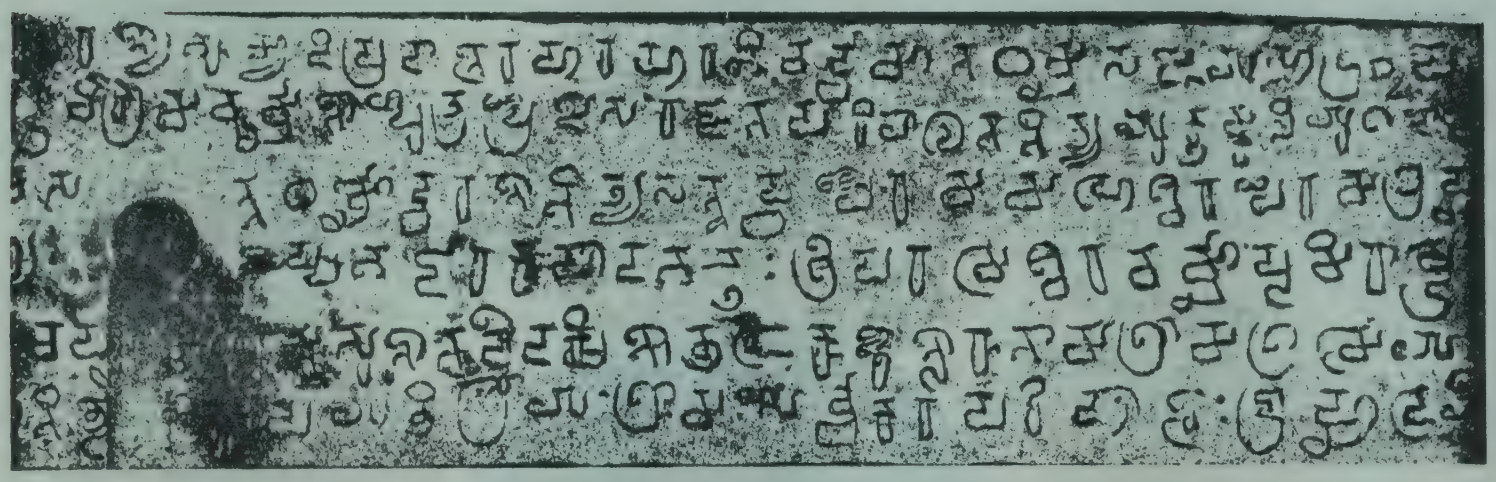
[3] These letters are hidden under the ring in the photograph, while the first letter of the lines is either wholly or partially cut off. Similar is the case with the other inscribed faces of the plates.

[4] Read °*siṁha*°. The *anusvāra* has been incised away from its proper place.

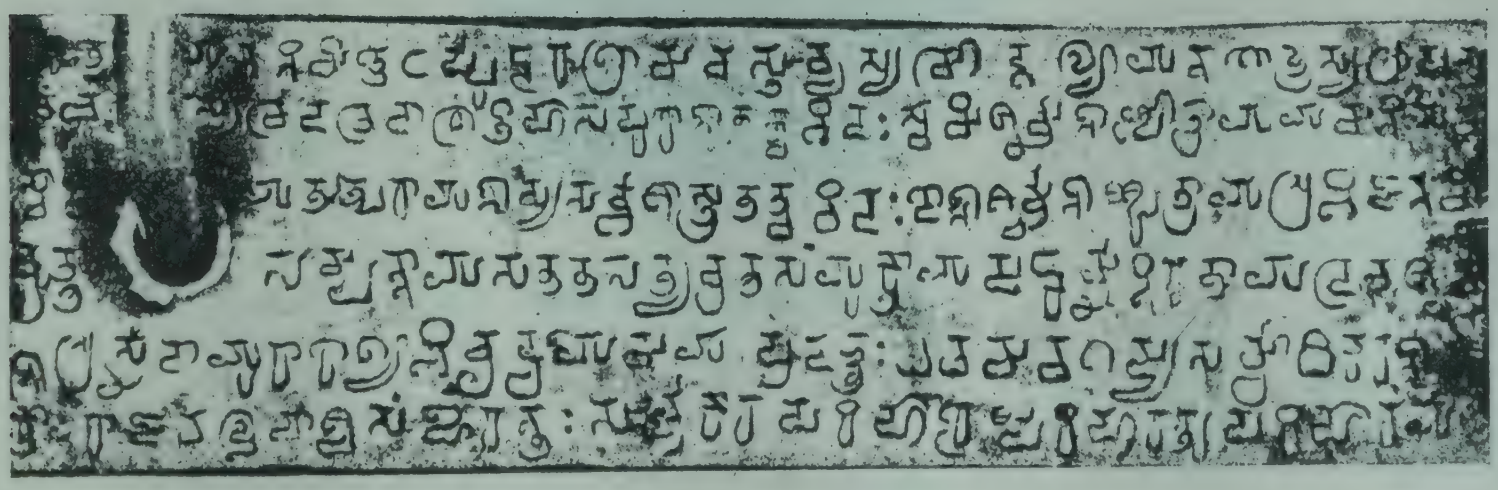
# VUNNA GURAVAYAPALEM PLATES OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN I, YEAR 19



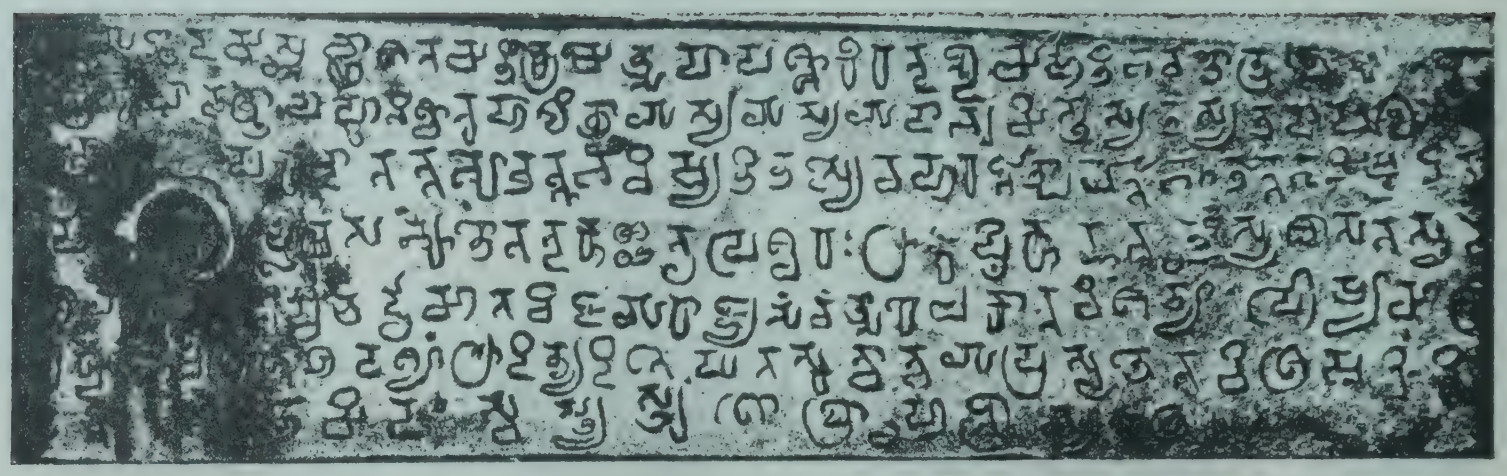
*ii, a*



*iii, b*



(From Photographs)




(From Photographs)

## SEAL



(From a Photograph)

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānair=ahar-ahar=abhivarddhamāna-dharmma-sañchayasya śrī-**Mahē-**

8 **ndravikramavarmmaṇaḥ**=putraḥ=prajā-saṁra[ṁ*]jana-paripālana-nitya-yuktaḥ=Kali-yuga-dō[sh-ā]-

9 [va]sanna-dharmm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannadhaḥ=paramamāhēśvaraḥ=paramabrahma-

10 [ṇya]ḥ bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ śrī-**Paramēśvaravarmmā Pūmi-**rāshṭrē **[Mul]**-

11 [vu?]va[ḍya]-mā[r]ggē **Musuṇa-nadī-**dakshiṇa-tatē **Kubuṇūru-**nāma-grāma(mē) gra(grā)-mēya-

12 [k]ān=i[ttham=ā]jñāpayati [|*] ayaṁ grāmaḥ sarvva-kara-parihāraiḥ brahmadēyi-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

13 k[ṛi]tya [a]**yana-**nimittē **Urpputūru-**grāma-va(vā)stavyasya Maudgalyāyana-gōtrasya Āpasta-

14 vaṁ(mba)-cha[raṇa]sya vēda-vēdāṁ[1]g-ētihāsa-purāṇa-tatva(ttva)-vidaḥ Svāmiśarmmaṇaḥ=pautrāya yama-niyama-

15 svā[dhyā]ya-tatparāyaṇasya[2] sarvva-śāstra-tatva(ttva)-vidaḥ Dōṇaśarmmaṇaḥ[3]=putrāya abhijana-vid[yā]-

16 vṛitta-sampannāya satata-satya-vrata-saṁyuktāya shaṭ-karmma-niratāya Dēvaśarmma-

17 ṇē asmad-āyur-ārōgy-ābhivṛiddhayē mayā pradattaḥ [|*] ēvam=avagamya sar[v]v-ādhi-karaṇa-[niyu]-

18 ktāḥ rāja-vallabhāś=cha saṁ(sa)ñcharantaḥ sarvva-kara-parihāraiḥ=pariharantu parihāraya-[ntu]

*Third Plate*

19 [cha] [|*] ya idam=asmach-chhāśa(sa)nam=atikramēt=sa pāpaś=śārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [|*] bhavatō[4]=tra [ślōkau[4] | Bahu]-

20 [bhir=vvasu]dhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānuhā(pā)litā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(laṁ ‖ ) [Bhūmi]-

21 [dā]nā[ṭ] pa[ra]n=dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [|*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na [bhavishyati] [ ‖ *] [Na(Ta?)]-

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[1] The *anusvāra* has been engraved away from its proper place.

[2] I.e. *svādhyāya-parā°*.

[3] The correct form of the name may be *Drōṇa°*.

[4] This obviously refers to the following two imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, without counting the third verse mentioning the *ājñāpti*.

22 gī-pallava-saṁbhūtō **Nandakuṟṟa**-nṛipēśvaraḥ [|*] ā[jñā]p[t]i[ḥ*] Ku[ḷa]varmm=āsya śāsanasya ma-

23 hāya[śā]ḥ[ || *] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-**rājya-saṁvatsarē ēkān-na-viṁśatyāṁ Paushya-māsē**

24 **[śukla]-[pa]kṣha-trayōdaśyāṁ(śyām) Āditya-dinē** Ghanaskandh-ānvaya-prasūtēna Viśēsha[vi]di-

25 [tē]na [li*]khitam=idaṁ(dam || ) svasty=astu gō-Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ ||[1]

[1] The full-stop is indicated by a spiral followed by a few *daṇḍas* and horizontal strokes.

## No. 10—KILUR INSCRIPTION OF NANDIVARMAN, YEAR 16

K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

The inscription[1] edited here is engraved on a rock in the *prākāra* of the Vīraṭṭāṇēśvara temple at **Kiḷūr,** Tirukkōvilūr Taluk, South Arcot District. The text of the record has been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 925. **Palaeographically** the inscription may be attributed to the **ninth century A. D.** The **script** as well as the **language** of the record is Tamil. The inscription is dated in the **sixteenth year of the reign of Kō-Vijaiya-Nandivikrama-parumaṇ** and records a gift by Maṟavam[2] Pūdi *alias* Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. The gift consisted of twentyfour *kaḷañju* of pure gold weighed by *Viḍēlviḍugu*, the standard stone, out of the interest of which the *Nagarattār* of Tirukkōvalūr undertook to supply ghee for burning a lamp day and night in front of Mādēva of Tiruvīraṭṭāṇam at Tirukkōvalūr.

The record is important in that it proves the contemporaneity of **Bhūti Vikramakēsari,** the earliest well-known Koḍumbāḷūr chief, with the Pallava king Nandivarman (III). The genealogy of the family of the Irukkuvēḷs, to which this chief belonged, has been thoroughly discussed by Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer and Shri K. S. Vaidyanathan.[3]

The name of the donor in this record consists of two words, viz. *Maṟavaṉ* and *Pūdi*. While the former stands for his father's name, the latter is his own name and is only a Tamil variant for Sanskrit *Bhūti*.[4] It is known from the Mūvarkōyil inscription[5] of Bhūti Vikramakēsari that *Vikramakēsari* was a title earned by him for his success in battle against the Pallava king as well as Vīra-pāṇḍya and Vañji Vēḷ (i.e. the Chēra king). Maṟavaṉ Pūdi *alias* Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman who has been identified with Āditya I. Of these, a record[6] from Tiruppalāttuṟai, dated in the 27th regnal year of a Rājakēsarivarman, mentions one Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār *alias* Maṟavaṉ Pūdiyār. Kaṟṟaḷi, the wife of Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār *alias* Maṟavaṉ Pūdi who is the same as the donor of the present record, figures as the donatrix in another inscription[7] from Tiruppalāttuṟai. It is not unlikely that the same Kaṟṟaḷi is spoken of as one of the wives of Bhūti Vikramakēsari in his Mūvarkōyil record. Varaguṇā, his other wife, may be identified with the homonymous lady mentioned as the wife of Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār in another inscription[8] of Rājakēsarivarman. Bhūti Parāntakaṉ, a son of this chief according to the Mūvarkōyil inscription, built a stone temple for the god at Andanallūr in the

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 296 of 1902.

[2] The final *ṉ* is changed to *m* in association with *p* of *Pūdi*. This is in accordance with the rule *Melleḻuttu miginu māṇamillai* in the *Tolkāppiyam* (Eḻuttadikāram, Puḷḷimayaṅgiyal, Sūtra No. 341).

[3] *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 79 ff.

[4] The best examples of such double names referring to both the father and the son will be found in *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 147 and 148 of 1937.

[5] *JOR*, Vol. VII, p. 1 ff.

[6] *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 560. The identification of this Rājakēsarivarman with Āditya I is supported by palaeography and the high regnal year quoted in the inscription. The absence of the *praśasti* of Rājarāja I, viz. *Tirumagaḷ pōla*, etc., in it would confirm this view.

[7] *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 581.

[8] Ibid., No. 568. In the impressions the letters *Te...ṉ* can be read before the word *Iḷaṅgōvēḷār*.

fourteenth regnal year of Parakēsarivarman[1] and gave land as *kāṇikkaḍamai* five years later[2] to Araiyaṇ Vīra-śōḷaṇ who in his turn gave it back to the *ūrār* of Andavanallūr after a period of six years.[3] The date of this last transaction is the twentyfifth year of Parakēsarivarman's reign, which is too high for any king bearing the said title and ruling in the period in question except Parāntaka I. It follows that Bhūti Vikramakēsari, the father of Bhūti Parāntaka, was a contemporary of Āditya I. It will thus be seen that Maṟavaṇ Pūdi is the same as Bhūti Vikramakēsari who was the husband of Kaṟṟaḷi and Varaguṇā and was a contemporary of both Nandivarman and Āditya I.

The donor's relationship with the Chōḷas may be examined here. His mother Anupamā was a Chōḷa princess according to the Mūvarkōyil inscription. One Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ[4] is mentioned as the queen of Kaṇṇaradēva who may be identified with the homonymous son[5] of Āditya I, as she figures as the donatrix in an inscription[6] dated in the 6th year of Maduraikoṇḍa Parakēsarivarman, i.e. Parāntaka I. This Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ was probably a sister of Maṟavaṇ Pūdi.[7] A record[8] dated in the third year of the reign of Parāntaka I mentions Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri, the wife of Prince Arikulakēsari and the daughter of Teṇṇavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār. Thus Bhūti Vikramakēsari seems to be allied to the Chōḷa family through his female relatives, *viz.* his mother Anupamā, sister Pūdi Mādēvaḍigaḷ, and daughter Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri. It is interesting to note that within a few years from the date of the present record, the Chōḷa kings succeeded in weaning away the allegiance of the family ultimately from the Pallava side.

Maṟavaṇ Pūdi *alias* Bhūti Vikramakēsari claims, in his Mūvarkōyil inscription, to have fought against Vīra-pāṇḍya who has been identified with *Chōḷan-talai-koṇḍa* Vīra-pāṇḍya, the adversary of Sundara-chōḷa and Āditya II. It may be noted here that Vīra-pāṇḍya was a junior contemporary of Rājasiṁha, the opponent of Parāntaka I. In one of Rājasiṁha's inscriptions,[9] a servant of Vīra-pāṇḍya is referred to and hence it may be presumed that Vīra-pāṇḍya continued the feud between the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas after Rājasiṁha's flight to Ceylon. Therefore it is possible to surmise that Bhūti Vikramakēsari encountered Vīra-pāṇḍya during the reign of Parāntaka I. This may very well explain the vigour with which Āditya II fought and ultimately killed Vīra-pāṇḍya who was perhaps a continued source of trouble for the Chōḷas from the days of Parāntaka I.

The Pallava king mentioned in the record under study may be identified with the last king of that name, *viz.* Nandivarman III. Of all the inscriptions referring to Maṟavaṇ Pūdi, only the present record belongs to the reign of Nandivarman III and therefore its date may be taken as the

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[1] *SII*, Vol. III, No. 139. Parakēsarivarman of this record is Parāntaka I and not Uttama-chōḷa as is shown below.

[2] Ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 668. The inscription refers to the nineteenth regnal year of Parakēsarivarman. It may be noted that the transactions recorded in the inscriptions referred to in this and the next foot-note conclusively prove the identity of the kings mentioned in them as well as the date of Bhūti Vikramakēsari.

[3] Ibid., No. 669.

[4] Ibid., No. 665.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 233 and n. 6.

[6] *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 634. She is first referred to (without her name being mentioned) in a record (ibid., Vol. XIII, No. 321) dated in the 27th year of a Rājakēsarivarman who has been identified with Āditya I. Another inscription (ibid., Vol. VIII, No. 554) in which she figures as a donatrix is dated in the 23rd year of a Parakēsarivarman who is no doubt Parāntaka I as the regnal year is too high for any other Parakēsari of this period.

[7] A similar example of both a brother and a sister bearing the same name may be found in Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri and Pūdi Āditta Piḍāraṇ, daughter and son respectively of Bhūti Vikramakēsari (*QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 94).

[8] *SII*, Vol. III, No. 96. This lady is first mentioned in an earlier record (ibid., Vol. VII, No. 629), dated in the 23rd year of a Rājakēsarivarman who may be identified with Āditya I on account of the high regnal year and the palaeography of the inscription.

[9] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 87; *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 87.

earliest for Bhūti Vikramakēsari. Another epigraph, dated in the 3rd year of Parakēsarivarman identified with Parāntaka I and referring to Pūdi Āditta Piḍāri, the queen of Arikulakēsari and the daughter of Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār, seems to provide the latest reference to this chief. The range of the period covered by these inscriptions, which is less than fifty years, does not allow us to suggest the existence of different chiefs bearing the same title *Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār*. Moreover every member of this family adopted a different title in order to distinguish himself from the others[1] and Maṟavaṉ Pūdi was the only chief with the title *Teṉṉavaṉ Iḷaṅgōvēḷār*. In view of the identification of his Pallava overlord mentioned in the present record with Nandivarman III, Bhūti Vikramakēsari's claim to have defeated a Pallava king's army (cf. *Pallavasya dhvajinyāḥ*)[2] on the banks of the Kāvērī deserves to be studied in the context of Parāntaka's claim to have conquered the Pallavas.[3]

The association of Tirukkōvilūr, the findspot of the present record, with one of the forebears of the Vēḷirs of Koḍumbāḷūr is clearly referred to in some of the verses in the Saṅgam literature.[4] Malaiyamāṉ Tirumuḍikkāri, a chief of this region, was famous for his philanthrophy. Very interesting is the statement[5] that the three kings (i.e. the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya) vied with each other in enlisting the support of this chief. We have already seen how the Koḍumbāḷūr family was wooed and ultimately admitted into the circle (*varga*) of the Chōḷas. The common patronage bestowed upon Vikkiyaṉṉaṉ, probably a Vēḷir chieftain, by both the Chēra Sthāṇu Ravi and the Chōḷa Āditya I furnishes a clear contemporary evidence[6] of the unique position enjoyed by the Vēḷirs in the Tamil country.

TEXT[7]

1 Svasti Śrī [||*] **K[ō]-Vijaiya-Na[n]divik-**

2 **kiramaparumaṟku yāṇḍu padi[nā]ṟāvadu**

3 Malāṭṭu=Kkuṟukkai=kkūṟṟattu=Tti-

4 rukkōvalūr-Tti.....[8]ṇat-

5 tu Mādē[va]rk .....ḷa....[9]

6 iravum pagalu.....[10]

7 daṟku **Teṉṉavaṉ-Iḷa[ṅ]**.....[11]

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1 *QJMS*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 94 and table.

2 *JOR*, Vol. VII, p. 9, text line 11.

3 Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 148 ff.

4 *Ahanāṉūṟu*, No. 35; *Puṟanāṉūru*, Nos. 121-126.

5 Ibid., No. 122, lines 4-5. See also No. 125, lines 10-17.

6 *SII*, Vol. III, No. 89.

7 From impressions.

8 This gap may be restored as °*ruvīraṭṭā*°.

9 This passage may be restored as °*k=oru nandā viḷakku*.

10 The missing syllables are °*m chandrādittavarai erippa*°.

11 The missing syllables are °*gō-vēḷār=āyiṇa*.

8 **Maṟavam Pūdi** vaitta....[1]viḍēl-

9 viḍugu tīp-pōkku-ch[chempoṇ]

10 irupattu-nāṟ-kaḷañju ni..[2]

11 idaṇ paliśai kaḷañjiṟ pērtt=idu[3]-

12 ḷ uriy ney aṭṭuvadāga Tirukkōva-

13 lūr-[na]garattār kaivaḷi vaiytta-

14 du [||*]

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[1] The missing letters may be restored as *pcṉ*.

[2] The lost letter is no doubt *ṟai*.

[3] The letter lost here may be restored as °*nā*ˆ.

## No. 11—INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAS OF ARAKAN

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In February 1957, the Director of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Mandalay, kindly sent to me for examination photographic prints of two small inscriptions recently found at **Vēsālī** near Mrohaung in the Akyab District, Arakan. While informing him of the results of my examination of the epigraphs, I requested him to send me a few inked impressions of the records for further study and publication. He was kind enough to comply with my request and estampages of the epigraphs reached me in March together with an impression of a third record from the same place.

The **first inscription** is engraved on a slab recovered from the ruins of a Stūpa on the Unhissaka hill at Vēsālī. The slab bearing the second record belongs to what is called the Ānandachandra Stūpa standing on a hill near Vēsālī. It is still *in situ*. The third epigraph is incised on an octagonal pillar six feet high. It belongs to a Stūpa traditionally known to have been constructed by a ruler named Sūryachandra.

The slab bearing the first inscription is stated to measure eighteen inches in length, ten inches in height and six inches in thickness. There are only five lines of writing. The lines are about thirteen inches long, although line 2 is slightly bigger owing to two letters, originally omitted through oversight, being engraved in the left margin. The highest number of letters in a line is 18 (line 2) and the smallest only 13 (line 4).

The **second inscription**, consisting of four lines of writing, covers an area about ten inches in length and four inches in height. The letters are slightly smaller in size than in the first epigraph. The preservation of the writing in both these records is fairly satisfactory although a few letters are damaged or rubbed off here and there. The **third inscription**, which is **fragmentary**, shows traces of six lines of writing covering an area about twentyfour inches in length and nine inches in height. In this inscription, only traces of a few letters in the first line remain while a number of letters in all the other lines are broken away. Some of the extant letters of the record are also worn out and difficult to decipher.

The **characters** of the first epigraph closely resemble those of a votive inscription in two lines on a monastery bell found at Vēsālī, which was published with an illustration by the late Prof. E. H. Johnston in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XI, 1943-46, pp. 358 ff.[1] The alphabet of both the records has a close resemblance with that used in certain inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., discovered in Eastern India. There is, however, an amount of local development noticed in the palaeography of all the three epigraphs now under study. This element is just slightly exhibited by Inscription No. 1 which is the earliest of the three. It is a little more pronounced in Inscription No. 2 which is a few decades later than the first inscription, while Inscription No. 3 belonging to a still later date exhibits it in a more considerable degree than even the second epigraph.

In a careful analysis of the characters of the Vēsālī bell inscription which may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the same age as our Inscription No. 1, Johnston observes that the date of the record 'is shown by its forms for the letters *ka* and *sa* and its tripartite *ya* to be probably not later than A.D. 650' and that 'other indications, particularly the forms of *sa* and *ma*, suggest

[1] See Plate IV, figure 1.

the unlikelihood of its being much earlier.'[1] He further notes the close resemblance of the script with that of the Faridpur plate (A)[2] of Dharmāditya and the Faridpur plate[3] of Gōpachandra. He doubts the genuineness of the Faridpur plate (B)[4] of Dharmāditya and suggests that Gōpachandra's inscription may be earlier than Dharmāditya's. In this connection, he observes, "*Sa* has the triangle on the left in both plates (Dharmāditya's A and Gōpachandra's) ; but, while it is normal in Gōpachandra's, there are two instances, ll. 14 and 19, in 1722 (Dharmāditya's A), where the triangle is enlarged and the apex reaches right up to the top line, as in the bell. *Ma* is nearly normal in 1724 (Gōpachandra's plate), but shows the beginning of the process whereby the bell form is reached ; 1722, on the other hand, has it in a form even more exaggerated than the bell and in l. 20 for instance the point of the angle is only just below the main line." After pointing out a few more differences between Dharmāditya's and Gōpachandra's inscriptions and comparing some of the letters in the bell inscription with those in certain other inscriptions of Eastern India, Johnston concludes, "These comparisons are sufficient to prove that we are dealing in the bell with a script which was derived from Eastern Bengal, descending possibly from a variety slightly later than any of those described.....if the date is fixed on the palaeographical evidence as somewhere in the first half of the seventh century A.D. the margin of error is likely to be small."

The above views on the date of the Vēsālī bell inscription (of the same age as our Inscription No. 1) do not appear to be fully justified as the inscription seems to be somewhat earlier. In the first place, the palaeography of our Inscription No. 1 closely resembles not only that of the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra who flourished in the sixth century A.D. but also in respect of most of the characteristics that of certain earlier records of about the middle of the fifth century A.D. such as the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate[5] of the Gupta year 120 (439 A.D.) and the Baigram plate[6] of the Gupta year 128 (448 A.D.) even though the affinity may be slightly closer with the epigraphs of the sixth century. Secondly, the suggestions that Gōpachandra's plate is earlier than Dharmāditya's plates A and B and that the bell inscription is closer to the latter in respect of letters like *s* and *m* are both confusing. Pargiter seems to be justified in suggesting a later date for Gōpachandra's inscription as compared to Dharmāditya's epigraphs on the basis of the forms of the letter *y*[7] while similar forms of *s* and *m* are also noticed in earlier records like the Baigram plate of 448 A.D. There is also no reason to doubt the genuineness of Dharmāditya's plate B. Thirdly, on the other hand, forms of letters like *y* and *h* and signs like that of medial *ī* as exhibited by our inscription (as also earlier records like the Baigram plate) are not met with in Bengal inscriptions later than the sixth century A.D.[8] Of course *h* and medial *ī* do not appear

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 360-61.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1722 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 195 ff. and Plate.

[3] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1724 ; *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., p. 204 and Plate. See also the Mallasarul plate apparently belonging to the reign of Gōpachandra (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff. and Plate).

[4] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1713 ; *Ind. Ant.*, op. cit., pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

[5] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 12ff. and Plate ; above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 81 ff. and Plate.

[7] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 206-07.

[8] Cf. the Vappaghoshavata grant (end of the sixth century) of Jayanāga (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 60 ff. and Plate), Midnapur plates (first quarter of the seventh century) of Śaśāṅka (*JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates), Tippera plate (Gupta year 344=663 A.D.) of Lōkanātha (above, Vol. XV, pp. 306 ff. and Plate ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224) , Kailan plate (last quarter of the seventh century A.D.) of Śrīdhāraṇarāta (*IHQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 221 ff. and Plate) , etc. The script of our Inscription No. 1 may also be compared with that of the Umachal roke inscription of Surēndravarman (circa 470-94 A.D.) and the Barganga inscription of Bhūtivarman (circa 518-42 A.D.), discovered in Assam and published above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 67 ff. ; cf. Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff.

in the bell inscription. Fourthly, the internal evidence of our Inscription No. 1 seems to go against Johnston's dating if his own views on the date and evidence of the Mrohaung inscription[1] of Ānandachandra are taken into consideration. On palaeographical grounds and other considerations, Johnston places Ānandachandra's epigraph 'in the first half of the eighth century' and more precisely to a date not 'much later than A.D. 700'. Now, as will be shown below, our inscription was engraved during the reign of king Nītichandra who ascended the throne, according to the epigraph of Ānandachandra, 209 years before the incision of the latter's record. This would place Nītichandra's accession 'not much later than' 491 A.D. As a matter of fact, Johnston's dating of Ānandachandra's inscription was influenced by his views that the coins of Dēvachandra (who ended his rule 266 years before Ānandachandra's accession) and Dharmavijaya (who began to rule 55 years before Ānandachandra) should be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the first half of the fifth and seventh centuries respectively. Our Inscription No. 1 as the Vēsālī bell inscription may be actually assigned on palaeographical grounds to the **first half of the sixth century A.D.** In our opinion, their characters may have descended from a variety slightly earlier than the Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya and Gōpachandra.

We have referred above to an amount of local development in the palaeography of the inscriptions under study. In Inscription No. 1, the letter *h* is written with a vertical line and a curve opening upwards or towards the right and joining the vertical towards the left not at the latter's bottom but slightly or considerably above it. This form of *h* is not noticed in East Indian inscriptions, in which the letter has its bottom curved towards the left. A vertical similar to that of *h* is sometimes noticed in *ch* as well (cf. line 2). Sometimes the form of *m* (cf. *mahā*° in line 2) appears to be more cursive than noticed in the East Indian records. Inscription No. 2 exhibits the same type of *h*. Medial *ā* in this inscription is in many cases indicated by a curve opened towards the right and placed at the head of the consonant.[2] The vowel mark in *jā* in *bhūbhujā* (line 1) is also of this type, though this form of the letter is not found in Indian epigraphs. In several cases, medial *ā* sign ends in an inward bend almost making a loop. This resembles medial *ī* as used in some Indian inscriptions as well as in the modern Tamil alphabet. The form of the letter *ṇ* in *svārthēṇa* in line 1 (cf. also °*rāgēṇa* in the same line) exhibits a cursive form more developed than that found in Inscription No. 1. Generally, however, the palaeography of the present record resembles that of the other epigraph and appears to be only a few decades later than that of the latter. This is supported by the internal evidence of Inscription No. 2 which was incised during the reign of king Vīrachandra, the successor of Nītichandra of Inscription No. 1 according to Ānandachandra's epigraph referred to above although it quotes the name slightly differently. This record may be palaeographically assigned to a date about the **last quarter of the sixth century.** Nītichandra is stated to have ruled for 55 years and his successor, called Vīryachandra in Ānandachandra's inscription but Vīrachandra on his coins, for 3 years only. The palaeography of the two records appears to suggest that Inscription No. 1 was engraved fairly early in Nītichandra's reign. It is interesting to note that the second epigraph writes Buddha with *b* while in Eastern India *b* was generally written by the sign for *v* from the seventh century A.D.

Inscription No. 3 exhibits the tripartite form of *y* as in the other two records as well as the same type of *h*. That, however, it was somewhat later than Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 seems to be suggested by the later *daṇḍa*-like medial *ā* sign and the slightly more developed sign of medial *u* (cf. also medial *ū*) resembling subscript *y* and rising to the level of the top *mātrā* of the consonant to its right. A local development seems to be exhibited by the serif at the top of these signs for medial *u* and *ū*.

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 365 ff.; cf. *ARASI*, 1925-26, pp. 146-48.

[2] This form of the sign may be compared with that in certain East Indian records. See, e.g., *shkā* in line 3 of the Barganga inscription (above, Vol. XXX, Plate facing p. 67).

This tendency is noticed once in subscript *y* in Inscription No. 2 as well (cf. *mya* in line 2 with *jyē* in line 4). The form of *m* in Inscription No. 3 also shows some modification when compared to the same letter as found in the other two epigraphs. This type of *m* is not generally noticed in East Indian inscriptions. The epigraph possibly belongs to a date not much earlier than the **second quarter of the seventh century A.D.**

The **language** of Inscriptions Nos. 1-2 is corrupt Sanskrit. The first inscription begins with the Buddhist formula which is a stanza in the *Āryā* metre and Pali language ; but it is found in a Sanskritised form in our record as in some votive epigraphs discovered in India.[1] The word *param-ōpāsikasya* has been wrongly used for *param-ōpāsikāyāḥ*. Of **orthographical** interest is the female name *Ćhandraśrī(śri)yā* for Sanskrit *Chandraśrī*. Chandraśrī(śri)yā of this record may be compared with names like Śriyādēvī found in Indian epigraphs.[2] In *dēyya-dharmma* (line 5), *dēyya* is a Pāli word standing for Sanskrit *dēya*. The use of double nasal in *dharmmō=yaṁm* and *satvānāṁm=anu*° (line 5) is noteworthy. The mute *m* at the end of the first of the two expressions has been retained before the following *s* of the word *sarvva*. Some consonants following *r* have been reduplicated.

Inscription No. 2 contains only two stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The **language** is not faulty as in Inscription No. 1. But its **orthography** is characterised by the wrong use of *ṇ* for *n* in several cases. Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* in *maṇḍanaṁ* (line 3) and final *k* in the word *samyak* (line 2) similarly to *n* (instead of *ṅ*) before the following *n* in *sandhi*.

The language of Inscription No. 3 seems to be corrupt Pali. Its purport is, however, not clear, although it seems to contain a Buddhist tract. The passages that can be read in this fragmentary inscription are : *dhamma cha* at the end of line 2 ; °*sēkinō cha tu dayatu saṁpa*° about the middle and *mahiddhikō* at the end of line 3 ; [*Sa*]*ṁvō*(*bō*)*dhēṁ*(*dhi*)*m=avayan=niyu*°. about the middle and *vishayaṁ bhūtēna* at the end of line 4 ; *dvārē phusantu sivam=uttama*[*ṁ*] at the end of line 5 ; and *sādhu sādhū ti* ‖ in the last line.

The first two lines of Inscription No. 1 contain the stanza *Yē dharmmā*°, etc. The language of the remaining three lines (lines 3-5) is corrupt ; but the sentence covering them appears to say that the stone bearing the inscription, apparently meaning the object or structure to which it belonged, was the gift (*dēyya-dharmma*) of the *param-ōpāsikā* named Sāvītāṁ-Chandraśriyā who was the queen (*dēvī*) of the illustrious **Nītichandra.** The letters in the king's name are damaged ; but the reading is certain. Whether the *anusvāra* in the name *Sāvītāṁ* is unnecessarily added cannot be determined. There is an epithet applied to the king's or queen's name, which seems to read *chandravat-parchhīnāsya* and is unintelligible unless the reading is amended. The purpose of the gift is quoted as 'the *anuka*(or *kta*)*ma* .... of all beings,' there being no space for more than two or three letters after *anukama* or *anuktama* at the end of the line (line 5), although the expression expected here is *anuttama-jñān-āvāptayē*.[3] The letters *anuka*(*kta*?)*ma* in our record possibly stand for *anuttama* with the letters *jñānāya* lost at the end of the line.

The two stanzas in *Anushṭubh* in Inscription No. 2 state that the illustrious **Vīrachandradēva** constructed a hundred Buddha-stūpas, out of his love for the *Satya-dharma*, with his own money. The expression *Buddha-stūpa* appears to mean Stūpas built on the relics of the Buddha while *Satya-dharma* or the true faith refers to the Buddhist religion usually called the *Sad-dharma* by its followers.[4] One of the epithets of the king says that he obtained his kingdom or sovereignty

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[1] For Sanskrit influence on the stanza in Indian epigraphs, see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 223 ff.

[2] See ibid., p. 64.

[3] Cf. *Bullettin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 382 (text line 2).

[4] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 77 (text line 3) ; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 277 line 26 ; p. 378, line 1.

through Dharma. This probably suggests that he normally succeeded his predecessor on the throne and was not a usurper.

The **importance** of the two inscriptions lies in the fact that they are the only epigraphic records of kings **Nītichandra** and **Vīrachandra** of the Buddhist royal family of the **Chandras of Arakan** although both the rulers are known from their coins as well as the Mrohaung pillar inscription of Ānandachandra. Nītichandra's coins bear the legend *Nīti* or *Nītichandra* while Vīrachandra is similarly called *Vīra* or *Vīrachandra* on his coins.[1] As pointed out above, the Mrohaung inscription of Ānandachandra mentions Vīrachandra as Vīryachandra.

The Mrohaung pillar inscription gives very valuable information regarding the **genealogy and chronology** of the Chandras of Arakan, who had their capital at Vēsālī. It is a *praśasti* of king Ānandachandra belonging to a family called Dēv-āṇḍaj-ānvaya or śrī-Dharmarāj-āṇḍaja-vaṁśa. Ānandachandra's father Dharmachandra seems to be described as belonging to the Īś-ānvaya, probably meaning 'a family of kings' or ' a royal family ', while an ancestor of Ānandachandra, named Vajraśakti, is called 'born in the Dēva family ' either to impart the same idea or to indicate that his mother belonged to the Dēva dynasty. The word *aṇḍaja* means a bird and *dēv-āṇḍaja* possibly indicates the divine bird Garuḍa. The expression *śrī-Dharmarāj-āṇḍaja-vaṁśa* possibly means ' the bird (Garuḍa) family of the illustrious and virtuous kings'. The inscription was written for recounting Ānandachandra's pious activities in the first nine years of his reign and was apparently engraved in his ninth regnal year. While the second part of the inscription is a eulogy of Ānandachandra, its first part contains three sections quoting the names of the kings together with the duration of their reigns, who were believed to have ruled over the area in question before Ānandachandra. The first of these three sections deals with certain kings who altogether ruled for 1016 or 1060 (*sahasraṁ shaḍ-daś-ādhikam*) years. The beginning of this section is damaged ; but, as all the five kings at the commencement of the extant portion are stated to have each ruled for 120 years, it is clear that this section (or at least its earlier part) is mythical. The second section deals with the Chandra kings, sixteen of whom are stated to have ruled for 230 years. The list, however, enumerates only thirteen names although their reign-periods as quoted in it come up to 230 years. This is possibly because three kings of the dynasty, who may have ruled for a few weeks or months, were omitted from the list. The last of the three sections deals with the family to which Ānandachandra belonged and quotes the names of his eight predecessors stated to have together ruled for 119 years and 9 months. While the first section reminds us of the mythical account of the ancient history of Kashmir in the earlier chapters of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, the second and third sections resemble the genealogical part of the inscriptions of such dynasties as the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and the Imperial Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga[2] and have the appearance of being based on fairly authentic information. It has, however, to be pointed out that Indian inscriptions earlier than Ānandachandra's record, often quote the names of the predecessors of a king generally without the duration of their reigns.

The **chronology of the Chandras of Arakan** depends on the determination of the date not only of their coins and the inscriptions now under study but also of the Mrohaung pillar inscription of Ānandachandra. Johnston points out how the script of Ānandachandra's record is 'almost entirely identical ' with that of the Nalanda inscription[3] of Yaśōvarman ' both in the form of the

[1] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, op. cit., p. 385 and Plate ; Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, of Pegu and of Burma*, pp. 28-29 and Plate II ; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Plate XXXI, No. 9. Smith wrongly reads *śrī-Śivasya* (or *Givasya*) for *Nītichandra*.

[2] Cf. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, trans., Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 62 ff. ; *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff. ; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[3] Bhandarkar's List, No. 2105 ; above, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff.

letters and in the style of writing'.[1] This Yaśōvarman is known to have sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in 731 A.D. and was defeated by king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir, who ruled in the period circa 726-60 A.D.[2] He seems to have died in or shortly before V.S. 811=754 A.D.[3] Yaśōvarman's reign may thus be assigned approximately to the period 725-54 A.D. The Nalanda inscription seems to have been incised fairly early in his reign since Nalanda lay outside his own dominions in the territories of the Gauḍa king of Bengal and Bihar, whom Yaśōvarman defeated and killed sometime before his own defeat at the hands of king Lalitāditya of Kashmir about 733 A.D.[4] We may therefore assign the incision of the Nalanda inscription to a date in the period 725-33 A.D., say, to 729 A.D. If Ānandachandra's inscription is assigned approximately to the same date, his accession may be tentatively assigned to 720 A.D. On this basis, Ānandachandra's eight ancestors' rule of nearly 120 years may be roughly assigned to the period 600-720 A.D. and the 230 years of Chandra rule approximately to the period 370-600 A.D. On the same basis, the rule of the individual Chandra kings may be tentatively assigned to the following periods :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dvēñchandra | 55 years | circa | 370—425 | A.D. |
| 2 | Rājachandra | 20 ,, | ,, | 425—45 | ,, |
| 3 | Kālachandra | 9 ,, | ,, | 445—54 | ,, |
| 4 | Dēvachandra | 22 ,, | ,, | 454—76 | ,, |
| 5 | Yajñachandra | 7 ,, | ,, | 476—83 | ,, |
| 6 | Chandrabandhu | 6 ,, | ,, | 483—89 | ,, |
| 7 | Bhūmichandra | 7 ,, | ,, | 489—96 | ,, |
| 8 | Bhūtichandra | 24 ,, | ,, | 496—520 | ,, |
| 9 | Nītichandra | 55 ,, | ,, | 520—75 | ,, |
| 10 | Vīrachandra or Vīryachandra | 3 ,, | ,, | 575—78 | ,, |
| 11 | Prītichandra | 12 ,, | ,, | 578—90 | ,, |
| 12 | Pṛithvīchandra | 7 ,, | ,, | 590—97 | ,, |
| 13 | Dhṛitichandra | 3 ,, | ,, | 597—600 | ,, |

## No. 1. Inscription of the time of Nītichandra

### TEXT[5]

1 Yē dharmmā hētu-prabhavā hētu[ṁ] tēshā[ṁ] Tathāga[ta]

2 āha[6] [|*] tēshāṁ cha yō nirōdhō[7] ēvaṁ-vādi(dī) [Ma]hāśramaṇa[ḥ] [||*]

3 śrī-[**Nītichandra**]**sya** chandravat-parchhī[nāsya][8] dēvī[9]-Sāvītāṁ-

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[1] Op. cit., p. 365.

[2] See Stein, op. cit., pp. 67, 88-89.

[3] Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 196-97.

[4] Ibid., pp. 204-05.

[5] From a photograph and an impression.

[6] These two letters seem to have been originally left out and later engraved in the margin.

[7] Better read *nirōdha*.°

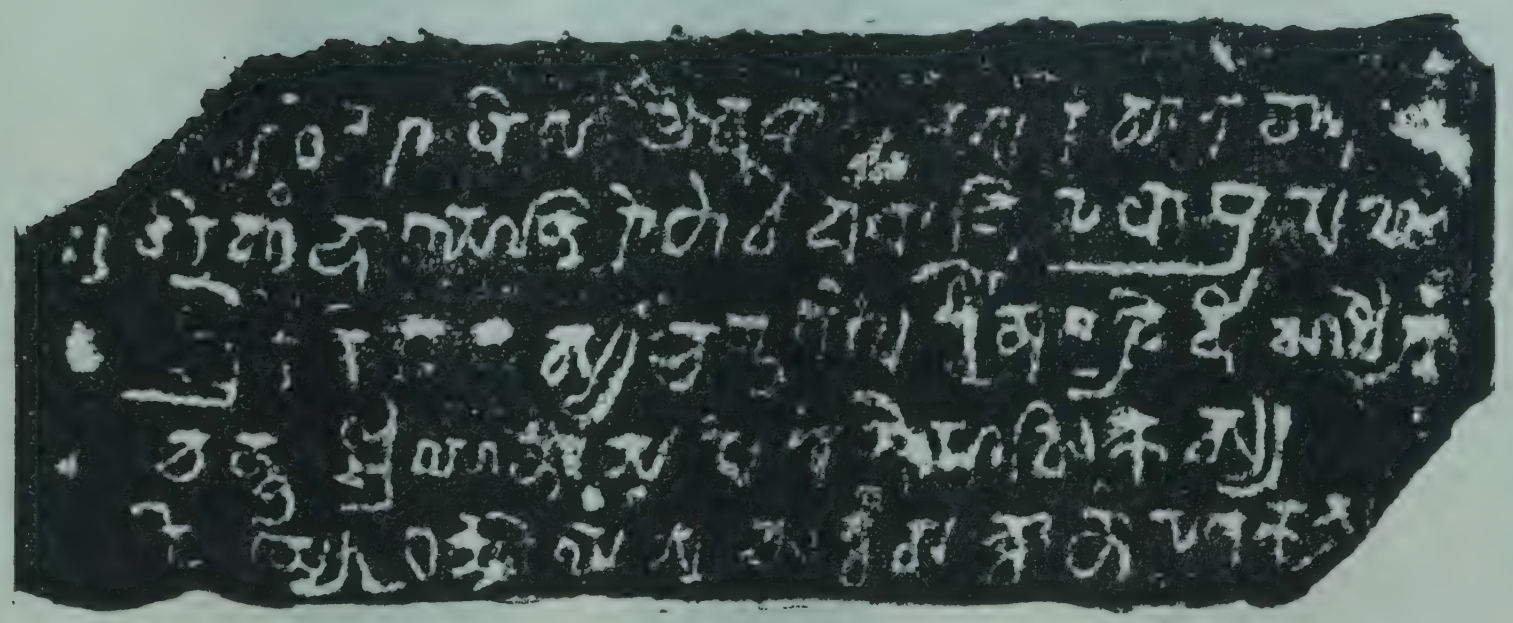
[8] The reading and meaning of the passage are doubtful. It may be an epithet of the king in the sixth case-ending (*sya*) or that of the queen ending in the word *āsya* joined in compound with the following word. The word intended may also be *prārthyamāna*.

[9] Better read *dēvyāḥ*.

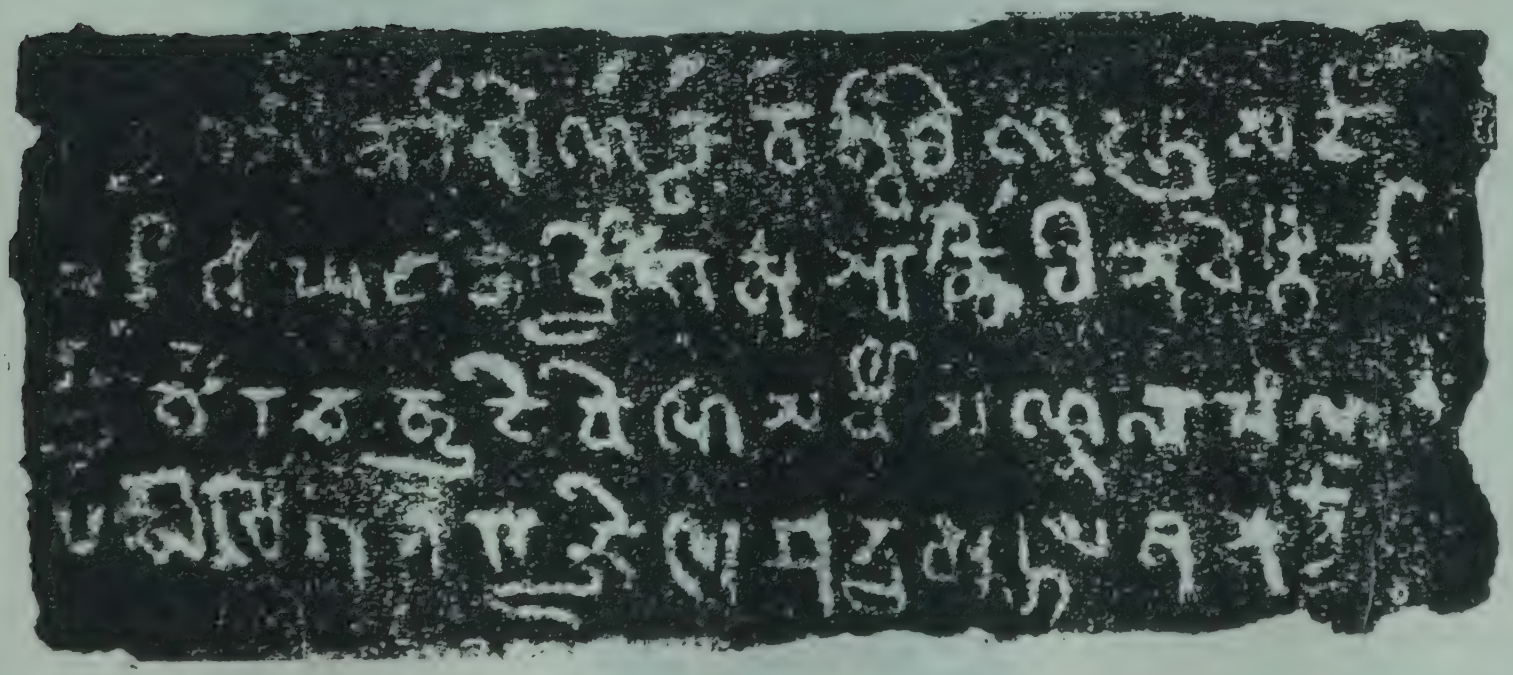
# INSCRIPTIONS OF CHANDRAS OF ARAKAN

## A

### No. 1.—Inscription of the time of Nitichandra

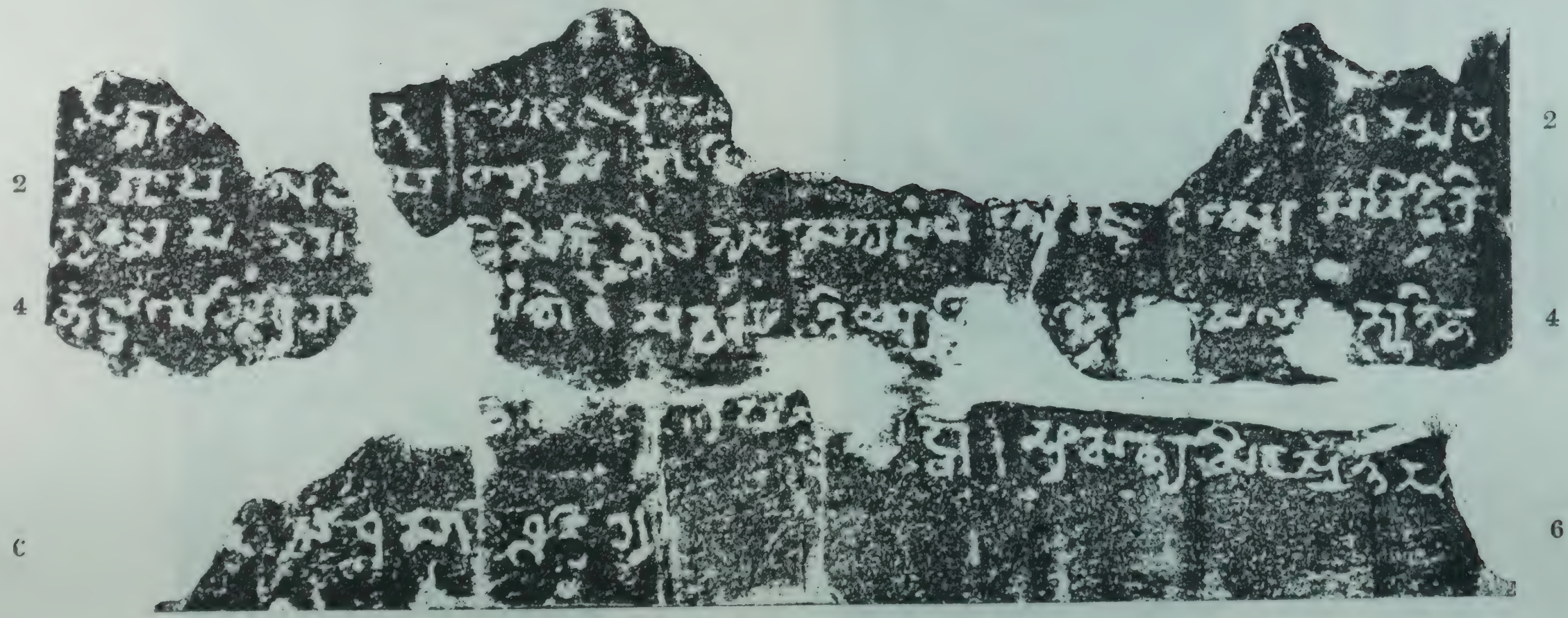


### No. 2.—Inscription of Virachandra



(From Photographs)

B. Fragmentary Inscription from Vesali



Scale : Three-eighths

4 Chandraśrī(śri)yā-nāma-parē(ra)[ṃ-ō]pāsikasya[1]

5 dēyya[2]-dharmmṃō=yaṁm[3] sarvva-satvā(ttvā)nāṁ(nā)ṃ=anuka(tta)ma[4]

## TRANSLATION

The Sentient Being (*par excellence*, i.e. the Buddha) spoke of the cause of the conditions arising from a cause. The Great Ascetic (i.e. the Buddha) also spoke about their destruction.

This is the pious gift of the queen of the illustrious **Nītichandra** who is.....,[5] (*the queen*) by name Sāvītāṁi-Chandraśriyā who is a devout lay worshipper (*of the Buddha*), for (*the acquisition*) of the best [knowledge?] by all creatures.

### No. 2. Inscription of Vīrachandra

## TEXT[6]

1 Satya-dharmm-āna(nu)rāgeṇa kṛitaṁ sv-ārthēṇa(na) bhūbhujā [|*]

2 [pa]r-ārtha-ghaṭan-ōdyōga-samyanni(ṅ-ni)hita-chēti(ta)sā [||*]

3 Śrī-**Vīrachandradēvēṇa(na)** mahī-maṇḍala-maṇḍanaṁ(nam |)

4 dharmm-ādhigata-rājyēṇa(na) Buddha-stūpa-śata[ṁ*] [ch=ēti][7] [||*]

## TRANSLATION

A hundred Buddha-stūpas (i.e. structures enshrining relics of the Buddha), which are the ornament of the earth, are made owing to his love for the true faith[8] (*and*) with his own money by the illustrious king **Vīrachandradēva** who has his heart fully set on exertions for effecting good to others (*and*) who obtained kingdom (or, sovereignty) through righteousness.

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[1] Read °*sikāyāḥ*.

[2] This is Pali for Sanskrit *dēya*.

[3] Read °*yaṁ*. The mark below the last letter may suggest it to be a final *m*. If it is ignored, we have to read it as *ma*.

[4] The third letter of this word may also be read as *k*[*t*]*a*. The word °*jñānāya* seems to be broken away after this.

[5] As indicated above, this may also have been intended for an epithet of the queen.

[6] From a photograph and an impression.

[7] The traces of these letters may also suggest the reading *kṛitam*. But this word occurs in line 1 and would therefore be redundant, although it has to be admitted that *ch=ēti* does not suit the metre.

[8] The expression *satya-dharmm-ānurāga* may also be an epithet of the king.

## No. 12—VELUR INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA-NARASIMHAVARMAN

*(1 Plate)*

K. D. Swaminathan, Madras

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on a hero stone set up in the Vēḍiappaṇ temple[2] at **Vēḷūr** in the Chengam Taluk of the North Arcot District. Below the inscription is the representation of a warrior in bas-relief in a defiant attitude, holding a bow in his left hand and a sword in the right. There is also the representation of a small structure near his feet. I edit the inscription with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamil and the **alphabet** Vaṭṭeḻuttu. But the forms of certain *aksharas* remind us of Tamil characters; e.g., *y* in *viśaiya* (line 1), *Paṟaiya°* (line 3) and *°māḷiyār* (line 4); *l* in *Mēl* (line 3); *ḷu* in *Vēḷūr* and *āḷum* (in line 3). In **respect of palaeography**, the epigraph closely resembles the Hanumantapuram inscription[3] of Vijaya-Īśvaravarman. The form of *ñ* in *ñāṉṟu* (line 4) is slightly different from the usual form found in the inscriptions of the same period copied from the southern Districts.[4] The characters are assignable to the **9th century A.D.** The **orthographical** peculiarities do not call for any remarks. The word *toṟu* occurs also in Kannaḍa[5] and Telugu[6] epigraphs of almost the same period.

The inscription is dated in the **2nd year** of king Vijaya-**Narasiṅgavarman** (Narasiṁhavarman) and records the death of Paṟaiyamāḷiyār, the chief of Mēl-Vēḷūr in **Mīkoṉṟai-nāḍu** and a servant of Vāṇakōṉ Adiyaraiśar, in a cattle raid. Only four inscriptions of Vijaya-Narasiṁhavarman are so far known, though he ruled for at least 24 years. Two of them dated the 3rd and 18th years of his reign are found at Kīḻ-Muṭṭugūr[7] in the North Arcot District, while a third dated the **24th year** comes from Baṅgavāḍi[8] in the Kolar District of Mysore, on the borders of the North Arcot District. The fourth record is found at Chinna-Nāgapūṇḍi[9] in the Tiruttaṇi Division of the Chittur District. The present inscription offers the earliest date for Narasiṁhavarman.

The importance of the record lies in its being the only inscription of Narasiṅgavarman in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, while the alphabet used in his other known inscriptions is Tamil. The use of Vaṭṭeḻuttu in an epigraph found so far north as Vēḷūr is noteworthy. The existence of a number of similar hero stones in and around North Arcot[10] testifies to the disturbed state of the region during the 9th century A.D. The major portion of this District, with the bordering portions of Salem and Kolar, were under the sway of local chiefs who ruled contemporaneously with the Bāṇas, Noḷambas and Gaṅgas during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. During this period of confusion, Narasiṅgavarman of our record may have assumed the status of an independent ruler.

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 69 of 1933-34.

[2] There is another Vēḍiappaṇ temple at Iḍaipparai in the Polur Taluk of the North Arcot District. It contains an inscription of Parākrama-pāṇḍya, dated in his 8th regnal year. See ibid., No. 141 of 1941-42.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 24 and Plate.

[4] Cf. ibid., Vol. IX, p. 90 and Plate; *SII*, Vol. V, No. 783 and Plate.

[5] See *SII*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 10; cf. No. 15.

[6] *A.R. Ep.*, No. 298 of 1935-36.

[7] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 178, 360.

[8] Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 22.

[9] *A.R. Ep.*, No. 133 of 1943-44. The date portion of this record is damaged.

[10] *A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 104 to 106 of 1940-41; Nos. 102 and 116 of 1941-42: No. 68 of 1933-34; *SII*, Vol. XIII, No. 268.

VELUR INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NARASIMHAVARMAN



Scale: One-fifth

As the figures of the elephant and the swan are found sculptured beneath the record of Narasiṁhavarman at Kīḻ-Muṭṭugūr, Hultzsch was inclined to assign this chief to the Gaṅga family.[1] There are two interesting epigraphs of the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters at Oḍḍapaṭṭi[2] in the Uttangarai Taluk of the Salem District bordering on the North Arcot District. Inscriptions of other Gaṅga chiefs are also found in the North Arcot District. From Nammiyēndal in the Polur Taluk comes an epigraph recording an order of Gaṅgaraiyaṉ Āḷappirandāṉ, who claims to have been born in the Gaṅga family and bore the titles 'lord of Kuvaḷāla', *Kāvērīvallabhaṉ* and *Nandagirināthaṉ*, to the *Ūravar* of Ammai-ēndal assigning their village with its taxes as *maḍappuṟam* to the *maṭha* of Aghōraśiva-Mudaliyār at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai to be enjoyed permanently by him and his disciples in succession.[3] A hero stone from Veṇmaṇi bearing an epigraph assignable to the 9th century A.D. records the death of one Gaṇavayaṉ who is described as the disciple of the preceptor (*āśāṉ*) Teṉṉavaṉ, when Veṇmaṇi was destroyed in the time of Valluvikkaṅgaraiyar.[4] During the second half of the ninth century, a branch of the Western Gaṅga family is known to have flourished in parts of the North Arcot District.[5] All these show that North Arcot was under the sway and influence of the Gaṅgas during the ninth century. The emblem of the elephant in the Kīḻ-Muṭṭugūr record suggests the association of Narasiṁhavarman with the Gaṅgas. It is, however, not possible to say precisely the nature of this association. He may have been an early member of the branch of the Western Gaṅga family which held sway over the North Arcot District. It may be said that he was an independent ruler and was the overlord of the Bāṇa chief Vāṇakōṉ Adiyaraiśar, mentioned in the inscription. Vāṇakōṉ Adiyaraiśar appears to be the same as Skandha Bāṇādhirāja who figures in the Baṅgavāḍi inscription of Narasiṁhavarman.

The use of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu script in this inscription requires explanation. The scribe who engraved the record may have hailed from the west coast where Vaṭṭeḻuttu was popularly used, or the warrior Paṟaiyamāḻiyar who was killed in action might have been a native of that region and the inscription recording his death might have been engraved in the script used in his native place. Instances of inscriptions engraved in characters unusual to a particular area are not wanting.[6]

**Mīkoṉṟai-nāḍu** as the name of a territorial division in the North Arcot District is also known from other inscriptions.[7] **Mēl-vēḷūr** may be identified with Vēḷūr, the findspot of the record under review.

## TEXT[8]

1 Kō-viśaiya-**Naraśiṅgaparumaṟku [yāṇḍu*] iru(ra)ṇḍā-**

2 **vadu** Vāṇakōṉ Adi[ya*]raiśar śēvakar **Mīkoṉ-**

3 **ṟai-nāṭṭu** Mēl-Vēḷūr āḷum Paṟaiyamā-

4 ḻiyār ivvūr-ttoṟu-kkoṇḍa-ñāṉṟu paṭṭā[r] [|*]

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 177. The views of Hultzsch were questioned by Jouveau-Dubreuil (*The Pallavas*, pp. 52 ff.) and T.A. Gopinatha Rao (*Madras Christian College Magazine*, April 1907, pp. 1 ff.) on rather insufficient grounds. Narasiṁhavarman of the Kīḻ-Muṭṭugūr record cannot be identified with either of the two Pallava kings of that name, *viz.* Narasiṁhavarman I (Vātāpikoṇḍa) or Narasiṁhavarman II (Rājasiṁha).

[2] *A.R. Ep.*, Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910.

[3] Ibid., No. 114 of 1941-42.

[4] Ibid., No. 116.

[5] Ibid., 1930-31, part ii, p. 40, para. 8.

[6] cf. *JPASB*, Vol. XX, p. 41 ff.; *A.R. Ep.*, No. 369 of 1953-54; etc.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, Nos. 66 to 68 of 1933-34; No. 106 of 1940-41.

[8] From inked impressions in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

## No. 13—INDRAGADH INSCRIPTION OF NANNAPPA, V. S. 767

*(1 Plate)*

KRISHNA DEVA, BHOPAL

This inscription[1] was discovered in March 1954 at the old site of **Indragaḍh** situated two miles north of Bhānpurā, headquarters of a Tahsil of that name in the Mandasaur District of Madhya Bharat (now Madhya Pradesh). The inscription was unearthed in the course of digging for building stones and was found about 3 feet below the surface amidst the excavated remains of an early medieval temple. The remains consisted of a shrine of sandstone with a Śivaliṅga *in situ* and many Śaiva images and architectural fragments of the early medieval period, which point to the existence of a Śiva temple in the age to which the inscription belongs. The place is studded with ancient remains and is picturesque, being enclosed by a rivulet on two sides and a hill containing an old ruined fort on the third side.

The sandstone slab, bearing the inscription, measures 29″ long, 20″ broad and 3½″ thick. The record consists of 19 lines which are neatly and beautifully engraved. The **characters** belong to the North Indian Kuṭila script of the early 8th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Jhalrapatan stone inscription[2] of the time of king Durgagaṇa of V.S. 746 and Kanaswa stone inscription[3] of Śivagaṇa of V. S. 795. Among noteworthy forms may be mentioned final *t* in *mahat* (line 13) and the conjuncts *ñch* in *kraunñcha* (line 14), *jñ* in *saṁjñō* (line 7), *ry* in °*ācchāryō* (line 6), etc. Medial *u* is expressed usually by means of a wedge-shaped attachment as in *vasudhā* (line 1) and occasionally by the curly form as in *guṇai*° (line 10). Medial *ū* is generally indicated by a double curl as in *pūjanā* (line 15); but two variant forms are noticed in the same line in *pūrvā* and *pūrvaja*. Medials *i*, *ī* and *ō* have ornamental curly forms in line 1. The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. Short wedge-shaped strokes have been frequently used in the place of a *daṇḍa* to mark the end of the first half of a stanza. As regards **orthography**, the consonants joined with a subscript *r* have not been generally doubled, while those in conjunction with a superscript *r* have been occasionally doubled. For cases of wrong *sandhi*, cf. *yasmin=itthaṁ* (line 2; but see *jvalann=iva* in line 9). Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* before a vowel in some cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the major portion of the record is in verse, composed in elegant *kāvya* style. The record opens with the symbol for *Ōm* and an obeisance to Śiva, followed by two invocatory verses in praise of Śiva and Gaurī. Verse 4 describes the excellence and war-like exploits of king **Ṇaṇṇappa** who was the son of **Bhāmāna** of the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** lineage. In the following four stanzas are praised two teachers of the Pāśupata sect, *viz.* Vinītarāśi and his disciple Dānarāśi. The ninth verse refers to the construction of a stone temple of Śiva by Dānarāśi. This is followed by two stanzas charging the city (i.e. the council of the elders of the city) for the maintenance of the temple. The next verse is merely imprecatory. Verses 13 and 14 supply the year and the season when the temple was constructed. Verse 15 which is the last stanza in the record under study mentions Durgāditya who was the son of Śaṅkara and hailed

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[1] [The inscription was noticed in *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 193 ff., Vol. XXXI, pp. 99 ff. It has been published in *JBRS*, Vol. XLI, part iv, pp. 249 ff.—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 181 and Plate.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 57 and Plate.





from **Gauḍa-dēśa**.[1] Then follows a section in prose which, after stating that the record was engraved by one Chāmuṇḍasōma, furnishes details of the endowments made in favour of the temple. This section, written in faulty and ungrammatical Sanskrit, was obviously drafted by a person other than the one who composed the beautiful verses; but the entire record appears to have been engraved by the same hand.

The **date** of the record is expressed in words (verses 13-14 in lines 13-14). It is stated that the temple was constructed during winter when **seven hundred years exceeded by sixty-seven of the [era of the] world-famous Mālava kings** had elapsed. **Year 767** of the Mālava (Vikrama) era corresponds to **710-11 A.D.**

The **object** is to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by the Pāśupata ascetic Dānarāśi. It is obviously represented by the excavated ruins of the temple that yielded the inscription. The inscription also records the endowments made to Guhēśvara,[2] which appears to be the name of the deity enshrined in the temple, by Dēullikā, Takshullikā and Bhōginikā, daughters of one Kumāra of the Prāgvāṭa caste. The endowments included a house situated near the street in the western part of the fort which may be identified with the fort of Indragaḍh existing in ruins on the hill adjoining the site.[3]

The inscription is interesting in various ways. Firstly, it provides epigraphic evidence of the antiquity of the Indragaḍh site. Secondly, it furnishes the names of two Pāśupata teachers, Vinītarāśi and his disciple Dānarāśi who built the Śiva temple at Indragaḍh. Incidentally it proves the existence of the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism in Malwa during the early medieval period. Thirdly, by showing that the city was charged with the responsibility of carrying out repairs to the shrine and maintaining worship therein, the inscription throws light on one of the functions of the ancient city administration. Fourthly, this record dated in the year 767, supplies the latest date in 'the Mālava era' to be found in Malwa, which is 178 years later than the Mandasaur inscription of Yaśōdharman Vishṇuvardhana of the Mālava year 589.[4] Fifthly, the name Ṇaṇṇappa, ending in the Kannaḍa honorific *appa*, affords another proof of the Kannaḍa origin of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[5]

But the importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies the names of two new Rāshṭrakūṭa chiefs, *viz.* Ṇaṇṇappa and his father Bhāmāna. From the way the name of Ṇaṇṇappa is mentioned in the record it is plausible to conclude that he was the reigning prince of Malwa in Mālava year 767=710-11 A. D. Now a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince called Nannarāja is mentioned in the Multai plates[6] dated Śaka 631 (709-10 A. D.), Tiwarkhed plates[7] dated Śaka 553 (631-32 A. D.) and Sangalooda plates[8] dated Śaka 615 (693-94 A. D.). In these plates, which all come from Berar, Nannarāja is called son of Svāmikarāja. Prof. Mirashi has shown the Tiwarkhed plates to be spurious.[9] The dates provided for Nannarāja by the Multai plates, *viz.* Śaka 631 (709-10 A. D.), and by the Sangalooda plates, *viz.* Śaka 615 (693-94 A. D.), come very close to the Mālava year 767 (710-11 A. D.) furnished by the present record and one is tempted to identify Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja of the Berar plates with Rāshṭrakūṭa Ṇaṇṇappa of the present record. The

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[1] The stanza in question (verse 15) says that the *pūrvā*, i.e. the eulogy (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 123), was composed by Durgāditya. In the epithet *pūrvaja-pūjanā* applied to *pūrvā*, the word *pūrvaja* has been used to indicate the god Śiva.

[2] Guhēśvara as the name of Śiva also occurs in the Ellora plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 25ff).

[3] [See below, p. 117, note 1.—Ed ]

[4] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 152 ff. and Pl.

[5] Cf. A. S. Altekar, *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp .24 ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff. and Plate

[7] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff. and Plate.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 109 ff. and Plate

[9] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.

only discrepancy is that the name of the father of Nannarāja of the Berar records is given as Svāmikarāja, while that of Ṇaṇṇappa is mentioned as Bhāmāna ; but this discrepancy can be solved by assuming that Bhāmāna was the *biruda* of Svāmikarāja and that, in the metrical composition of the present record (verse 4), the *biruda* suited the exigencies of the metre better than the name. Nannarāja would thus become identical with Ṇaṇṇappa, *appa* being the Kannaḍa honorific attached to the name Ṇaṇṇa or Nanna.[1] If this identification be accepted, it will show that Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja or Ṇaṇṇappa reigned from 693 to 712 A. D. and that his rule extended from Berar in the south to Malwa in the north. But from the undated Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant[2] of Rāshṭrakūṭa Abhimanyu we know of another Rāshṭrakūṭa family ruling in *circa* seventh century A. D. over the Hoshanagabad-Mhow region which falls between Berar and Malwa.[3] How could two ruling families hold sway over the same region simultaneously ? The difficulty is resolved by assuming that either the two Rāshṭrakūṭa families were friendly and had agreed to have concurrent jurisdiction over the Mhow-Hoshangabad region or the two families were mutually at war trying to grab each other's territory. It is, however, more probable that the family of Abhimanyu had already passed out of the stage before the rise, in *circa* 693 A. D., of Nannarāja-Ṇaṇṇappa who could thus hold undisputed sway over the region extending from Berar in the south-east to Malwa in the north-west.

We have one more inscription mentioning Nannarāja from Berar, *viz.* Nagardhan plates[4] of Svāmirāja, dated in the year 322 of an unspecified era. These plates were issued from Nāndīvardhana by Nannarāja, brother of the reigning prince Svāmirāja and differ from the other Berar plates of Nannarāja not only in respect of palaeography, but also in leaving the era as well as the name of the dynasty unspecified and in calling Nannarāja a brother of Svāmirāja instead of a son of Svāmikarāja. As the year 322 of the record has been shown[5] to refer to 573 A. D., this grant antedates the Multai and Sangalooda plates by over a century, thus indicating that Nannarāja of the Nagardhan plates was different from Nannarāja of the other Berar plates. The similarity of the names and the identity of territory, however, may show that Nannarāja and Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates were probably earlier members of the same family. If this view is accepted, we have to conclude that Nāndīvardhana (modern Nagardhan near Ramtek, Nagpur District), the place of issue of the Nagardhan plates, was the earlier capital of the family. Their capital was subsequently shifted to Achalapura (modern Ellichpur) which is prominently mentioned in literature as well as in the spurious Tiwarkhed plates. Padmanagara, the place of issue of the Sangalooda plates, has been identified with Padmin near the town of Akola.[6] It appears to have been an important town in the time of Nannarāja-Ṇaṇṇappa, if not the new political seat of the family.

Nanna appears to have been a popular name among the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Rāshṭrakūṭa chiefs bearing this name are also known from other inscriptions. One Nanna Guṇāvalōka is mentioned as the grandfather of Rāshṭrakūṭa Tuṅga Dharmāvalōka in the latter's Bodhgaya stone inscription,[7] dated in the year 15 of a regnal reckoning. Nanna Guṇāvalōka of this inscription, which is palaeographically assignable to *circa* 9th century A. D., is obviously not the same as Nanna of

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[1] [The identification does not appear to be supported by any evidence besides the contemporaneity of the two chiefs bearing similar names.—Ed.]

[2] Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 165 ff. and Plate.

[3] [The Rāshṭrakūṭa house represented by Abhimanyu ruled in the Satara-Kolhapur region of the South Marāṭhā country about the sixth century A. D. It had little to do with Malwa. See *The Classical Age*, ed. by Majumdar, pp. 199-200. Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.

[5] Ibid., p. 5.

[6] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 113.

[7] R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gaya*, p. 195 and Plate.

our record (710-11 A. D.). Similarly, Nanna referred to as the father of Rāshṭrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa who issued the Daulatabad plates[1] dated Śaka year 715 (793 A. D.), too, cannot be identified with Ṇaṇṇa of our record due to the considerable gap of time between the two. A Rāshṭrakūṭa Nannarāja is mentioned in a Prakrit inscription engraved in nail-headed characters of the 8th or 9th century A. D. on the back wall of the chapel between caves XXVI and XXVII at Ajanta.[2] On account of closer proximity of time and place, Nannarāja of the Ajanta inscription may more plausibly be identified with Nanna of the Daulatabad plates than with the homonymous chief of our record.

The Bayana memorial stone inscription,[3] palaeographically datable in *circa* 8th century A. D., also refers (without specifying the family name) to a prince called Ṇaṇṇa during whose reign one Durgāditya was killed in the course of a fight at a place called Piṁpala-Gauṇḍala. Mere identity of name and similarity of script do not warrant the identification of this prince with Ṇaṇṇa of our record, as the tract of Bayana is not contiguous with the known extent of Nannarāja-Ṇaṇṇappa's kingdom.[4]

The feudatory status of the family of Nannarāja-Ṇaṇṇappa is indicated by the non-assumption of paramount titles by any member of the family. We should also note the fact that Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan plates bears the significant epithet *bhaṭṭāraka-pādānuddhyāta*. The paramount rulers of Berar in the time of Svāmirāja (573 A. D.) were the Kalachuris who were ousted early in the 7th century A. D. by the Chālukyas of Badami. The territories of Pulakēśin II (610-42 A. D.) who is credited with the conquest of the three Mahārāshṭrakas included Berar and also probably Malwa which continued to form part of the Chālukya empire in the time of his successors, *viz.* Vikramāditya I (655-80 A. D.), Vinayāditya (681-96 A. D.), and Vijayāditya (697-733 A. D.). The last two were the Chālukya suzerains of Nannarāja-Ṇaṇṇappa.[5]

## TEXT[6]

[Metres: Verses 1, 4, 6 *Sragdharā*; verses 2-3, 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 5, 7, 9-15 *Anushṭubh*.]

1 ॐ[7] नमः शिवाय ॥ सूचीपातेन सद्यः प्रचलति वसुधा कम्पते नागराजः
पादोद्धारेण नीतो द्वज इव धवलो दुग्धसिन्धुर्विभाति । दोर्द्दण्डैश्च
भ्रमद्भिः पुन-

2 रपि गिरयो जातपक्षा[:*] प्रयान्ति यस्मिनि(न्नि)त्थं प्रनृत्ते भवति जगदिदं
सोस्तु भूत्यै भवो वः ॥ [१॥*] प्राप्तं तस्य फलं मयाद्य तपसो
यत्तत्कृतं तत्पुरः(रो) यन्मे मूर्ध्नि

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[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff. and Plate.

[2] G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Part IV, Text, pp. 121 ff. and Plate.

[3] *Arch. Surv., West. Circ., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 49.

[4] [A ruler named Nannappa, who seems to have belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa lineage and ruled about the close of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century, is known from the Salem plates of Ganga Śripurusha, dated Śaka 693 (771 A. D.). See above, Vol. XXVII, p. 147 and note 5, pp. 335-36. For an earlier ruler named Nanna who may not have been a Rāshṭrakūṭa, see *The Classical Age*, p. 197.—Ed.]

[5] [This is extremely doubtful. There is as yet no evidence to show that the Indragadh region formed a part of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. It is also not certain that Ṇaṇṇappa was a feudatory ruler.—Ed.]

[6] From the original stone and inked impressions.

[7] Expressed by symbol.

3 पदं करोति हर हे त्वल्लालिता जाह्नवी । गेहं यामि पितुर्गृहाण तनयं सोढुं न शक्तास्म्यहं(हम्) एवं मन्युभरालसं गिरिजया प्रोक्तो हरः पातु वः ॥ [२॥*] श्रीमत्कङ्कण-

4 पन्नगेन्द्रशिरसि ज्वालावलीभासुरो यस्तिष्ठत्यमलो मणिस्तदुदरे संक्रान्तविम्व(म्ब)-द्युतिं(तिम्) । रूपं भर्तुरपे(वे)क्ष्य लज्जितमुखी गौरी मनोहर्षणं रोमांचं दधती

5 विवाहसमये नित्यं शिवायास्तु वः ॥ [३॥*] यस्मिन्दृष्टेरिवृन्दं घटितगजघटापीठ-मप्याहवेषु क्षिप्रं याति प्रणाशं क्रमसमुपचितं स्वं परित्यज्य मा-

6 नं(नम्) [।*] भामानस्य प्रसूतिः प्रकटितयशसो राष्ट्रकूटान्वयस्य श्रीणण्णप्पः स राजा जयति निजगुणावर्ज्जिताशेषलोकः ॥ [४॥*] आसीत्पाशुपताचार्यो रु-

7 द्रश्रृङ्खलिकाग्रणीः [।*] विनीतराशिसंज्ञो यः शान्तः प्रसवगोचरी ॥ [५॥*] यः ख्यातो भूतलेस्मिन्प्रकटपृथुयशाः सत्ययुक्तः सुशान्तो विद्वां(द्वाञ्) ज्ञानी

8 कृतज्ञः सकलवसुमतीमण्डनो भावितात्मा । नित्यं राज्ञां समूहैर्न्नतचरणयुगश्शब्द-(ब्द)शास्त्रे स्वभिज्ञो निष्पन्नैः शिष्यसंघैरनवरतमभिष्टूय-

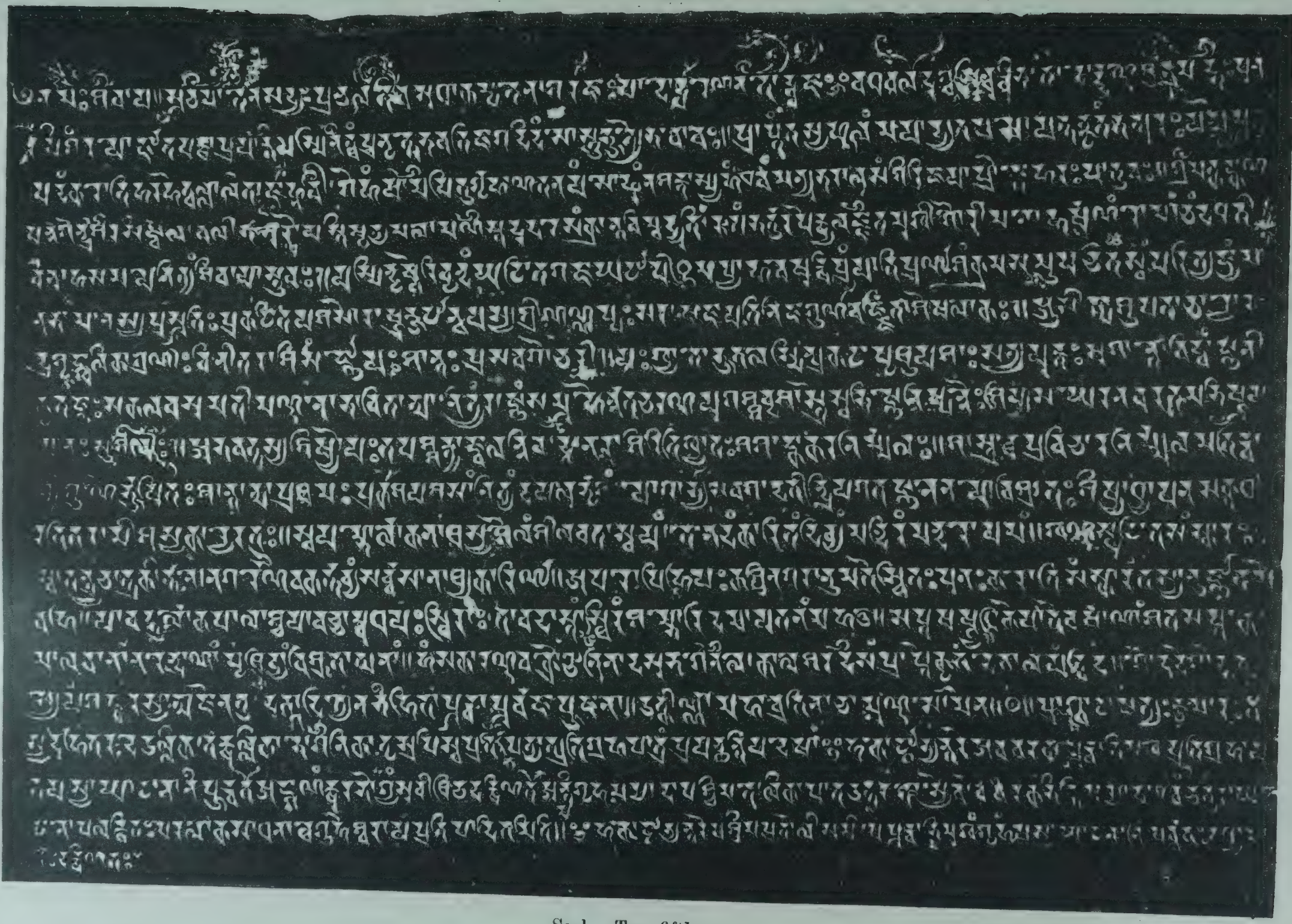
9 मानः सुशीलः ॥ [६॥*] अभवत्तस्य शिष्यो यः(यस्)तपश्शक्त्या ज्वलन्निव । दानराशिरिति ख्यातः शशाङ्ककरनिर्म्मलः ॥ [७॥*] शास्त्रार्थप्रविचार निर्म्मलमतिर्वा-

10 ग्मी गुणैर्भूषितः शान्तात्मा प्रथमः प्रकाशयशसां नित्यं दयालुर्भृशं(शम्) । योगाभ्यासवशादतीन्द्रियगतज्ञानेन यो विश्रुतः शिष्याध्यापनसक्तधी-

11 रतितरामीशस्य कार्ये रतः ॥ [८॥*] स्वयम्भोर्लोकनाथस्य शैलं शीलवता स्वयं(यम्) । तेनेदं कारितं दिव्यं मन्दिरं मन्दरोपमं(मम्) ॥ [९*॥] ख[ण्ड]स्फुटितसंस्कारः

12 स्वातन्त्र्यं चात्र कीर्त्तने । नगरेणैव कर्त्तव्यं सर्व्वसानाथ्यकारिणा ॥ [१०॥*] अपरोपि हि यः कश्चिन(न्न)गरानुमते स्थितः [।*] पुनः करोति संस्कारं तस्यानुज्ञातमे-

13 व हि ॥ [११॥*] यावद्भूलोकपालाश्च यावच्चाम्बु(म्बु)धयः स्थिराः । तावदास्तां स्थिरं शम्भोरिदमायतनं महत् ॥ [१२॥*] सप्तषष्ट्यधिके याते वर्षाणां शतसप्तके ।



Scale : Two-fifths

14 मालवानां नरेन्द्राणां पृथिव्यां विश्रुतात्मनां(नाम्) ॥ [१३॥*] हंसकारण्डवक्रौञ्च-
निनादसुभगेनिले । काले शरदि संप्राप्ते कृतं देवालयं त्विदं(दम्) ॥ [१४॥*]
गौडदेशोद्भव-

15 स्येयं शङ्करस्यात्मजेन तु । दुर्गादित्येन [वि]हिता पूर्वा पूर्वजपूजना ॥ [१५॥*]
उत्कीर्णा महाव्रतिना चामुण्डसोमेन ॥ ० ॥ प्राग्वाटज्ञात्यः(तीयः) कुमारः त-

16 स्य दुहितरः देउल्लिका तक्षुल्लिका भोगिनिका तृस्र(तिस्रो)पि स्वप्रतिपत्या त्प्र(प्र)तिग्रहपात्रं
प्रयच्छन्ति य देषां(आसाम्) इह कोट्टाभ्यन्तरे अववरकपूर्वाभिमुख प्रतिग्रहाया-

17 त[1] यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतो(तः) अङ्गणं क्षुरभोग्यं सुवीथि च दक्षिणतो(तः) अन्तिम[2]गृहमर्यादा
पश्चिमतो लिकापात उत्तरतोस्यैवो(वा)ववरकभित्तिमर्यादा एवं चतुराघ[ा]-

18 टनोपलक्षितः परलोकसाधनार्थे गुहेश्वराय प्रतिपादितमिति[3] ॥ इह कोट्टाभ्यन्तरे
पश्चिमप्रतोलीसमीपे पूर्वाभिमुखं गृहं यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतः रथ्या मा-

19 र्गः दक्षिणतः ।

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[1] Read *avavarakaḥ pūrv-ābhimukhaḥ saḥ pratigrahāya dattaḥ.* The word *avavaraka* is the same as Pali *ōraraka* meaning ' a store room '.

[2] The letter *ma* has been engraved below *nti.*

[3] [Read °*pādita iti.*—Ed.]

## No. 14—THREE CHANDELLA CHARTERS

*(2 Plates)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

About the middle of 1955 I went to Banaras in order to examine and copy the inscriptions preserved at the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, now attached to the Hindu University. On that occasion, Rai Krishnadasji, the founder-curator of the Kalā Bhavan, was kind enough to lend me pencil-rubbings of four copper-plate grants for examination. The rubbings enabled me to decipher the major parts of all the four inscriptions. But, for the publication of the records, an examination of the original plates was necessary. I therefore requested Rai Krishnadasji to secure the inscriptions for the Kalā Bhavan and also to give me an opportunity of examining them when acquired. About the end of the year, I was glad to receive for examination three out of the four inscriptions, which, I was told, had been secured for the Kalā Bhavan through the generosity of Seth G. D. Birla. All the three grants belong to the Chandēlla dynasty, one to king **Madanavarman** (known dates between 1129 and 1163 A. D.) and two to his grandson and successor[1] **Paramardin** (known dates between 1167 and 1202 A. D.). These three inscriptions are edited in the following pages with the permission of Rai Krishnadasji. I was not supplied with any information regarding the findspot of the records and the story of their discovery; but, when I visited Banāras again about the close of 1957, I was informed that all the four copper-plate grants had been purchased from Shri Thakur Das Jain *alias* Jain Master of Tikamgarh (also called Tehri), capital of the former Orchha State which was originally merged in Vindhya Pradesh and now forms a part of Madhya Pradesh. From whom and where the said gentleman secured the plates, however, remains as yet unknown. It may be mentioned in this connection that the last of the four inscriptions, obtained by the Kalā Bhavan from the source referred to above, was received by me sometime later about the end of 1956 and was found on examination to be a charter issued by the Pratihāra king Harirāja from his camp at Sīyadōṇī in Vikrama Saṁvat 1040 (984 A. D.) on the occasion of a solar eclipse. This inscription has already been published in the pages of this journal.[2] I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to Rai Krishnadasji for his kindness which has enabled me to place the results of my study of the records before the students of Indian history.

The three Chandēlla charters published below resemble other known copper-plate grants of the family in respect of **palaeography, orthography and style.** Among the three grants, the resemblance in these respects is of course closer between the two records of Paramardin than between those and the charter of Madanavarman. The engraving of the letters is carefully and beautifully done in all the plates, although the preservation of the writing on Paramardin's inscriptions is more satisfactory than in the case of Madanavarman's charter. There is little difference between the forms of the letters *ch* and *v* and this fact renders the reading of personal and geographical names doubtful in some cases. The same difficulty is sometimes also noticed in

[1] Paramardin's father Yaśōvarman apparently predeceased his father Madanavarman. But the epithet *mah-ēśvara-śirō-maṇi* (i.e. 'the crest-jewel of great rulers'), applied to Yaśōvarman in the Bateswar inscription (above, Vol. I, p. 209, verse 8) has led some scholars to believe that he 'had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi' (Ray, *DHNI*, p. 712). The epithet, however, is justified even if Yaśōvarman was the ruler of a district under his father. If Paramardin really succeeded his father, the latter's name should not have been omitted from the former's charters.

[2] See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 309 ff.

determining the value of a sign which may be taken to be either as the *ā-mātrā* of the preceding consonant or the *ē-mātrā* of the following letter. The subscript *r* often resembles the subscript *v*. The sign for *v* indicates *b* as well; but the sign for *b* seems to be used in *Ambarīsha* in line 26 of Madanavarman's grant. Subscript *g* in *rgg* looks like *n*. As regards orthography, it may be noticed that often the class nasal is used for *anusvāra* and *vice versa*. Some consonants have been redoubled in conjunction with *r*. The spelling of *sankrānta* (for *saṅkrānta*) and *purassara* respectively in lines 7 and 15 of Madanavarman's grant is interesting.

### 1. *Plates of Madanavarman, V. S. 1192*

This is a set of **two** plates which are rather thick and heavy and have writing only on the inner side. Each of the plates measures about 17·6″ by 16″. For the protection of the writing, copper bands are fixed with copper rivets on the margins of the inscribed sides of the plates. There is a hole in both the plates apparently to hold them together by means of a ring. But the ring seems to be lost. The figure of seated Gajalakshmī is engraved in a space measuring 2·1″ by 1·7″ about the middle of the upper part of the inscription on the first plate, thereby disturbing the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3. This was the royal **emblem**, by which the Chandēllas used to authenticate their charters in lieu of a regular seal. There are altogether 43 lines of writing, 22 on the first plate and 21 on the second. The two plates together weigh 600 *tolas*.

The charter was issued by the Chandēlla king **Madanavarman** on **Tuesday, Chaitra-vadi 5, Vishuva-saṅkrānti, in V.S. 1192.** The date corresponds to the **24th March 1136 A.D.** if the month is regarded as *Amānta*.

The record begins with a variant of the symbol for *siddham* followed by the word *svasti*. Then follows the stanza generally used in Chandēlla grants to introduce the family of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) kings. This is followed by a passage in prose which introduces the reigning monarch, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Madanavarman** who was a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva) and the lord of Kālañjara. The king is described as the successor of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Pṛithvīvarman who himself succeeded *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Kīrtivarman and as belonging to the family rendered famous by the birth of such heroes as Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti. The above is followed in lines 4-7 by two stanzas eulogising king Madanavarman. The first of these, already known from the Semra plates[1] of Paramardin, says how the creator endowed the king with a multitude of good qualities. The second verse says how the king's liberality put the mythical wish-fulfilling trees on the golden mountain (Sumēru) to shame.

The grant portion begins in line 7 and records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmaṇas and other people including officials, agriculturists, scribes, messengers, physicians, *mahattaras* (heads of villages), Mēdas and Chaṇḍālas, assembled at **Valahauḍā-grāma** in the *vishaya* or district of **Mahisiṇēha.** The order was in respect of the grant of 2¼ *padas* out of 8 *padas* of cultivated land in the said village, which was made by the king on the date discussed above from his camp at **Parēyī-grāma.** The donee was the Brāhmaṇa, *Paṇḍita* Sōmēśarman, who belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra* and the Āṅgirasa, Āmbarīsha and Yauvanāśva *pravaras*. He was the son of *Ṭhakkura* śrī-Śrīpāla, grandson of *Dvivēda* Sahāraṇa and great-grandson of *Avasathin* (probably meaning 'the teacher of a school') Dēvaḍha. His family hailed from the *Bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra* of **Pāṭaliputra.** Whether the gift land was made a rent-free holding is not clearly stated in the inscription.

The record of the above grant is followed by that of others made in favour of two other Brāhmaṇas,[2] the first of whom was *Dīkshita* Nārāyaṇaśarman who belonged to the Gautama *gōtra*

[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 157.

[2] They received the grants in the same village in exchange for other lands in their possession apparently for the sake of convenience.

and the Gautama, Āṅgirasa and Ayāsya *pravaras*. He was the son of *Dīkshita* Dēvēndra, grandson of *Dīkshita* Vāmanasvāmin and great-grandson of *Dīkshita* Kēśava, and his family hailed from the *Bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra* of **Paṇikavaḍa**. It is stated that originally **Astavāla-grāma** in **Ērachchha-pattalā** was granted to Nārāyaṇaśarman in exchange for the lands in his possession at **Pipalahā** in **Tintirī-pattalā**, **Vasauhā** in **Kōlavā-pattalā**, **Gōulā** in **Vāndiuri-pattalā**, **Dādarī** in **Navaraṭha-pattalā** and **Dēnavāḍa** in **Mahisiṇēha-pattalā**. Now the king granted to the same Brāhmaṇa four *padas* of land (apparently at Valahauḍā-grāma in Mahisiṇēha-pattalā) in exchange for Astavāla-grāma and the land in his possession at **Pipalahā-grāma** in **Tintirī-pattalā** as well as his lands at **Valahauḍā-grāma** in **Mahisiṇēha-pattalā** and **Ḍāvaha**(or **Ḍavēha**)**-grāma** in **Nandāvaṇa**(or **Nandavēṇa**)**-pattalā** which he had received respectively from Nādūka, the priest attached to *Rājñī* Lakhamādēvī, and Sōmēka, son of *Ṭhakkura* śrī-Śrīpāla.[1]

The third donee was the Brāhmaṇa Sahajūśarman who was a brother of Sōmēśarman or Sōmēka mentioned above. It is stated that he received from the king $1\frac{3}{4}$ *padas* of land (apparently at Valahauḍā-grāma in Mahisiṇēha-pattalā) in exchange for his lands at Pipalahā-grāma in Tintirī-pattalā and **Mahuālī-grāma** in **Kōlavā-pattalā**. He is stated to have received the lands in the two villages respectively from *Mahārājñī* Vālhaṇadēvī and *Rājñī* Chāndaladēvī (or Chandēladēvī). It is said that these grants were made by the queens with the king's permission.

The conditions of the grant, which are the same as in other Chandēlla charters, are quoted in lines 29-33. Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 34-40. This is followed by a passage conveying the king's consent to the grants and must have been originally endorsed by the king himself on the original document that was later engraved on the plates. Then follow in lines 41-43 two stanzas, the first of which says that the copper-plate charter was written by the *Dharma-lēkhin* Sūḍha who belonged to the Vāstavya community. The same person also wrote the Āugasi plate[2] of the same king. The contractions *ṭha* and *sī* before his name in that record stand for *ṭhakkura* and *śrī* respectively. The same verse was utilised with slight modification by Pṛithvīdhara and Śubhānanda who wrote respectively the Semra[3] and Pachar[4] copper-plate grants of Paramardin. The present plates were engraved by the *vijñānin* Ūhēṇa who belonged to the *Rītikāra* (i.e. *Kāṁsyakāra* or brazier) community. The record concludes with a *maṅgala* and a set of three symbols or contractions thrice quoted. The meaning of these cannot be determined.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Kālañjara is the well-known hill-fort in the Banda District of U. P., which was one of the centres of Chandēlla power. The grant was made when the king was staying at Parēyī-grāma while the various plots of gift land were situated at Valahauḍa-grāma in the *vishaya* or *pattalā* (i.e. district) of Mahisiṇēha. The families of the donees hailed from Pāṭaliputra, rather inaccurately called a *Bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra* (i.e. a rent-free locality in the possession of learned Brāhmaṇas), and Panikavaḍa-bhaṭṭāgrahāra. Pāṭaliputra is no other than the well-known ancient city of that name, which stood near modern Patna in Bihar. The other villages mentioned are : (1) Pipalahā in Tintirī-pattalā, (2) Vasauhā in Kōlavā-pattalā, (3) Gōulā in Vāndiuri-pattalā, (4) Dādarī in Navaraṭha-pattalā, (5) Dēnavāḍa in Mahisiṇēha-pattalā, (6) Astavāla in Ērachchha-pattalā, (7) Ḍāvaha or Davēha in Nandāvaṇa(or Nandavēṇa)-pattalā and Mahuālī in Kōlavā-pattalā. The *pattalā* of Nandāvaṇa or Nandavēṇa is mentioned in the Ichchhawar plate[5] of Paramardin as Nandāvaṇa-vishaya which may be identified

[1] It may also be that lands in Ḍāvaha and Pipalahā were received from these persons.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. IV, p. 170.

[4] Ibid, Vol. X, p. 49.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 205.

with the district round Ichchhawar in the Pailani Tahsil of the Banda District. Ērachchha-pattalā may be the same as the Ērachha *vishaya* of the Mahoba plate,[1] the name of which has been preserved in that of modern Erich on the Betwa, about sixty miles from Mahoba. Navaraṭha-pattalā seems to be the same as the Navarāshṭra-maṇḍala *vishaya* of the Charkhari plates,[2] while the names of Vāndiuri, Tintirī-pattalā and Pipalahā remind us respectively of the Banda District, the Teonthar Tahsil of the former Rewa State and the Pipalōau *durga* mentioned in the Alhaghat inscription.[3] The district of Navarāshṭra was situated on the river Yamunā.

## TEXT[4]

[Metres : verses 1, 4-9, 13 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2-3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 10 *Indravajrā* : verse 11 *Śālinī* ; verse 12 *Mālinī*.]

### *First Plate*

1 Siddham[5] Svasti | Jayaty=āhlādayan=viśvaṁ Viśvēśvara-śirō-dhṛitaḥ | Chandrātrēya-narēndrāṇāṁ vaṁśaś=chandra iv=ōjjvalaḥ || [1*] tatra pravarddhamānē vi-

2 rōdhi-vijaya-bhrājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vīr-āvirbhāva-bhāsvarē paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Kīrttiva-**

3 **rmmadēva-**pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Pṛithvīvarmmadēva-**pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirā-

4 ja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Kālañjar-**ādhipati-śrīman-**Madanavarmmadēvō** vijayī || Saundaryam=Makaradhvajē jalani-

5 dhau gāmbhīryam=aryē divō=py=aiśvaryaṁ Dhishaṇē dhiyaṁ cha Tapasaḥ satyām cha vāchaṁ sutē | sṛishṭv=ābhyāsa-vasā(śā)d=gatē pariṇatiṁ nirmmāṇa-śilpē dhru-

6 vaṁ yatr=āsau niramāyy=ananya-sadṛiśō Dhātrā guṇānāṁ gaṇaḥ || [2*] api cha | **Tan**naḥ sarvva-samīhit-ārtha-ghaṭanā-lapdha(bdha)-pratishṭhaṁ janē rājñ=ānēna manō**rath**-ādhika-

7 dhana-tyāgaiḥ pramṛishṭaṁ yaśaḥ | yad-dānād=iti lajjitair=iva chiraṁ chāmīkar-ādri-sthalī-sankrā(saṁkrā)nta-pratimair=adhō-mukhatayā kalpadrumaiḥ sthīyatē |[ | 3*] sa ēsha

8 durvvishahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulaḥ kula-vadhūm=iva vasundharāṁ nirākulāṁ paripālayann=avikala-vivēkaṁ(ka)-nirmmalīkṛita-matiḥ | **Ma-**

9 **hisiṇēha-**vishay-āntaḥpāti-**Valahauḍā-**grām-ōpagatān=Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇān=anyāṁś=cha mānyān=adhikṛitān=kuṭumpi(mbi)-kāyastha-dūta-vaidya-mahattarān=Mēda-Chaṇḍā-

10 la-paryantān=sarvvān=saṁvō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati ch=āstu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yath=ōpari-likhitē=smin=grāmē sa-jala-sthalē sa-sthāvara-jaṅgamē sva-sīm-ā[va]chchhinnē s-ā-

11 dha-ūrddhvē bhūta-bhavishyad-va[r*]ttamāna-niḥśēsh-āṭā(dā)ya-sahitē pratishiddha-chāṭ-ā[d]i-pravēśē cha kshata-pad-āshṭaka-madhyē[6]-smābhir=ibha-kalabha-karṇṇa-tāla-taralā-[ṁ*] dra-

12 viṇa-saṁpadaṁ pratipadya vidyud-ālōka-lōlupaṁ cha lōk-ādhi[pa*]tyaṁ matvā matt-āṅgan-āpāṅga-vibhrama-bhaṅguraṁ cha jagaj-jīvitam=avadhārya paryanta-paritāpi-

13 nīm=āpāta-mātra-madhurāṁ ch=āśēsha-vishaya-paraṁparāṁ paribhāvya rambhā-stambha-vad=asāraṁ saṁsāram=avalōkya lōk-āntara-sahacharaṁ dharmmam=ēkam=ākalaya-dbhiḥ

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[1] Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff.
[2] Ibid., Vol.XX, pp. 125 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.
[4] From the original plates and impressions.
[5] Expressed by symbol.
[6] Better read °*ashṭakānāṁ madhyē* with the preceding adjectives in the sixth case-ending plural.

14 **Parōyī-grāma**-samāvāsē **dvi-navaty-adhika-śat-ōpēta-sahasratamē samva(saṁva)-tsarē Chaitrē māsi Kṛipṇa(shṇa)-pakshē pañchagyāṁ(myāṁ) tithāv=aṅkatō=pi Samva(Saṁva)t 1192 Chaitra-vadi 5**

15 **Bhaumē Vishuvat-saṁkrāntau** puṇya-tīrth-ōdakēna vidhivat=snātvā dēva-manushya-pitṛīn=saṁtarpya Bhāskara-pūjā-purassaraṁ char-āchara-guruṁ bhagavantaṁ Bhavānī-patim=abhyarchchya hutabhuji

16 hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yāśō-vivṛiddhayē **Pāṭaliputra**-bhaṭṭāgrahāra-vinirggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āṅgirasa-Amva(s-Āmba)rīsha-Yau-

17 vanāśva-tripravarāya Avasathi-Dēvaḍha-prapautrāya Dvivēda-Sahāraṇa-pautrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpāla-putrāya paṇḍita-Sōmēśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇā-

18 ya kuśa-latā-pūtēna hast-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvva[ṁ] chandr-ārkka-sama-kālaṁ putra-pautr-ādy-anvay-ānugāmitvēna śāsanaṁ kṛitvā sa-pādaṁ pada-dvayaṁ datta-

19 m | tathā **Paṇikavaḍa**-bhaṭṭāgrahāra-vinirggatāya Gautama-gōtrāya Gautama-Ā(m-Ā)-ṅgirasa-A(s-Ā)ya(yā)[sya]-tripravarāya Dīkshita-Kēśava-prapautrāya Dīkshita-Vāma-

20 nasvāmi-pautrāya Dīkshita-Dēvēndra-putrāya Dīkshita-Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-hmaṇāya **Ti[ṁ*]tirī**-pattalāyāṁ **Pipalahā** | **Kōlavā**-pattalāyāṁ **Vasauhā** |

21 **Vāndiuri**-pattalāyāṁ **Gōulā** | **Navaraṭha**-pattalāyām **Dādarī** | **Mahisiṇēha**-pattalāyāṁ **Dēnavāḍa** | ēshu grāmēshv=ētadīyāṁ

22 bhūmim=ādāya prāk=parivarttē dattam=**Ērachchha**-pattalāyām=**Astavāla**-grāmaṁ |[1] **Mahisiṇēha**-pattalāyāṁ **Valahauḍā**-grāmē ch=ai-

*Second Plate*

23 tadīyāṁ bhūmiṁ rājñī-Lakhamādēvi(vī)-satka-purōhita-Nādūkēn=āsya dattatvān=**Nandāvaṇa**[2]-pattalāyāṁ **Ḍāvaha**[3]**-grā-**

24 mē ch=aitadīyāṁ bhūmiṁ Ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpāla-putra-Sōmēkēn=āsya dattatvāt=**Tiṁtirī-**pattalāyāṁ **Pipalahā-grā-**

25 mē ch=aitadīyāṁ bhūmiṁ gṛihītvā parivarttē pada-chatushṭaya[ṁ] dattam | tathā **Pāṭaliputra**-bhaṭṭāgrahāra-vinirggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āṅgi-

26 rasa-A(s-Ā)mbarīsha-Yauvanāśva-tripravarāya Avasathi-Dēvaḍha-prapautrāya Dvivēda-Sahāraṇa-pautrāya Ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpāla-putrāya Paṇḍi-

27 ta-Sahajūsa(śa)rmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya mahārājñī-śrī-Vālhaṇadēvy=āsmad-anumatyā Tiṁtirī-pattalāyāṁ Pipalahā-grāmē dattatvād=ētadīyām bhūmiṁ rā-

28 jñī-śrī-Chāndaladēvyā[4] ch=āsmad-anumatyā **Kōlavā**-pattalāyāṁ **Mahuālī**-grāmē dattatvād=ētadīyāṁ bhūmim=ādāya parivarttē pād-ōna-pa[da]-dvayaṁ datta-

29 m=iti matvā bhavadbhir=ājñā-ś[r*]avaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā bhōga-paśu-hiraṇya-kara-śulk-ādi-sarvvam=ēbhyaḥ samupanētavyam | tad=ēnamē(d=ē)shāṁ sa-mandi[ra]-

30 prākāraṁ sa-nirggama-pravēśaṁ sa-sarvv-āśan-ēkshu-kuśuma(sumbha)-[kā]rppāsa-saṇ-āmra-madhuk-ādi-bhūruhaṁ sa-vana-khani-nidhānaṁ sa-lōha-lavaṇa-tṛiṇa-parṇṇ-ādy-ā-

31 karaṁ sa-talla-taḍāga-nadī-parvvataṁ sa-gartta-chatvar-ōsharaṁ sa-kāshṭh-ēshṭakā-pāshāṇaṁ sa-gōkulaṁ sa-kāru-karshaka-vaṇig-vāstavyaṁ sa-paśu-mṛiga-viha-

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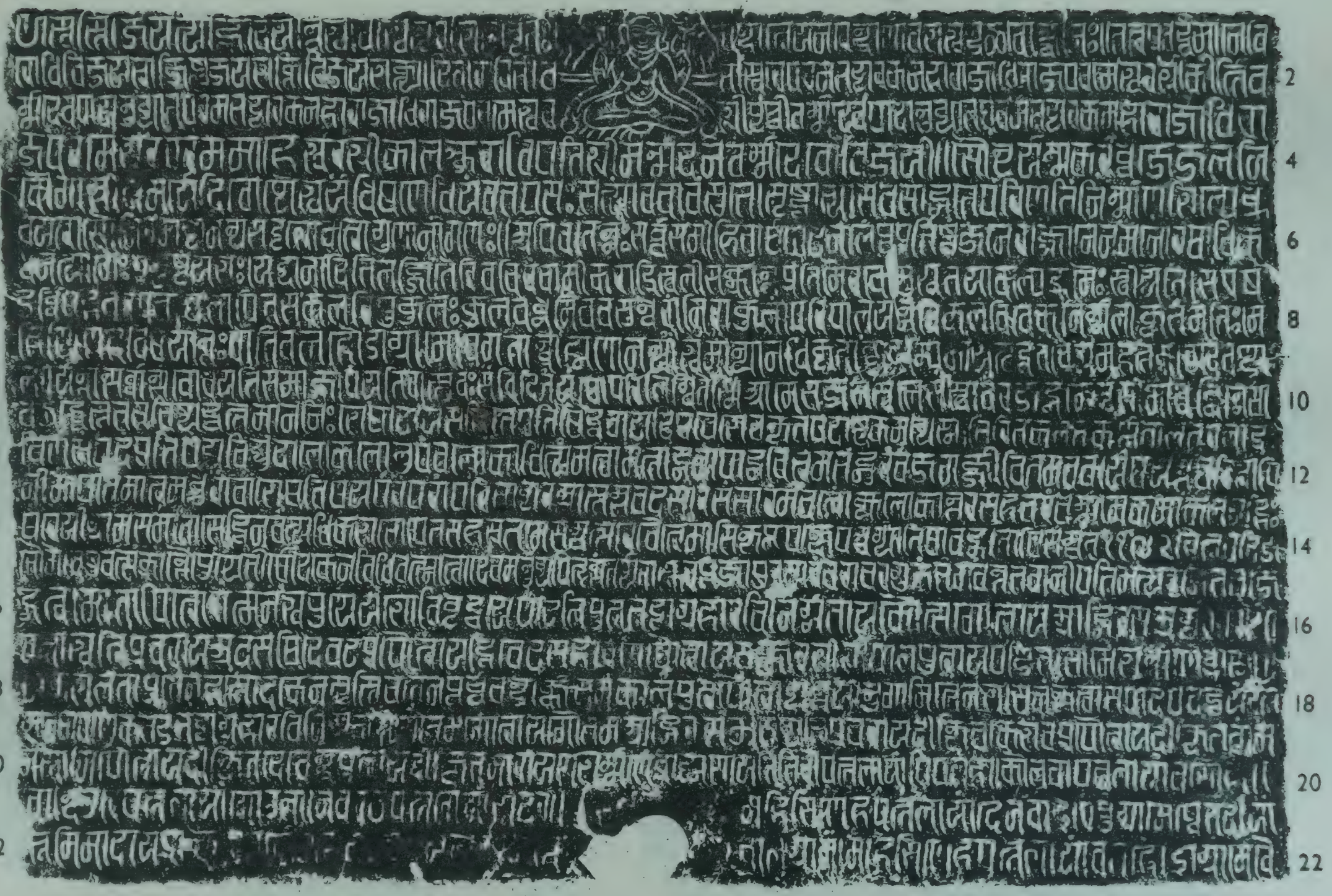
[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] The reading may also be *Nandavēṇa*.

[3] The reading may also be *Ḍavēha*.

[4] The reading may also be *Chandēla°*.

## I. Plates Of Madanavarman, V.S. 1192



Scale: One-half

32 ṅgama-jalacharam=aparair=api sīm-āntarggatair=vvastubhiḥ sahita[ṁ] sa-vā(bā)hy-ābhya-
ntar-ādāyaṁ bhuñjānānāṁ karshatāṁ karshayatāṁ dān-ādhāna-vikrayaṁ vā
kurvvatāṁ

33 na kēnachit=kāchid=vādhā karttavyā | atra rāja-rājapurush-āṭavika-chāṭ-ādibhiḥ
svaṁ svam=ābhāvyaṁ pariharttavyam=idaṁ ch=āsmad-dānam=anāchchhēdyam=anā-
hāryaṁ

34 ch=ēti bhāvibhir=api bhūmi-pālaiḥ pālanīyam=it[i] || uktaṁ cha | Śaṅkhaṁ bhadr-āsanaṁ
chhattraṁ var-āśvā vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūm[i]-dānasya pushpāṇi phalaṁ sva-

35 rggaḥ Purandara || [4*] Sauvarṇṇā yatra prāsādā vasōr=ddhārāś=cha kāmadāḥ | Gan-
dharvv-Āpsarasō yatra tatra gachchhanti bhūmidāḥ || [5*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti

36 yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau ||
[6*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhē-

37 ttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [7*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta
vasundharām | sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majja-

38 ti || [8*] Suvarṇṇam=ēkaṁ gām=ēkāṁ bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgulam | haran=narakam=āpnōti
yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavam || [9*] Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndrai-

39 r=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ
punar=ādadīta || [10*] Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthivē-

40 ndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ
kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhir=iti(dbhiḥ || 11 || iti | ) sva-hastō=yaṁ śrīma-

41 n-Madanavarmmadēvasya matam=mama || Virachita-śubha-karmm=ōnnāma-Vāsatvya-
vaṁśyaḥ sakala-guṇa-gaṇānāṁ vē[ś]ma[1] Sūḍh-ābhidhānaḥ | ali-

42 khad=avani-pālasy=ājñayā dharmma-lēkhī sphuṭa-lalita-nivēśair=aksharais=tāmra-paṭṭam ||
[12*] Ūhēṇō nāma vijñānī rītikāra-

43 kul-ōdbhavaḥ | uchchakāra śubh-ākārām=imām=akshara-saṁhatim || [13*] śubham=astu
sarvva-jagata iti || 6 ṭhu [u] || 6 ṭhū u || 6 ṭh[ū u] ||

## 2. *Plate of Paramardin, V. S. 1239*

This is a **single** plate measuring about 15·2″ in length and 11·7″ in height. In order to protect the writing, which is on one side of the plate, four copper bands of a width of about ½″ are fixed with copper rivets on all the four borders of the inscribed side. There are altogether 20 lines of writing. In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 2·3″ square is occupied by the engraved **figure** of seated Gajalakshmī which has disturbed the continuity of the writing of lines 1-4. In the middle of the last line of the inscription a space measuring 1·6″ in length is left blank apparently for a hole that would have been required if the inscription had continued on a second plate. The plate together with the rivetted border bands weighs 282 *tolas*.

The **date** of the document is quoted in lines 8-9 as **Tuesday, Phālguna-vadi 4, V.S. 1239.** It corresponds to the **23rd February 1182 A.D.** if the year is regarded as current.

The beginning of the record in lines 1-6 is similar to that of Madanavarman's grant edited above. But, instead of Madanavarman, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Paramardin,** who was likewise a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the lord of **Kālañjara,** is introduced

[1] Originally *sma* was written.

here as the successor of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Madanavarman who himself succeeded *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Pṛithvīvarman and as belonging to the family of the Chandrātrēya rulers. There is no versified eulogy of the reigning monarch in the present record as in Madanavarman's grant.

The grant portion beginning in line 6 records the king's order addressed to the Brāhmaṇas and others assembled at **Vavauḍā-grāma** in the **Duḍuhī** *vishaya*. The order relates to the grant of the said village, made by the king when he was stationed at Sallakshaṇavilāsapura, on the date discussed above, in favour of *Paṁ* Padumadharaśarman (i.e. *Paṇḍita* Padmadharaśarman) who belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *śākhā* and was the son of *Ṭha* (i.e. *Ṭhakkura*) Dhāiṁ, grandson of *Ṭha* Śrīpāla and great-grandson of *Ṭha* Sahāraṇa. His family hailed from **Pāṭaliputra-nagara**. It will be seen that the donee of this grant was the son of a brother of Sōmēśarman or Sōmēka known from Madanavarman's charter.

The conditions of the grant (lines 13-17) are similar to those of Madanavarman's charter. The imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 17-19. This is followed by the king's endorsement on the original document that was later copied on the plates. Line 20, with which the record ends, mentions the *Dharma-lēkhin Ṭhakkura* Vishṇuka who wrote the charter and Pālhaṇa who engraved it on the plates. The other charters of Paramardin were also engraved by Pālhaṇa who is called a *pitalahāra* (brazier) in the Semra plates[1] of 1165 A. D., *śilpin* and *varṇa-ghaṭanā-vaidagdhī-viśvakarman* in the Ichchhawar plate[2] of 1171 A. D. and the Pachar plate[3] of 1176 A. D. and *vijñānin* in the Mahoba plate[4] of 1173 A. D. But Vishṇuka was not the writer of any of those charters. The writer of the first three grants was Pṛithvīdhara and that of the fourth charter Śubhānanda, both belonging to the Vāstavya-Kāyastha community.

Of **geographical** names, the inscription mentions, besides Kālañjara, Sallakshaṇavilāsapura, whence the grant was made by the king, and the gift village of **Vavauḍā** in **Duḍuhī-vishaya**. Sallakshaṇavilāsapura seems to have been named after Sallakshaṇavarman who was the elder brother of Pṛithvīvarman, great-grandfather of Paramardin. The locality may be the same as Vilāsapura whence Paramardin issued his Ichchhawar and Pachar plates. It has been suggested that Vilāsapura is the same as modern Pachar about 12 miles to the north-east of Jhansi in U. P.[5] Duḍuhī-vishaya seems to have been the district round modern Dudahi in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhansi District. The name of the place, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted here as Pāṭalīputra-nagara (not Pāṭaliputra-bhaṭṭāgrahāra as in Madanavarman's grant).

## TEXT[6]

1 Siddham[7] Svasti ¦ Jayaty=āhlādayan=viśvaṁ Viśvēśvara-śirō-dhṛitaḥ | Chaṁdrātrēya-narē[ṁ*]drāṇāṁ vaṁsa(śa)s=chandra iv=ōjjvalaḥ |[|*] tatra pravarddhamā-

2 nē virōdhi-vijaya-bhrājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vīr-āvirbhāva-bhāsvarē parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-

3 mēśvara-śrī-**Pṛithvīvarmmadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Madanavarmmadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-pa-

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 170.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 208.
[3] Above, Vol. X, p. 49.
[4] Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 15.
[5] Ibid., p. 44.
[6] From the original plate and impressions.
[7] Expressed by symbol.

4 ra[ma*]bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Kālaṁjar**-ādhipati-śrīmat-**Paramarddidēvā(vō)** vijayī [|*]

5 sa ēsha durvvishahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulaḥ kula-vadhūm=iva vasuṁdharān=nirākulāṁ paripālayann=avikala-vivēka-nirmmalīkṛita-ma-

6 tiḥ | **Duḍuhī**-vishay-āntaḥpāti-**Vavauḍā**-grām-ōpagatān=Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇān=anyāṁś=cha mānyān=adhikṛitān-kuṭuṁvi(bi)-kāyastha-dūta-vaidya-mahattarān=Mēda-Chaṇḍāla-paryantā-

7 n=sarvvān=sa[m]vō(mbō)dhayati samājñāpayati ch=āstu vaḥ samvi(saṁvi)ditaṁ yath=ōpari-likhitō=yaṁ grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-sthāvara-jaṅgamaḥ sva-sīm-āvachchhinnaḥ s-ādha-

8 ūrddhō(rdhvō) bhūta-bhavishyad-varttamāna-niḥśēsh-ādāya-sahitaḥ pratishiddha-chāṭ-ādi-pravēśaś=ch=āsmābhiḥ śrī-**Sallakshaṇavilāsapurē ēkōna-chatvāri**[ṁ*]**śad-adhi-**

9 **ka-śata-dvay-ōpēta-sahasratamē saṁvatsarē Phālgunē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē chaturthyāṁ tithāv=aṅkatō=pi Saṁvat 1239 Phālguna-vadi 4 Bhauma-vārē** puṇya-tī-

10 rth-ōdakēna vidhivat=snātvā dēv-ādīn=saṁtarpya Bhāskara-pūjā-puraḥsaraṁ char-ācharaguruṁ bhagavaṁtaṁ Bhavānīpatim=abhyarchya hutabhuji hutvā mātā-pi-

11 trōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-vivṛidha(ddha)yē **Pāṭalīputra**-nagara-vinirggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya | Ādvārshi-Āmvirshi-Yōvanāsa-triḥpravarāya[1] Vājasa-

12 nēya-śākh-ādhyāyinē ṭha| Sahāraṇa-prapautrāya ṭha| Śrīpāla-pautrāya ṭha| Dhāiṁ-putrāya paṁ| Padumadharaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya kuśa-latā-pūtēna

13 hast-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvvañ=chaṁdr-ārkka-samakālaṁ putra-pautr-ādy-anvay-ānugāmi śāsanaṁ kṛitvā pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhir=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhē-

14 yair=bhūtvā bhāga-bhōg-ādikaṁ sarvvam=asmai samupanētavyaṁ tad=ēnam=asya grāmaṁ sa-maṁdira-prākāraṁ sa-nirggama-pravēśaṁ sa-sarvv-āśan-ēkshu-karppā-

15 sa-kusuma(mbha)-saṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruhaṁ sa-vana-khani-nidhāna[ṁ*] sa-lōha-lavaṇa-tṛiṇa-parṇṇ-ādy-ākaram=aparair=api sīm-āntarggatair=vvastubhiḥ sahitaṁ | sa-vā(bā)-

16 hya(hy-ā)ntar-ādāyaṁ bhuñjānasya na kēn=āpi vādhā kāryā | atra cha rājapurush-ādibhiḥ svaṁ svam=ābhāvyaṁ pariharttavyam=idañ=ch=āsmad-dānam=anāchchhē-

17 dyam=anāhāryañcha(ñ=ch=ē)ti bhāvibhir=api bhūmi-pālaiḥ pālanīyam=iti || uktañ=cha || Śaṁkhaṁ bhadr-āśa(sa)naṁ chchha(chha)tra[ṁ*] var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya

18 pushyāṇi phalaṁ svarggaḥ Purandara || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāmi-

19 nau || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha **tāny-ēva narakē vasēta(sēt)** || sva-hastō=ya[ṁ*] rā-

20 ja-śrīmat-Paramarddidēvasya matam=mama | likhitañ=cha dharmmalēkhi-ṭhakkura-**śrī-**Vishṇukēna | utkīrṇṇa[ṁ*] Pālhaṇēna [||*]

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[1] Read *Āṅgiras-Āmbarīsha-Yauvanāśva-tripravarāya.*

### 3. *Plate of Paramardin, V. S. 1247*

This is also a **single** plate which is rather thick and heavy and weighs 108 *tolas*. The plate contains 18 lines of writing on one side only. In the centre of the last line, there is a hole as if the writing continued on another plate and the two plates were held together by means of a ring passing through the hole in both of them. The diameter of this hole is about ·7″. In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 2·4″ square is occupied by the engraved **figure** of seated Lakshmī instead of the usual Gajalakshmī. For the protection of the writing, copper bands were fixed on the margins of the inscribed side of the plate by means of copper rivets. These bands are now broken at some places where only the small holes in the plate meant for the rivets can be seen.

The date of the charter is quoted in lines 9-10 as **Saturday, Phālguna-śudi 14, V.S. 1247.** It corresponds regularly to the **9th February 1191 A.D.**

The beginning of the document is similar to that of Paramardin's grant of V. S. 1239 edited above. The grant portion commencing in line 6 refers to the king's order addressed to the Brāhmaṇas and other people assembled at **Iṭalā-grāma** in the **Pāsuṇi** *vishaya* in respect of the grant of 10 *lāvas* of land in the said village. The king made the grant on the date discussed above when he was at the **Maṇikarṇikā-ghaṭṭa** at śrī-**Vārāṇasī** (i.e. modern Banāras in U.P.) apparently in the course of a pilgrimage. In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to believe that the Banāras region formed a part of Paramardin's dominions about the time of the record. The Gāhaḍavāla kings are known to have had their headquarters at Vārāṇasī and, according to tradition, the contemporary Gāhaḍavāla monarch Jayachchandra (c. 1170-93 A. D.) maintained friendly relations with Paramardin whom he is said to have helped in his wars against the Chāhamāna king Pṛithvīrāja III (c. 1177-92 A. D.).[1] A recent writer has, however, suggested that Chandēlla Paramardin was really on hostile terms with Gāhaḍavāla Jayachchandra.[2] But there is really no proof in favour of this suggestion and the present inscription referring to the Chandēlla king's stay at Vārāṇasī seems to go against it. If Paramardin succeeded in capturing the Gāhaḍavāla capital even for a short time, that fact is not expected to have been suppressed in his records like the one under review.

The donee of the present charter was Padmadharaśarman already known from the other grant of the king edited above. The conditions of the grant, quoted in lines 12-16, are the same as in the other record. The document ends with the imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted in lines 16-18. It seems that the writing was continued on another plate which is now lost. But the inscription on this lost plate would have contained only the passage *sva-hastō=yaṁ rāja-śrīmat-Paramarddidēvasya mataṁ mama* together with a reference to the names of the writer and engraver of the document.

Of **geographical** names, besides Kālañjara, the inscription mentions Maṇikarṇikā-ghaṭṭa at Vārāṇasī (i.e. the well-known Maṇikarṇikā Ghāṭ at Banāras), where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, and the village of **Iṭalā** in **Pāśuṇi-vishaya**, where the gift land was situated. The name of the locality, whence the donee's family hailed, is quoted in the present record as **Pāṭalipura** instead of Pāṭaliputra or Pāṭalīputra as found in the two inscriptions edited above. The locality is mentioned here as a *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra*.

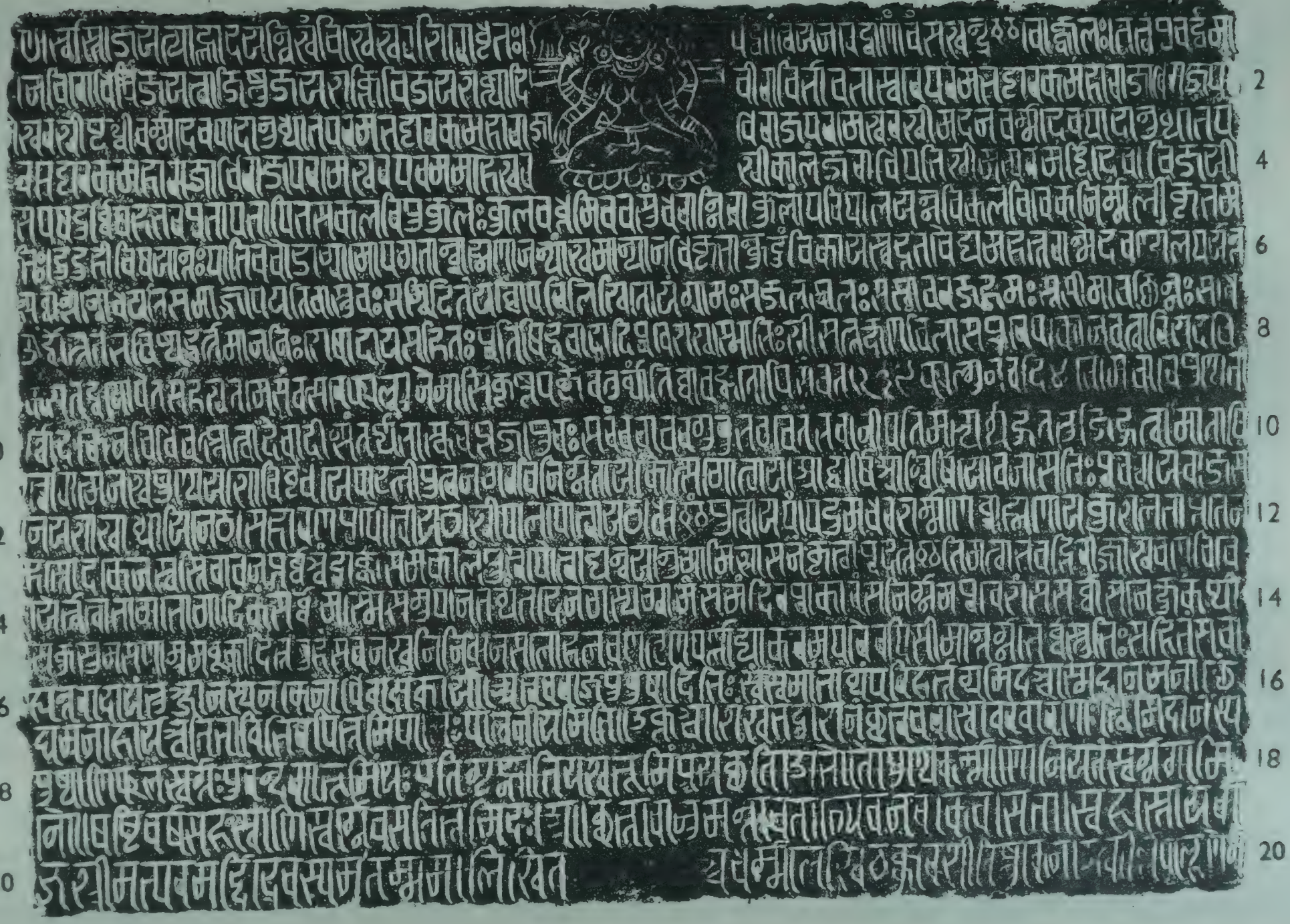
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[1] Ray, *DHNI*, p. 541.

[2] N. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, pp. 96-97.

# THREE CHANDELLA CHARTERS—PLATE II

## 2. PLATE OF PARAMARDIN, V.S. 1239



Scale: One-half

# 3. Plate of Paramardin, V.S. 1247



Scale: One-half

## TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] Svastē(sti) || Jayaty=āhlādayan=viśvaṁ Viśvēśvara-śirō-dhṛitaḥ | Chandrātrēya-narēndrāṇāṁ vaṁśaś=chandra iv=ōjjvalaḥ || tatra prava-

2 rddhmānē virōdhi-vijaya-bhrājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vī[r]-āvirbhāva-bhāsvarē paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-

3 dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Pṛithvīvarmmadēva**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Madanata(va)rmmadē-**

4 **va**-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Kālañjar**-ādhipati-śrīmat-**Paramarddi-**

5 **dēvā(vō)** vijayī | sa ēsha durvvishahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulaḥ kula-vadhūm=iva vaśu(su)ndharān=nirākulāṁ paripālayann=avikala-vikē(vivēka)-nirmmalī-

6 kṛita-matiḥ | **Pāśuṇi**-vishay-ānta[ḥ*]pāti-**I**[3]**ṭalā**-grām-ōpagatān=Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇān=anyā[ṁ*]ś=cha mānyān=avi(dhi)kṛitān=kuḍu(ṭu)mv[i](mbi)-kāyastha-dūta-vē(vai)dya-mahattarā-

7 n=Mēda-Chaṇḍāla-paryantān=sarvvān=samvō(mbō)dhayati samājñāpayati ch=āstu vaḥ samvi(saṁvi)ditaṁ yath=ōpari-lē(li)khita(tē)=smin=grāmē sa-jala-sthalā sa-sthāvara-ja-

8 ṅgamā sva-sīm-āvachchhinnā s-ādha-ūrdhvā bhūta-bhavishyad-varttamāna-niḥśēsh-ādāya-sahitā pratishiddha-chāṭ-ādi-pravēśā ch=āsma(smā)bhiḥ śrī-**Vārāṇasyāṁ Ma-**

9 **ṇikarṇṇikā**-dyaddhē(ghaṭṭē) **sapta-chatvāri[ṁ]śad-adhika-śata-dvay-ōpēbha(ta)-sahasratamē samva(saṁva)tsarē Phālgunē māsi śukla-pakshē chaturddaśyān-tithāv=a-**

10 **ṅkatō=pi Samvata(Saṁvat) 1247 Phālguna-śudi 14 Śanivārē Pāṭalipura**-bhaṭṭāgra-hāra-vinirggatāya Kautsa-gōtrāya Āṅgirishā-Āmvarishā-Jau-

11 vanāsa[4]-tripravarāya Va(Ba)hvṛicha-śākh-ādhyāyinē ṭha| Sahāraṇa-prapautrāya ṭha| Śrīpāla-pautrāya ṭha| Dhāṁi[5]-putrāya paṁ| Padmadharasa(śa)rmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-hmaṇā-

12 ya kuśa-latā-pūtēna hast-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvvakaṁ chandr-ārkka-sama-kāla[ṁ*] putra-pautr-ādy-anvay-ānugāmi[nī*] daśa-lāva-chchhinnā bhūmiḥ śāsanī-

13 kṛitya pradatā(ttā) | ibhi(ti) matvā bhavadbhir=ājā(jñā)-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā bhāga-bhōg-ādikaṁ sarvvam=asmai samupanētavyaṁ tad=ēnām=asya bhūmiṁ sa-maṇḍira-

14 prākārāṁ sā(sa)-na(ni)rggama-pravēśāṁ sa-sarvv-āśan-ēkshu-kaṁ(ka)rppāsa-kuśuma(sum-bha)-saṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruhāṁ sa-vana-khani-nidhānāṁ sa-lōh-ādy-ākarām=aparai-

15 r=api sīm-ānta[r*]ggatē(tai)r=vvastubhi[ḥ*] sahitā[ṁ*] sa-vā(bā)hy-ābhyaṁ(bhya)ntar-ādāyāṁ bhuñjānasyaṁ(sya) na kēn=āpi vādhā kāryā [|*] atra cha rāja-rājapurush-ā-dibhiṁḥ(bhiḥ) svaṁ svam=ā-

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[1] From the original plates and impressions.
[2] Expressed by symbol.
[3] Read *pāt-Iṭalā*.
[4] Read *Āṅgiras-Ambarīsha-Yauvanāśva*.
[5] The name is spelt in the other record as *Dhāiṁ*.

16 bhāvyaṁ pariha[r]ttavyam=idañ=ch=āsmad-dānam=anāchchhēdyam=anāhāryañ=ch=ēti bhāvibhir=api bhūmipālaiḥ pālanīyam=iti || uktañ=cha || Śaṅkham=bhadr-āśa(sa)-

17 naṁ chchha(chha)tra[ṁ*] var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasya pushyāṇi phalaṁ svarggaḥ Puraṁdara || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya

18 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || Shashṭiṁ vapa(rsha)-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [ || *]

## No. 15—JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742

*(3 Plates)*

D. R. Bhat, Dhulia

**Javakhēḍa** is a small village in the Shahada Taluk of the West Khandesh District, Bombay. It is situated on the bank of the Gōmī, a tributary of the Tāptī. The Gōmī, also called Gōmatī, has its origin in Madhya Bharat and meets the Tāptī near Prakasha where the Department of Archaeology recently conducted excavations. The copper-plate grant was discovered while digging a pit for the repairs of a public road in February 1953. I came to know of the discovery in May 1954. On making enquiries, I learnt that the plates were with Shri Bhuskute, a P. W. D. contractor of Dhulia. He very graciously handed them over to me. The Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, is very thankful to him for his kindness.

The inscription, like most other Rāshṭrakūṭa grants, is written on three plates. The outer sides of the first and last plates of the set are blank. The inner sides of these plates and both sides of the middle plate are inscribed. Each plate is nearly $11\frac{1}{2}''$ long and $8\frac{1}{2}''$ high. The breadth of the plates in the middle is slightly less than at the borders. The middle plate is nearly $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and the outer plates are slightly thinner. The plates were strung on a ring passing through a hole (roughly $\frac{7}{8}''$ in diameter) near the left edge of each plate. The ring is nearly $4\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and is made of a round bar $\frac{5}{8}''$ thick in the middle and $\frac{1}{2}''$ near the extremities which are soldered to the seal. The **seal** bears a representation of the goddess Lakshmī.[1] The goddess is squatting on a lotus and has a swan on each lap under her arms. It appears that the goddess in her right hand behind the bird holds a chowry and in her left a ladle or a *paraśu*. On the right and left respectively near the head of the goddess are seen the sun and the moon. The image is finely executed in relief in a circle $1\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. This appears to be the first seal of the Malkhed Rāshṭrakūṭas bearing an image other than that of Garuḍa or Śiva.[1]

The **characters** resemble those of other Rāshṭrakūṭa records of the ninth century as the Vāṇi Diṇḍōri plates of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 730.[2] They are well engraved. The preservation of the writing is satisfactory with the exception of 7 or 8 letters in the first line on the obverse of the second plate. The **language** is Sanskrit. The text of the record contains some grammatical and orthographical errors.

The twenty stanzas engraved on the inner side of the first plate and the obverse of the second are also found in the Radhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 731.[3] These are followed by five verses in praise of Amōghavarsha and the details of the grant and the date of issue in a passage in prose on the reverse of the second plate.

The grant was made by the **Rāshṭrakūṭa** king **Amōghavarsha I** at the request of one ***Bhaṭṭārikā*** (noble lady) Asagavvā[4] on Friday the 8th of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the Śaka year 742 expired (current 743), which corresponds to the 22nd of June, 820 A.D., on the occasion of the Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti. The king made the grant when he was residing at Śrī-Niṣvapuṛaka to a Brāhmaṇa named Jōgaḍḍi-bhaṭṭa who was the son of Rēvaḍḍi-bhaṭṭa and belonged to the

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[1] [The representation on the seal is clearly of Garuḍa as on the seals of other charters of the family. He has a *kirīṭa* on his head and a serpent in each of his two hands. Above his outspread wings is a flywhisk in the proper right and an *aṅkuśa* in the proper left.—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 156 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 239 ff.

[4] [See below, p. 130, note 2.—Ed.]

Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and Taittirīya *śākhā*. The name of the gift village was Vōyipadraka. The village was bounded by Laghu-Mōyipadraka in the east, Umbarōpika-grāma in the south, the boundary of the same village in the west, and the Vindhya mountain in the north. Vōyipadraka is stated to be in the Ēkāśāya division.

Two years after the accession of Amōghavarsha I, i.e. about the year 816 A. D., his feudatories and the enemies of the house were up against him and, as a result of the confusion and anarchy that followed, he was deposed. This state of affairs lasted for about three or four years.[1] The earliest known record issued after Amōghavarsha's restoration is the Surat plates of Karka, dated the 13th May, 821 A.D. The charter under study was issued by Amōghavarsha I himself on the 22nd June, 820. A. D. It is clear that his restoration must have taken place some time before this date.

Amōghavarsha is obviously not the name of the boy king but a *biruda* like Prabhūtavarsha, Akālavarsha, etc. The proper name of the king was Śarva (cf. verse 22). The present record shows for the first time that he also enjoyed the *biruda* **Tribhuvanavallabha.**

Lady **Asagavvā**, at whose request the grant was made, probably belonged to the Rāshṭrakūṭa house. There is little likelihood of her being Amōghavarsha's wife, as Amōghavarsha I (born about 808 A. D.) was a boy of about twelve only at the time of the grant. Besides her name has been mentioned without any indication of her status as the empress.[2]

Amōghavarsha made this grant while residing at Śrī-Nisvapuraka which can be identified with modern Nisarpur near Kukshi in Madhya Bharat. Probably Nisvapuraka was his capital[3] which was later transferred to Māḷkhēḍ.

## TEXT[4]

### *First Plate*

1 Ōm[5] [|*] Sa vō=vyād=Va(d=Vē)dhasā dhāma yaṁ(yan)-nābhi-kamalaṁ kṛiṁta(kṛitam) [|*] Haraś=cha yasya kāṁt-ēndu-kalayā kaṁ=alaṁkṛitaṁ(tam) || [1*] Bhūpō=[6]

2 bhavad=vṛi(bṛi)had-urasthala-rājamānaḥ(na)-śrī-kaustubh-āyata-karair=upagūḍha-kaṇṭhaḥ [|*] saty-ānvitō vipula-cha-

3 kra-vinirjjit-āri-chakkrā(kkrō)=py=akṛishṇa-charitō bhuvi **Kṛishṇarājaḥ** || [2*] Paksha-chchhēda-bhay-āśrit-ākhila-mahābhū-

4 bhṛit-kula-dbhrā(bhrā)jitā[d*] durla(rlaṁ)ghyād=aparair=akē(nē)ka-vimala-dbhrā(bhrā)jishṇu-ratn-ānvitā[t*] | yaś=Chālukya-kulād=anūna-

5 vivu(bu)dhaḥ(dha)-vrāt-āśrayō nvā(vā)ridhēḥ[7] Lakshmī[ṁ*] Mandaravat=sa-līlada(m=a)-chirād=ākṛishṭavāṁ(vā)n=Vallabhaḥ || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tana-

6 yaḥ pratāpa-visaraiḥ(rai)r=ākrānta-dig-maṇḍalaḥ[7] chaṇḍā[ṁ*]śō[ḥ*] sadṛiśō=py=achaṇḍa-karatā-prasta(hlā)dita-kshmātalaḥ [|*]

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[1] Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 74.

[2] [The epithet *Bhaṭṭārikā* applied to śrīmad-Asagavvā's name and her mention without any further indication of her status suggest that she was a queen of Amōghavarsha I. His tender age can hardly be offered as an argument against this possibility; cf. the cases of Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Āraṇya, 47) and Vichitravīrya in the *Mahābhārata* (Ādi, 95).—Ed.]

[3] [The mention of Nisvapuraka as a *grāma* seems to suggest that it was not the king's capital but Merely a village where he was camping when the grant was issued.—Ed.]

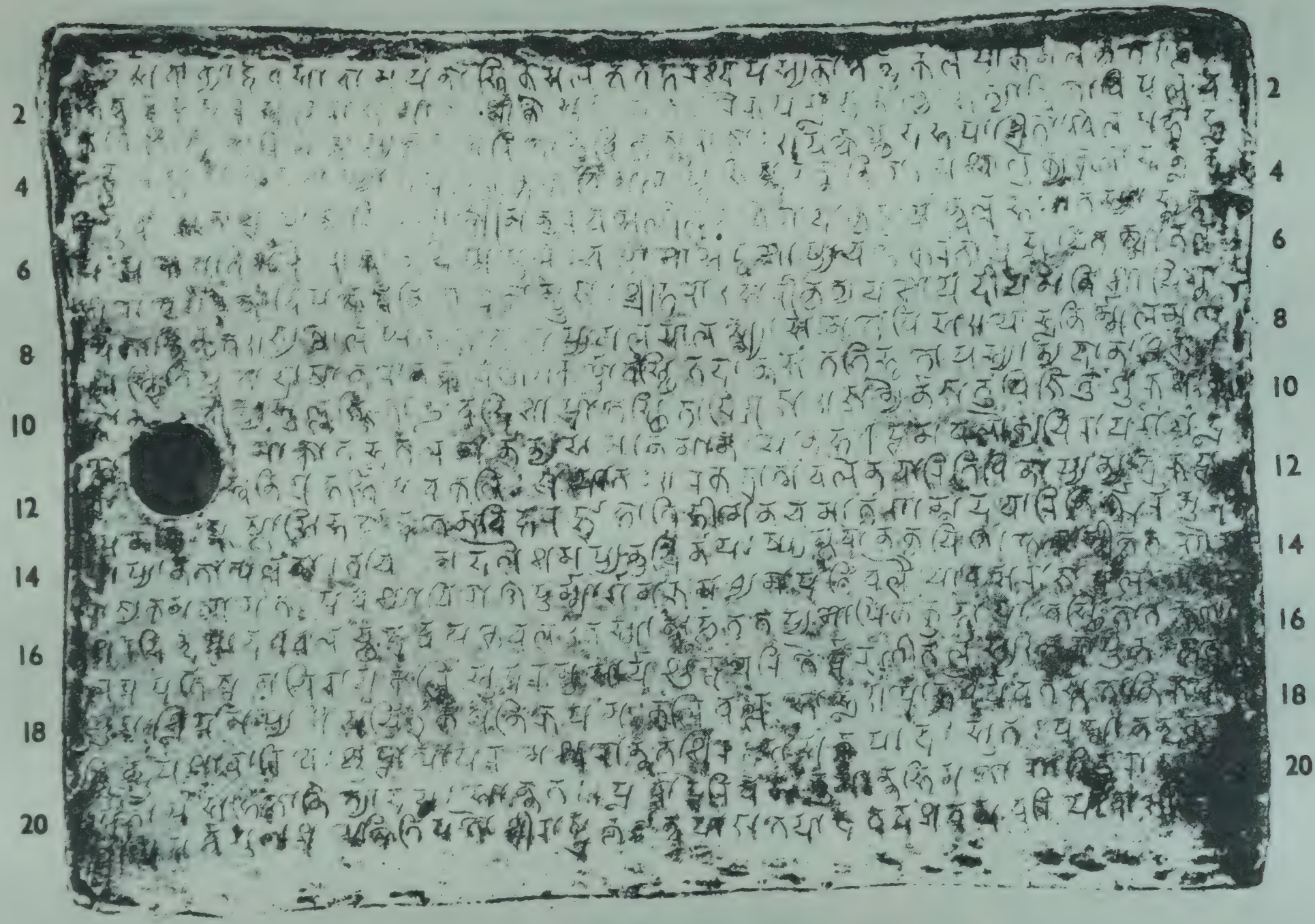
[4] From the original plates. [Metres: verses 1, 22, 26-27, 29, 31 *Anushṭubh*; verses 23-25 *Āryā*; verse 32 *Pushpitāgrā*; verses 3-5, 7-8, 10-20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2, 6, 9, 21 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 28, 30 *Upajāti*.—Ed.]

[5] Expressed by symbol.

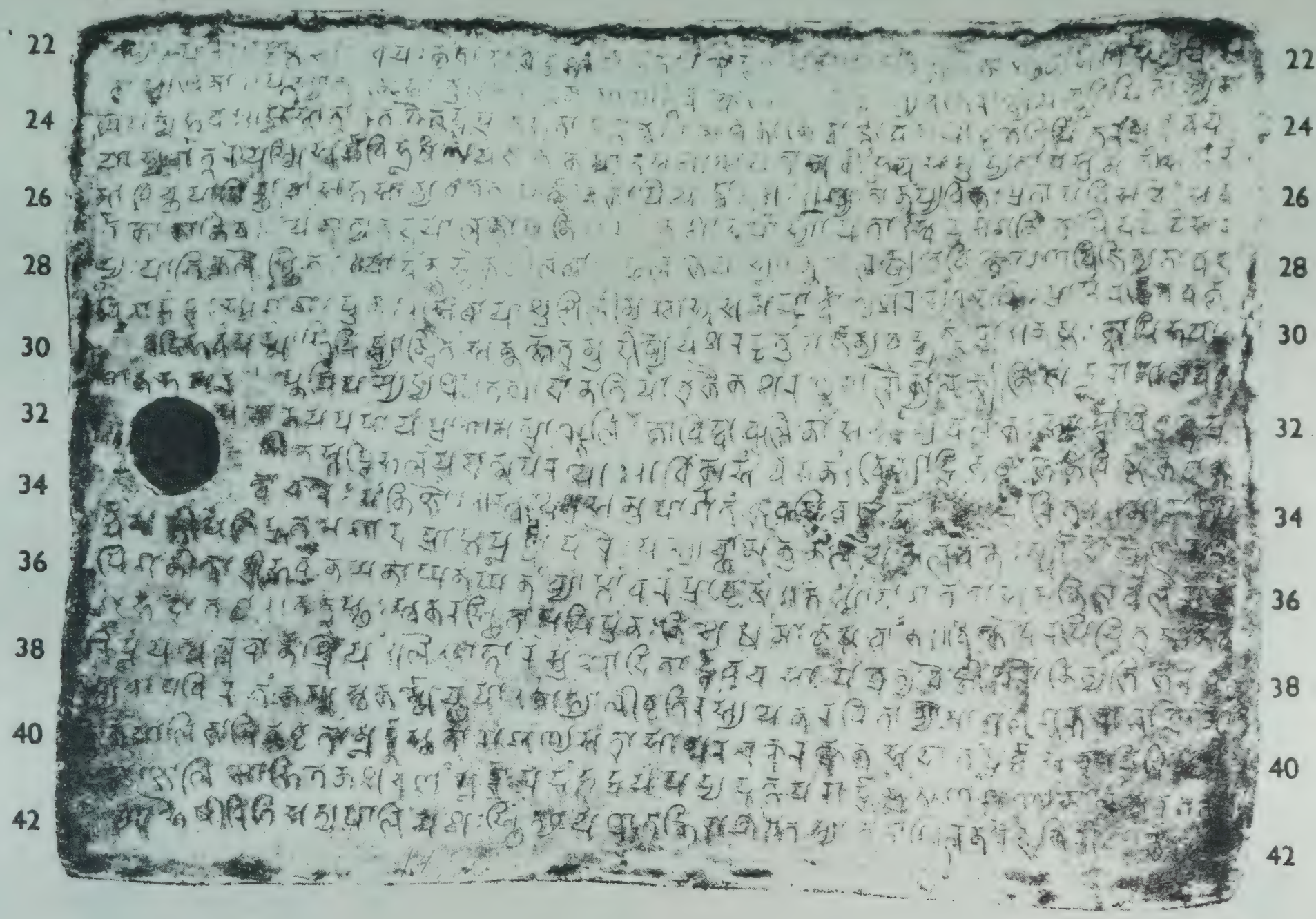
[6] The *akshara pō* is engraved indifferently.

[7] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742—PLATE I



Scale : Three-fifths



(from Photographs)

7 Dhīrō[1] dhairya-dhanō vipaksha-vanitā-|[2]vaktā(ktr-ā)mvu(mbu)jaḥ(ja)-śrī-harō |[3] hārī-kṛitya yaśō yadīyaṁ=aniśā(śaṁ) dig-ṇā-

8 yikābhivṛi(r=dhṛi)ta[m*] || [4*] Jyēshṭh-ōl[|*]aṁghana-jātajā(y=ā)py=amalayā lakshmyā samētō=pi saṁ||(san) yō=bhū[n*]=nirmmala-maṇḍa-

9 la-sthiti-yutō dōshāna(ka)rō na kvachit ||(|) Karṇṇ-ādha-sthita-dāna-saṁtati-bhṛitō yasy=ānya-dān-ādhikaṁ ||[3]

10 dāna[ṁ*] vīkshya su-lla(la)jjitā iva diśā-prāṁtē sthitā dig-gajā[ḥ*] || [5*] Anyair=na jātu vijituṁ(taṁ) guru-śakti-

11 sāram=ākrā[n*]ta-bhūtalam=ananya-samāna-māna[m*] | yēn=ēha va(ba)ddham=avalōkya chirāya Gaṁgaṁ dū-

12 raṁ sva-nigraha-bhiy=ēva Kaliḥ prayātaḥ || [6*] Rē(Ē)katr=ātma-va(ba)lēna vāriti(ni)dhin=āpy=anyatra ruddhā(ddhvā)

13 ghanaṁ tiḥ(ni)shkṛishṭ-āsi(ri)-bhaṭ-ōddhatēna viharad-grāh-ātibhīmēna cha [|*] mātaṁgān=mada-vāri-nirjjhara-mucha[ḥ]

14 prāpy=ānatāt=Pallavā[t*]|[2] tachi[4] mada-lēśam=apy=anudinaṁ yaḥ shpṛi(spṛi)shṭavāṁ(vān) na kvachit |[| 7*] Hēlā-svīkṛita-Gauḍa-

15 rājya-kamalā-mataḥ(ttaṁ) pravēśy=āchirāt(rād) durmmārga[ṁ*] maru-madhyamā(m=a)-prativa(ba)lai[r*]=yō Vatsarāja[ṁ*] va(ba)laṁ(laiḥ) [|*] Gauḍīya[ṁ*]

16 śarad-indu-pāda-dhavalaṁ chchha(chha)tra-dvaya[ṁ*] kēvalaṁ |[5] tasmātvā(n=n=ā)hṛita tad-yaśō=pi kakubhāṁ prā[n*]tē sthitāṁ(taṁ) ta[t*]-kshaṇāt [ || 8*]

17 Lavdha(bdha)-pratishṭham=achirāya Kaliṁ sudūram=u[t*]sārya śuddha-charitair=ddhāraṇītalasya | kṛinvā(tvā) punaḥ Kṛita-

18 yugaḥ(ga)-śriyā(ya)m=apy=aśēshaṁ chitraṁ kathaṁ **Nirupamaḥ Kalivallabhō**=bhū[t*] || [9*] Prō(Prā)bhū[d*]=dhairyavatas=tatō Nirupamā-

19 dri(d=i)ndur=yathā vāridhēḥ śuddh-ātmā paramēśvar-ōnnata-śri(śi)raḥ-saṁsakta-pādaḥ sutaḥ [|*] padm-ānanda-karaḥ

20 pratāpa-sahitō nity-ōdayaḥ s-ōnnataḥ|[2] pūrvv-ādrēr=iva bhānumānna(n=a)bhimatō Gōvindarājaḥ sata(tām) [ || 10*]

21 Yasmi[n*] sarvva-guṇ-āśrayē kshitipatau śrī-Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvayō jātē Yādava-vaṁśa=van=Madhuripāv=āsīd=ala[ṁ*]-

*Second Plate, First Side*

22 ghyāḥ(ghyaḥ) paraiḥ ||(|) dṛishṭ-āś-ā[va*][6]dhayaḥ kṛitā[ḥ*] sā(su)-śa(sa)dṛiśā dānēna yēn=ōddhatā muktā-hāva(ra)-vibhūshitā sphuṭam=iti pratyarthi-

23 tō(nō)=py=arthināṁ(nām) || [11*] Yasy=ākāram=asā(mā)tu(nu)sha[ṁ*] tṛi(tri)bhuvana-vyāpatti-raksh-ōchitaṁ ||[3] Kṛishṇasy=ēva nirīkshya yachchhati pit=āsy=aikā-

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[1] The Vāṇi Diṇḍori and Rādhanpur plates have *Dhōrō* which stands for *Dhruva*.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[3] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[4] Read *tach=chitraṁ*.

[5] There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

[6] There is space for one *akshara* between *śā* and *dha*, and the engraver started carving an *akshara*, but possibly left the space to be filled in later.

24 dhipatya[ṁ*] bhuvaḥ ||(|) āstā[ṁ*] tāta tavē(v=ai)tad=aprata(ti)hatā dattā tvayā kaṇṭhikā kitvāṁ(n=tv=ā)jñē(jñ=ai)va mayā dhṛit=ēti pitaraṁ yuktaṁ vachaṁ(chō)

25 yō=bhyadhātta(dhāt) || [12*] Yasmiṁ(smin) svarga-vibhūshaṇāya janakē yātē sa(ya)-śaḥ-śēshatām=ēkībhūya samudyatā[n*] vasumatī-saṁhāra-

26 m=ādhichchha(tsa)yā [|*] vichchhāyāṁ(yān) sahasā vyadhata(tta) tṛi(nṛi)parta(tī)n=ēkō=pi yō dvādaśaḥ||(śa) khyātān=apy=adhikaḥ pratāpa-visaraiḥ sa[ṁ*]va-

27 rtakō=[r*]kān=ivaḥ(va) [ || 13*] Yēn=ātya[ṁ*]ta-dayālun=ātha nigaḍaḥ(ḍa)-klēśād=apāsy=āyatā|(tāt) sva[ṁ*] dēśaṁ gamitō=pi darpa-visarā-

28 d=yaḥ yā(prā)tikūlyē sthitaḥ ||(|) yāvan=na bhṛikuṭī lalāṭa-phalakē yasy=ōnnatē lakshyatē vikshēpēṇa vijitya tāvad=a-

29 chirādva(d=ba)ddhaḥ ssa(sa) Gaṁgaḥ punaḥ || [14*] Saṁdhāy=āśu śilīmukhāṁ(khān) sva-samayādvā(d=bā)ṇāṁ(ṇ-ā)śa(sa)ra(na)sy=ōpariḥ(ri) prāptaṁ varddhita-vakṛi(bandhu)-

30 [jī*]va-di(vi)bhavaṁ padm-ābhidi(vṛi)ddhy=ānvitaṁ(tam) [|*] san-nakshatram=udīkshya yaṁ śarad-ṛituṁ parjjanyavad=Gūrjjarō ||[1] nashṭaḥ kv=āpi bhayā[t*] ta-

31 thā na bha(sa)mara(raṁ) [sva*][2]pnē=pi paśyēd=yathā |[| 15*] Tat-pād-ānati-pā(mā)trak-aika-śaraṇām=ālōkya lakshmī[ṁ*] nijāṁ dūrā[n*]=Mālava-nā-

32 yakō naya-papā(rō) yaṁ prāṇamat=prāñjaliḥ [|*] kō vidvā[n*] va(ba)linā saha(h=ā)lpa-va(ba)lakaḥ sparddhāṁ vidhattē pa-

33 [rāṁ*] nītēs=tad=dhi bha(pha)laṁ yad=ātma-parayōḥ(yō)r=ādhikya-saṁvēdanaṁ(nam) |[| 16*] Vindhy-ādri(drēḥ) kaṭakē nivishṭa-kaṭaka(kaṁ)

34 [śru*]tvā charaiḥ(rair)=yaṁ nijaiḥ || svaṁ dēśa[ṁ*] samupāgataṁ dhruvam=iva jñātvā da(bhi)yā prēritaḥ ||(|) Mārāśa-

35 rvva-mahīpati[r*]=drutam=agād=aprāpta-pūrvv-āparaiḥ ya(rair=ya)sy=ēchchhām=anukūla-yaṁ(yan) kula-dhataiḥ(naiḥ) shpā(pā)dau praṇāmē(mai)r=a-

36 pi [|| 17*] Ga[3] nītvā Śrībhavanē ghanāghana-ghanaṁ(na)-vyāpt-āmbaraṁ(rāṁ) prā-vṛishaṁ ||[1] tasmād=āgatavāṁ(vān) samaṁ nija-va(ba)lair=ā-Ttuṁ(Tuṁ)-

37 gabhadrā-taṭa[m*] ||(|) tatra-sthaḥ sva-kara-sthitām=api punaḥ(nar)=niḥśēsham=ākṛishṭavān ||[1] vikshēpair=api chitram=ānata-

38 ripūṁ yat=Pallavānaṁ[4] śriyaṁ(yaṁ) |[| 18*] Lēkhāhāra-su(mu)kh-ōdit-ārddha-vachasā yatrē(tr=ai)tya Vēṅg-īśvarō nityaṁ kiṁkarava-

39 d=vyadhāpa(d=a)viratam ka[r*]mma sva-ka(śa)rmm-ēchchhayā | vā(bā)hy-ālī-vṛitir=asya yēna rachitā vyōm-āgra-lagna(gnā) ruchā rātrau mau-

40 ktika-mālikām=iva vṛitā mūrddhna(rddha)-stha-tārā-gaṇā(ṇaiḥ) [|| 19*] Saṁtrāsāt=para-chakra-rakshaka sadā[5] tat-pūrvva-sēvā-vidhiḥ(dhi)-vyā-

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[1] The *daṇḍas* are is superfluous.

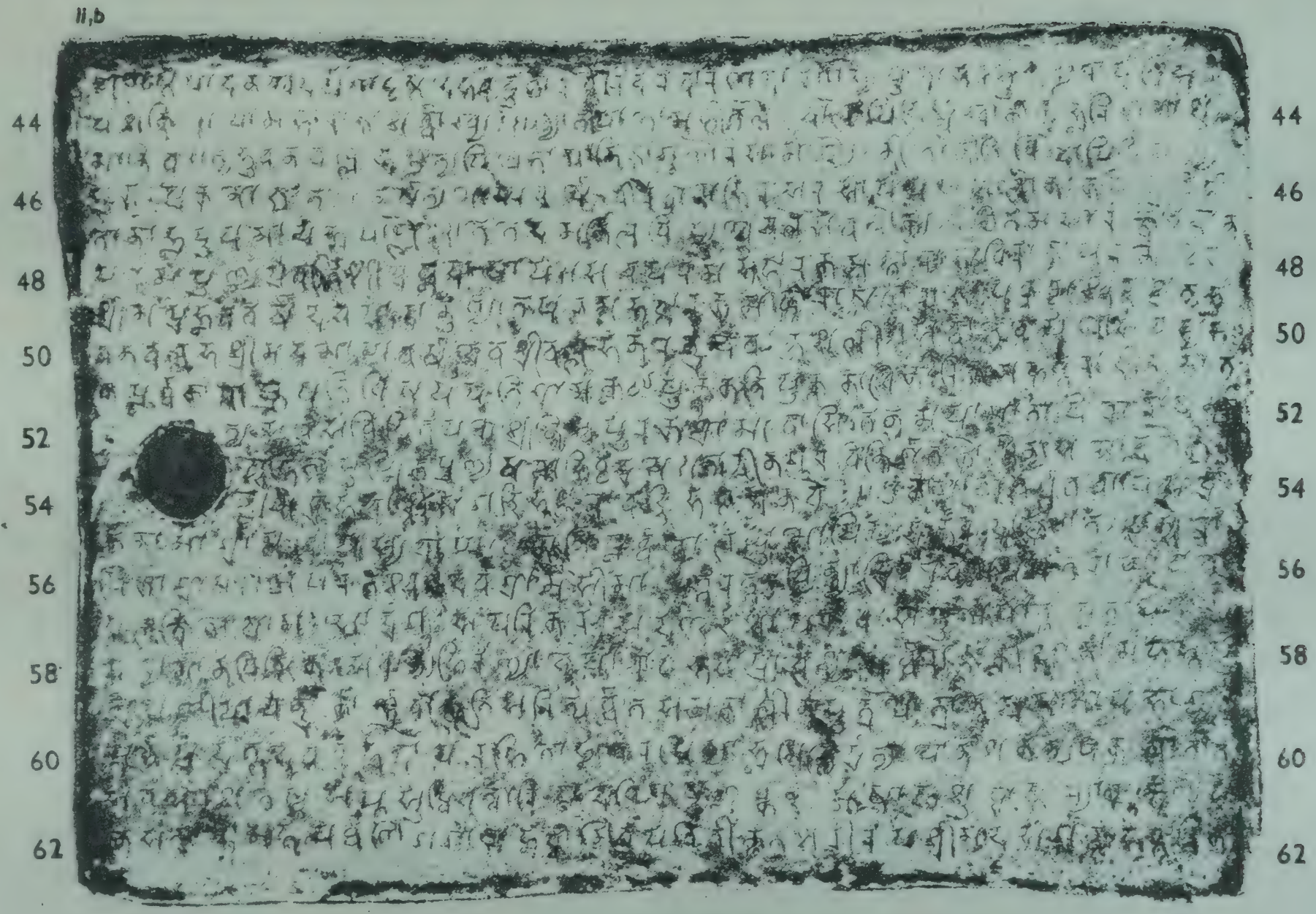
[2] There is space for this *akshara*.

[3] The letter is superfluous.

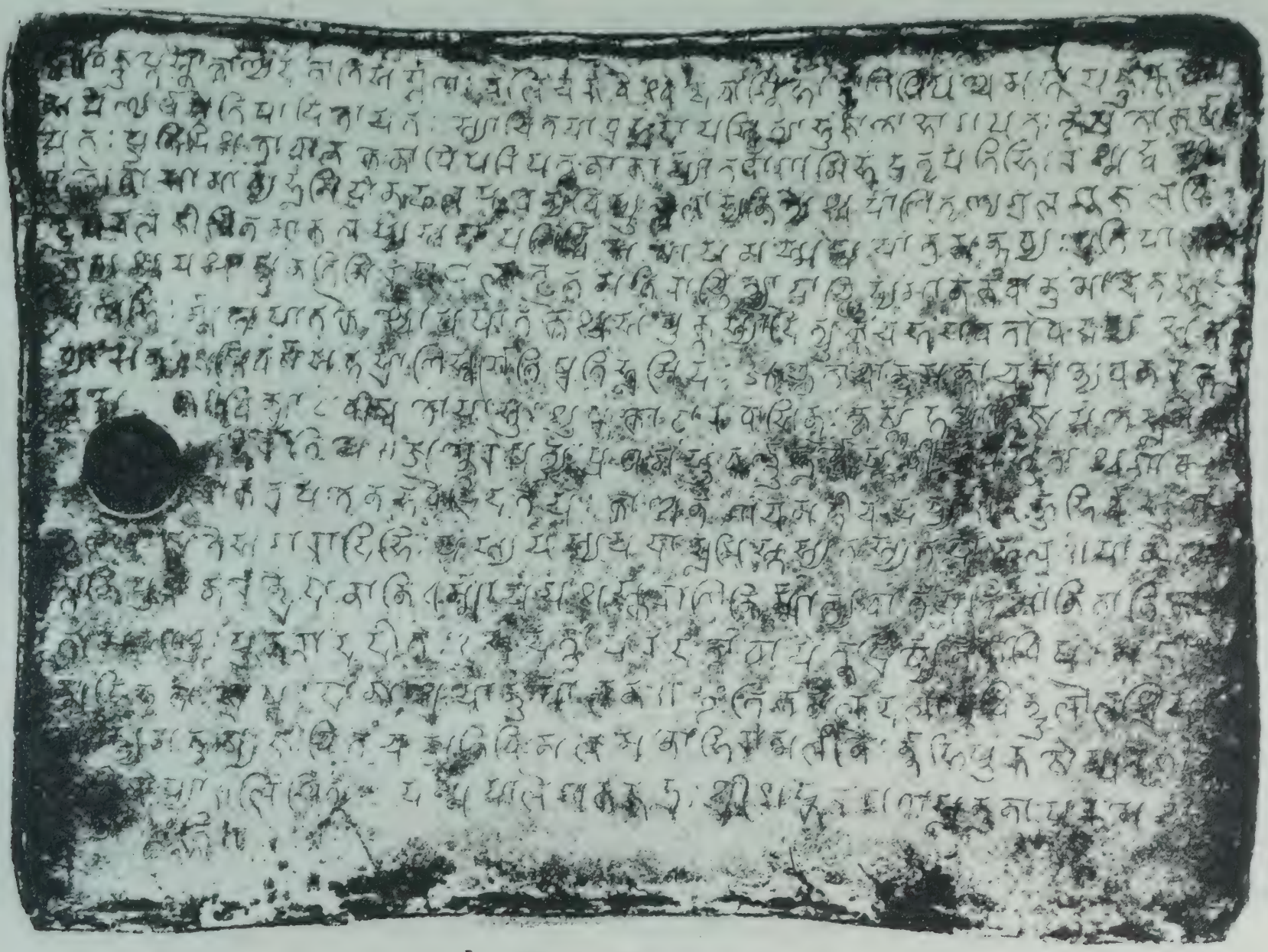
[4] Read *ripur=yaḥ Pallavānāṁ*.

[5] Rādhanpur plates read *para-chakra-rājakam=agāt*.

# JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742—PLATE II




Scale . Three-fifths



(from Photographs)

41 va(ba)ddh-āñjali-śōbhitēna śaraṇaṁ mūrddhnā yad-aṁhri(hri)-dvayaṁ(yam) [|*] yad=yada(d=da)tta-parārddha-bhūshaṇa-gaṇā(nair)=n=ālaṁkṛita[ṁ*] tat=ta-

42 [thā*] mā bhaishīr=iti satya-pāli[ta*]-yaśaḥ-sthityā yathā tad-girāt(rā) || [20*] Tasy=āta-(na)t-ākhila-narēndra-kirīṭa-kōṭi-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

43 saṁghṛishṭa-pāda-nakha-darpaṇa-dṛishṭa-dēha[ḥ] [|*] durvāra-vairi-vara-vāraṇa-dāraṇasya putrō=bhavad=Guha iv=āpratiha-

44 pa(vārya)-śaktiḥ || [21*] Yō **mahārāja-Śarvv-ākhyaḥ** ||[1] khyātī(tiṁ) yātō mahītalē [|*] bālō=pi diṅ-mukh-ākīrṇṇa-bhūri-dhām-āṁśu-

45 mān=iva || [22*] **Tṛi(Tri)bhuvanavallabha** ity=api yētō(n=ō)tyā(ktyā) nija-guṇair=a-sāmānyaiḥ|[*] nītō nīti-vidō=pi yasya

46 guruḥ prakramō jātaḥ |[| 23*] Varshaty=Amōghavarshshē dhīraṁ dhārābhir=asarasā[ṁ*] payasaḥ ||(|) lōkaḥ kapiśu(śa)-vihī-

47 tō(nō) n=ābhūd=upamā cha bhūpālaiḥ || [24*] Tētē(n=ē)dam=anila-vidyuñchaṁ(ch-chaṁ) chalasa(m=a)valōkya jīvitam=a-sāraṁ(ram | ) kshiti-dāna-

48 parama-puṇya[ṁ*] pravarti[tō] vra(bra)hma-dāyā(yō)=ya[m*] || [25*] Sa cha paramabhaṭṭā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-

49 śrīmat-**Prabhūtavarshadēva**-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-mēś-vara-śrī-**Tṛi(Tri)bhu-**

50 **vanavallabha**-śrīmad-**Amōghavarshadēva-Śrīvallabha-narēndradēvaḥ** kuśalī ||[1] sarvvātē(n=ē)va yathā-saṁvadhyasa(badhyamā)-

51 napūrvakāṁ(nakān) rāshṭrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka-niyuktak-ādhikārika-maha-ttar-ādī[n*] sayāta(mādiśa)-

52 ty=astu va[ḥ*] saṁviditaṁ yathā śrī-Nisvapuraka-grāma-vāsita(tē)na mayā mātā-pitrōr=āsha(tma)na-

53 ś=ch=aihik-āsu(mu)[sh]mika-puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē ||[1] Kā[ṁ*]chī-nagara-vinirgata-**Kau-**[ṇḍi]nya-sagōtra-Taiti(tti)rī-

54 ya-savra(bra)ha(hma)chārī(ri)-Jōgaḍḍī-bhaṭṭa-Rēvaḍḍī-bhaṭṭa-sūnavēḥ[2] || **Ēkāśāy-**ānta-rggaṭa-**Vō[3]yipadra-**

55 **ka**-nāmā grāmaḥ || yasya ch=āghāṭanāni pūrvvatō Laghu-Mōyipadrakaṁ(kaḥ) || dakshi-ṇataḥ Um[b]arō-

56 pikō grāmaḥ || aparataś-cha tad=ēva[4] grāma-sīmā | uttarattaḥ(taḥ) Vindhy-ādriḥ [|*] ēvam=ayaṁ chatur-āghāṭatō(n-ō)-

57 palakshitō pā(grā)maḥ s-ōdraṅgaḥ sa(s-ō)parikaraḥ sa-daṇḍa-daś-āparādhaḥ sa-bhu(bhū)-t-ōpāttaḥ(tta)-pratyāya- [s-ō*]-

58 tpadyamāna-vishṭikaḥ sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyō=chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya[ḥ*] sarva-rājakīyānāṁ-(nā)m=ahasta-pa(pra)-

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[1] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[2] Read *bhaṭṭāya...sūnavē*. This unnecessary double *daṇḍa* is preceded by a *visarga*-like mark.

[3] [The reading of the *akshara* seems to be *vā*.—Ed.]

[4] Read *s=aiva*.

59 kshēpaṇīya(ya ā)-rch(cha)ndr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvata-**sama**-kālīna-putra-pautr-ānvaya-kram-ōpabhōgya[ḥ*]

60 pūrvva-pradatta-dēva-vra(bra)hmadāya-rahitō=bhyantara-sidhyā(ddhyā) bhūmi-chchhidraṁ(dra)-tyā(nyā)yēna Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-

61 **saṁvatsara-śatēshu saptasu dvichatvāri**[ṁ*]**dā**(śa)**d-adhikēshu 742 Āshāḍha-śuddh-āshṭamyāṁ dakshiṇāya-**

62 **na-saṁkrāntau** maha(hā)-parvvaṇi Gaṁgā-Jāhnavīm=iva[1] pavitrīkṛita-śarīraya(yā) **śrīmad-Asagavvā-bhaṭṭārika-**

*Third Plate*

63 **yā** vijñaptē[na*] snātvā ṇya(na)[dy-u*]dak-ātisarggēṇaḥ(ṇa) va(ba)li-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ātithi-pañcha-mahā-yajña-kṛi(kri)y-ō-

64 **t**sarpaṇārtha[ṁ*] pratipāditō yataḥ [a*]sy=ōchitayā vra(bra)hmadāya-sthityā bhuṁjatō bhōga(ja)yataḥ kṛishatō(karshataḥ ) karsha-

65 yataḥ pratidiśatō vā na kēn=āpi paripattha(ntha)nā kāryyā [|*] tat[2]=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiḥ(bhi)r=aśma(sma)d-vaṁśyai-

66 **r=a**tyai(nyai)r=vvā sāmānya[ṁ*] bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avētya vidyul-lōlābhya(ny=a)nity-**aiśvar**-yāṇi tṛiṇ-āgra-lagna-jala-vi-

67 ndu-paṁ(chaṁ)chalaṁ jīvitam=ākalayya **sva**-dāya-mi(ni)rvisē(śē)shō=yam=**asmad**-dāyō=numantav**ya**ḥ pratipālayi-

68 tavyaś=cha [|*] yaś=ch=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhitdyā(ndyā)d=āchchhidya-mānakaṁ v=ānumōdēta sa

69 pañchabhiḥ(bhi)r=mahāpātakaiś=ch=ōpapātakē(kai)ś=cha saṁyukta[ḥ*] syād=ity=uktaṁ cha bhagavatā Vēda[vyā]sēna

70 Vyāsēna || Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhētā(ttā) ch=ānumantā cha tāṁ(tā)ny=ēva narakē

71 vasēt || [26*] Vindhy-āṭavīshv=atōyāsuḥ(su) śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇa(shṇ-ā)hayō hi jāyaṁtē bhūmi-dā-

72 naṁ haraṁti yē || [27*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ prathamaṁ **suvarṇṇaṁ** bhūr=vvaishṇavī **sūrya-sutāś=cha** gāvaḥ [|*]

73 lōka-traya[ṁ*] tēna bhavēdri(d=dhi) dataṁ(ttaṁ) yaḥ kāñchanaṁ gāṁ cha **mahīṁ cha** dadyā[t*] || [28*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā

74 bhuktā rajātai[2] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [29*] Yān=īha da-

75 ttāni purā narēndrai[r*]=dānāni dharmmāya yaśaskarāṇi [|*] nirmmālya-vāṁta-pratimāni tāti(ni) kō

76 tā(nā)ma sādhuḥ punar=ādadītaḥ(ta) ||[| 30*] Sva-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) vā yatnād=rakshya(ksha) narādhipaḥ(pa) [|*] mahī-

77 m=mahi(hī)bhṛitāṁ śrēshṭhaḥ(shṭha) dānāt**śrē**(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālana[m*] || [31*] Iti kamala-dal-āṁvu(bu)-vindu-lōlaṁ(lāṁ) śriyam=a-

78 nuchintya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha [|*] ati-vimala-manōbhir=ātma-līnaiḥ(nai)r=nna hi purushaishpa(shaiḥ pa)ra-kīrtta-

79 yō vilōpyā[ḥ || 32*] Likhitaṁ[3] dam=mayā lēkhaka-Rudraḥ(drēṇa) śrī-Śaṁkaragaṇa-sūnunā paramēśvar-ā-

80 jñayā iti ||

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[1] [Read *Gaṅgā-Jāhnavībhyām=iva.*—Ed.]

[2] Read *rājabhiḥ.*

[3] There is space for the letter *ch=ē* here.

JAVAKHEDA PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I, SAKA 742 — PLATE III

SEAL




(from a Photograph)

## No. 16—FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF PARAMARAS OF ABU

*(1 Plate)*

SADHU RAM, DELHI

An impression of the present copper-plate inscription was very kindly given to me for editing by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. The record is incomplete and the impression relates to the inner side of the first plate of a grant made by some Paramāra ruler of Arbuda (modern Ābu). It was discovered by the late Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha during his tour in the former Sirohi State. It was then in the possession of a gardener of the village of **Rohera** in that State.

From the estampage, the plate seems to have been in a good state of preservation. The record consists of 18 lines of writing. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. The letter *b* is generally indicated by the sign for *v*. As regards **orthography**, some consonants are often reduplicated in conjunction with *r*. Its **language** is Sanskrit. There are altogether 11 verses and a part of what appears to be a passage in prose in line 18. There is one more line at the bottom, which is inscribed in a different hand and gives no sense. It was probably added later and has no connection with the original record.

This inscription has been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Working of the Rajputana Museum* for the year ending 31st March, 1932, and in G. H. Ojha's *Rājputānēkā Itihās*, Vol. 1, 2nd ed., pp. 190ff. The importance of the record lies in the fact that it gives a complete genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Ābu from Utpalarāja to Dhārāvarsha.

The Paramāra Rājputs originally ruled over the territory around Ābu,[1] from where they spread over Mārwār, Sindh, a part of modern Gujarāt, and Mālwā. From their other inscriptions, we find that the name of their ancestor was Dhūmarāja. The word *dhūma* forming the first half of the name means 'smoke' which arises from fire. The second verse of our record alludes to the birth of the first Paramāra king from the fire in the sacrificial altar of the sage Vasishṭha. This may be a poetic way of referring to the name of the progenitor of the family and, at the same time, may have given rise to the legend of the family having sprung from fire. The story that is told in the Paramāra inscriptions and a later poem, entitled *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* by Padmagupta *alias* Parimala, says that the cow Nandinī of the sage Vasishṭha was deceitfully carried away by Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi. Vasishṭha thereupon got enraged and performed a sacrifice. Out of the fire of the sacred altar, there sprang a heroic person who defeated the foe and recovered the cow. The sage gave the name Paramāra (literally, 'the destroyer of foes') to the hero who afterwards became the founder of the Paramāra family.

The first verse of the inscription is invocatory, asking for the readers the protection of god Śiva in his amorous aspect as the lover of the mountain-born Pārvatī, round whose knot of matted hair the holy river Gaṅgā twines like a jasmine wreath. The second verse describes the birth of the progenitor of the family from Vasishṭha's sacrificial fire-altar. It also states that the fire-born king humbled the pride of Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, and was named Paramāra. In his family

[1] [This suggestion is based on the tradition about the origin of the Paramāra dynasty. But epigraphic evidence suggests that the early Paramāras were ruling in Gujarat as the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Deccan (cf. Ray, *DHNI*, pp. 841-42). The claim of Paramāra Vākpati I to have descended from the family of Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa III, however, dose not prove that he was a direct descendant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king as, in that case, the reference to the Rāshṭrakūṭa origin would not have been discontinued later. Vākpati's mother might have been the daughter or granddaughter of Kṛishṇa III.—Ed.].

was born king Utpalarāja who had king Araṇyarāja as his son. After the latter, came the victorious king Kṛishṇarāja who was the very image of his father (Araṇyarāja).

Kṛishṇarāja's son Dharaṇīvarāha succeeded to the throne after him. The latter was succeeded by his two sons Dhūrbhaṭa and Mahīpāla[1] who perhaps divided the kingdom and ruled in their respective territories (verse 3). Thereafter Dhandhūka, the son of Mahīpāla, ruled over his own territory after driving away all his enemies (verse 4). Dhandhūka had three sons, *viz.* Pūrṇapāla, Dantivarman and Kṛishṇadēva, who ruled one after the other (verse 5).[2] Dantivarman's son was Yōgarāja, the conqueror of the earth, and Kṛishṇadēva's son was Kākaladēva (verse 6). The son of Yōgarāja was Rāmadēva who was a terror in the battle-field while that of Kākaladēva was king Vikramasiṁha (verse 7). The son of Rāmadēva was king Yaśōdhavala who crushed in battle Ballāla, the king of Mālava (verse 8).[3] His son **Dhārāvarsha**, the lord of Arbuda (Ābu), was an ornament of the Paramāra family and was the foremost among kings. He was well-versed in the Śāstras and clever in the use of weapons. He was a man of dominating personality and the influence of his virtuous life on his subjects, whom he had won over by love, was considerable (verse 9). He put to rout the brave soldiers of Mālava with a volley of his arrows on the bank of river Parṇā; but, in the meantime, Vikramasiṁha's son Raṇasiṁha captured the territory of his father (verse 10).[4] Then Dhārāvarsha, having pleased his master by means of his wisdom, devotion and valour, got back his own kingdom through his (i.e. his master's) favour (verse 11).[5] He had a wife named Rājyaśrī (?)[6] of the Cāhamāna (Chauhān) family, who was the daughter of the illustrious Kēlhaṇadēva.[7]

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[1] Ojha wrongly considers Dhūrbhaṭa to be a second name of Mahīpāla (op.cit., pp. 193, 203).

[2] Pūrṇapāla and Dantivarman ruled for a short time one after the other. It appears that the former had no son. But, although Dantivarman had a son, the throne was occupied by his younger brother Kṛishṇadēva. Thus Yōgarāja and Rāmadēva, respectively the son and grandson of Dantivarman, were deprived of their right of succession, and the kingdom passed on to Kākaladēva, the son of Kṛishṇadēva.

[3] From Kākaladēva, his son Vikramasiṁha inherited the throne. But Vikramasiṁha was taken captive, in a battle, by the Sōlaṅkī king Kumārapāla of Surāshṭra (Gujarāt) who installed Yaśōdhavala, the son of Rāmadēva and nephew of Vikramasiṁha, on the throne of Ābu.

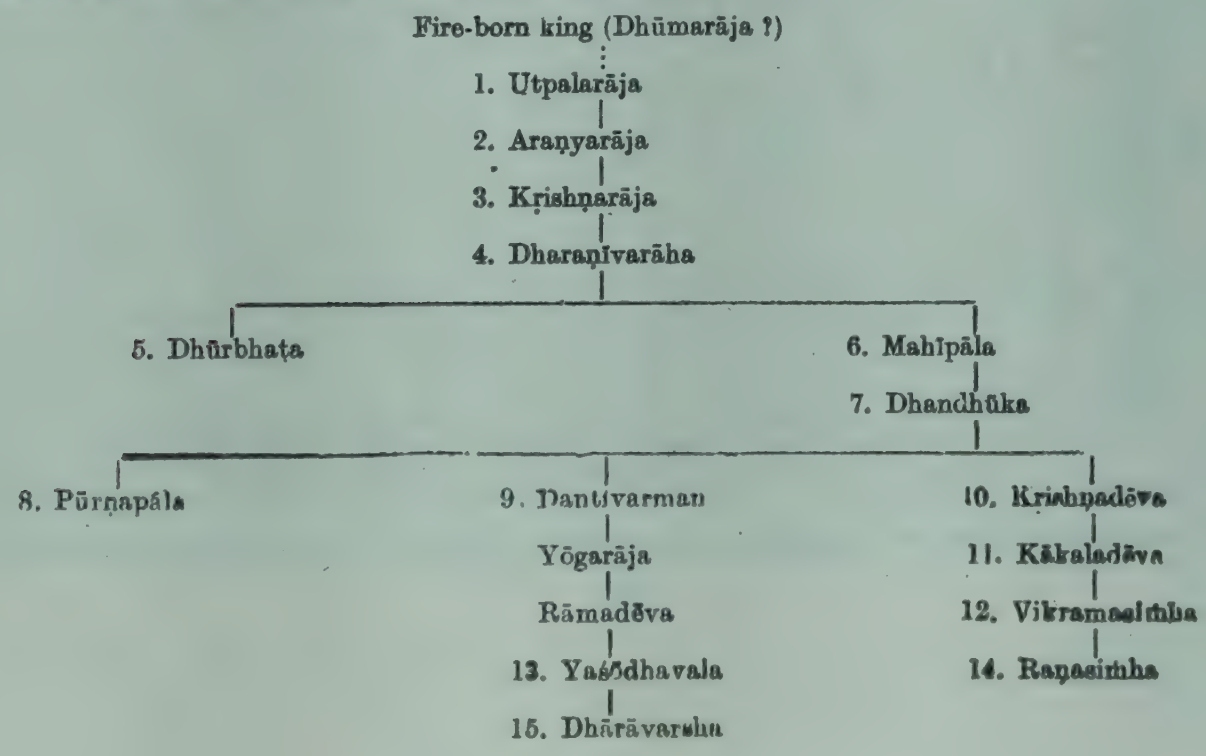
[4] It appears that, when Dhārāvarsha was engaged in a battle with the Mālavas, Raṇasiṁha captured the territory of his father Vikramasiṁha, which had been given to Yaśōdhavala, the father of Dhārāvarsha, by Kumāraṇpāla.

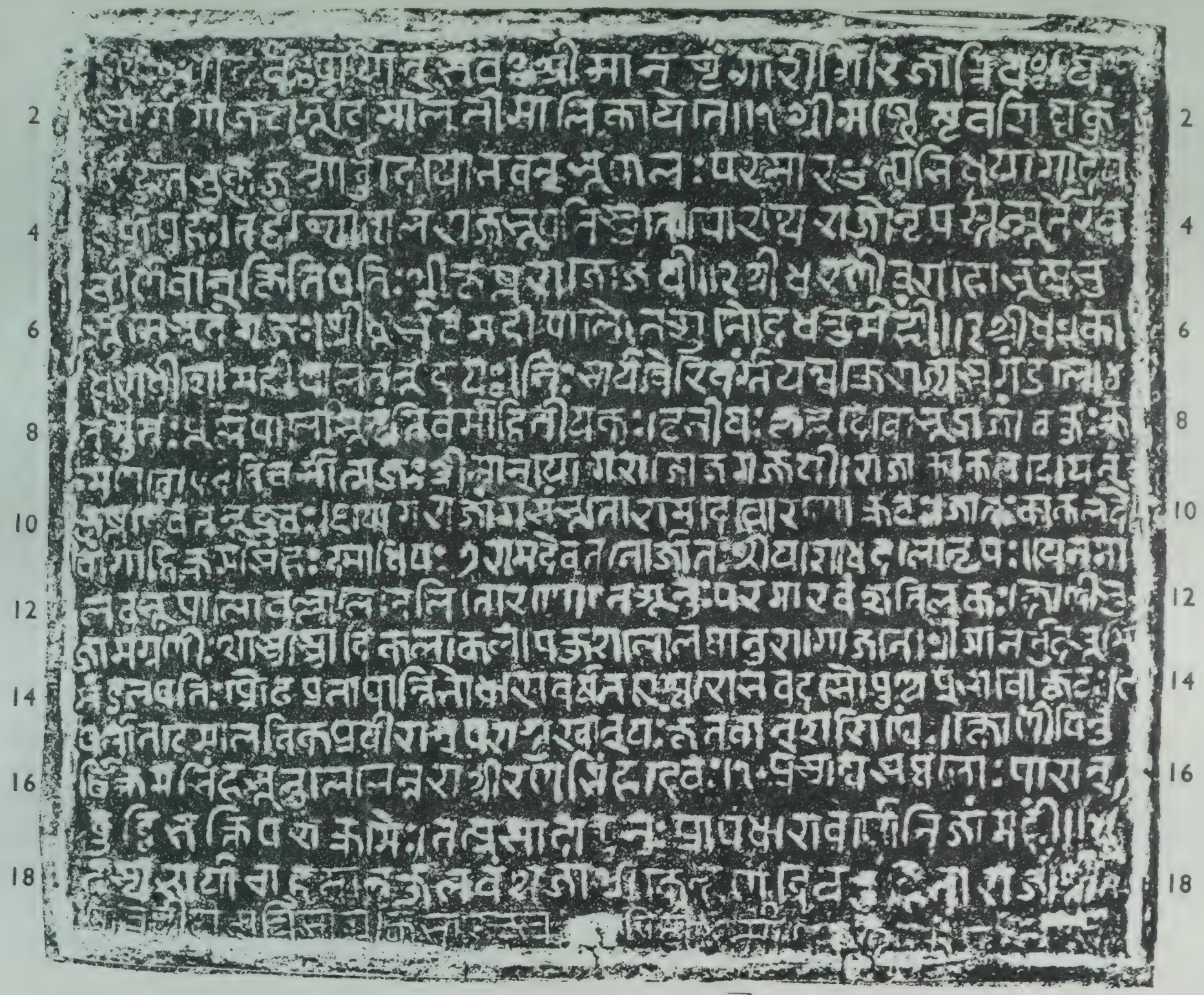
[5] Dhārāvarsha's master was the king of Gujarāt.

[6] [The name of the queen is uncertain. See below, p. 138, note 1. The present charter seems to have been issued by Dhārāvarsha.—Ed.]

[7] After this, the record is lost in the missing plate or plates. For a brief history of the Paramāras, see Ojha, op. cit., pp. 190 ff. Ojha (op. cit., p. 198) states that Dhārāvarsha married Śṛiṅgāradēvī and Gigādēvī, the daughters of the Chauhān king Kēlhaṇa of Nāḍōla.

The inscription offers the following genealogy of the Paramāras of Ābu :—





Scale : Four-fifths

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2, 9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 10 *Indravajrā*.]

1 ॐ ॥ देवः पायात् स वः श्रीमान् शृंगारी गिरिजाप्रियः । य-

2 स्य गंगा जटाजूटे मालतीमालिकायते ॥ १ [॥*] श्रीम[च्छे्]ष्ट(ष्ठ)वसि[ष्ठ]कुं-

3 डहुतभुक्(ग्)जन्मार्वु(बु)दे योभवत्(द्) भपालः परमार इत्यभिधया गादे(धे)य-

4 दर्पापहः । तद्वंश्योत्पलराजभूपतिसुतो योरण्यराजो नृपस्तन्मूर्तेरव-

5 तीर्णवान् क्षितिपतिः श्रीकृष्णराजो जयी ॥ २ [॥*] श्रीधरणीवराहोभूत्प्रभु-

6 र्भूमेस्तदंगजः । श्रीधूर्भटमहीपालौ तत्सुनौ(तौ) दधतुर्महीं(हीम्) ॥ ३ [॥*]
श्रीध(धं)धूका(को)

7 धराधीशो महीपालतनूद्भ्वः(वः) । निःसार्य वैरिवर्गं यश्चक्रे राज्यं
[स्वमं]डले ॥[।*] ४ [॥*]

8 तत्सुतः पूर्णपालोभूद्दंतिवर्मा द्वितीयकः । तृतीयः कृष्णदेवोभूद्राज्यं चक्रुः क्र-

9 मेण ते ॥[।*] ५ [॥*] दंतिवर्मात्मजः श्रीमान् योगराजो जगज्जयी । राजा
काकलदे[वो*] येत्(यः)

10 कृष्णदेवतनूद्भ्वः ॥[।*] ६ [॥*] योगराजांगसंभूतो रामदेवो रणोत्कटः । जातः
काकलदे-

11 वांगाद्विक्रमसिंहः क्षमाधिपः [॥*] ७ [॥*] रामदेवतनोर्जातः श्रीयशोध[व]लो नृपः ।
येन मा-

12 लवभूपालो व(ब)ल्लालो दलितो रणे ॥[।*] ८ [॥*] तत्सूनुः परमारवंशतिलकः
क्षोणीभु-

13 जामग्रणीः शास्त्रास्त्रादिकलाकलापकुशलो लब्धा(ब्धा)नुरागो जने । श्रीमानर्वु(बु)दभूमि-

14 मंडलपतिः प्रौढप्रतापान्ति(न्वि)तो धारावर्षनरेश्वरोभवदसौ पुण्यप्रभावोत्कटः
॥[।*] ९ [॥*]

15 पर्णातटे मालविकप्रवीरान् परागतु(ड्डमु)खान् यः कृतवान् श[रौ]घैः(घैः) । क्षोणीं
पिन(तु)-

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1 From an impression.

16 विक्रमभिं(सिं)हभू(सू)नुले(र्ले)ले(भे)न्तरा श्रीरणसिंहदेवः ।[।*] १० [।।*] प्रसाद्य स
प्व(प्र)भोः पारा(दा)न्

17 वु(बु)द्धिभक्तिपराक्रमैः । तत्प्रसादा[त्पु]नः प्राप धाराव[र्षो] निजां महीं(हीम्)
।। ११ [ ।।* ]

18 तस्य भार्या चाहमानकुलवंशजा श्रीकेल्हणदेव[दु]हिता राज्यश्री(? )[1]

19 .....[2]

[1] [The last four letters of the line look like *rājī śrīma*. The intended reading may have been *rājñī śrīmad°*.—Ed.]

[2] This line is a later addition having little to do with the inscription in lines 1-18.

# No. 17—MANDHATA PLATES OF PARAMARA JAYASIMHA-JAYAVARMAN, V. S. 1331

*(4 Plates)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

In November 1939, Mr. R. B. Deshpande of Dhār, formerly Assistant Engineer of the old Dhār State in Central India and in charge of the archaeological monuments at Māṇḍū, learnt from a Brāhmaṇa named Subrahmanya Shastri about the existence of a new copper-plate inscription in the possession of Rao Saheb Sobhag Singhji, the then Rao of **Māndhātā**. The inscription is said to have been discovered in 1927 at Māndhātā on the southern Bank of the Narmadā, when some people were clearing the ground near the Kāśī-Viśvēśvara temple for the Kārttikī Mēlā. Mr. Deshpande visited Māndhātā in the company of Shastri and succeeded in examining the inscription through the kindness and courtesy of the Rao Saheb. The plates, which were thoroughly covered with verdigris at the time of their discovery, were cleaned and Mr. Deshpande took a few sets of impressions of the writing. The inscription was then studied by Pandit Babu Shastri of Dhār and his transcript with a Hindi translation was published in the monthly journal called *Ushā*, published by the Bhōj Prakāśan, Dhār, in its issues for Junuary-February 1953, p. 46 ; March 1953, p. 14 ; November 1953, p. 44 ; December 1953, p. 11 ; February 1954, p. 28 ; March 1954, p. 9 ; August 1954, pp. 27-28 ; and October-November 1954, pp. 41-42. Mr. Deshpande also published an introductory note in English on the importance of the inscription in the same journal in its issues for November 1953, p. 43, and December 1953, pp. 20-21.

About the beginning of 1955 I received information about the existence of the inscription and tried to secure it on loan for examination from the Rao Saheb of Māndhātā. But I was informed that the record was then being examined by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Curator of the Indore Museum. Failing to secure the original plates, I then tried to secure a set of its impressions from Mr. R. B. Deshpande. This attempt was luckily successful and about the middle of the year I received one set of inked impressions of the record from Mr. Deshpande and copies of the issues of the *Ushā*, containing the articles of Pandit Babu Shastri and Mr. Despande, from Mr. Y. W. Wakankar of Dhār, formerly Lecturer in Geography in the Government College, Dhār. The impressions were photographed in my office and returned to Mr. Deshpande. In this connection I received very consisderable help from Mr. N. S. Purandare of Dhār, formerly Principal of the Government College, Mandasaur.

Since, however, the impressions received from Mr. Deshpande were not quite satisfactory, I requested Dr. Trivedi to send me either the original plates on loan or a set of good impressions of the inscription. I also requested him to publish the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately nothing was received from Dr. Trivedi till the beginning of the year 1957 and I took up the photographs of Mr. Deshpande's impressions for study in April 1957. On examination it was found that the inscription throws welcome light on the history of the Paramāras of Malwa, although Pandit Babu Shastri's transcript is not free from inaccuracies and his translation is full of errors while Mr. Deshpande's views on the importance and interpretation of the record are all misconceived. The inscription is edited here from the photographs referred to above.

The set consists of **four** plates, each measuring about 17 inches in length, 13 inches in height and between $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{16}$ inch in thickness. Their weight has not been recorded. The edges of the plates were raised to the thickness of about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch for the protection of the writing. The

four plates are held together by two copper rings passing through holes made in them. While the first plate has writing only on the inner side, the other three plates bear inscription on both obverse and reverse. In the left side of the empty space beneath the writing on the reverse of the last plate, the figure of **Garuḍa**, the royal **emblem** of the Paramāras, is engraved as in so many other Paramāra charters.[1] There are altogether 140 lines of writing in the inscription and they are distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates in the following order : I—21 lines : IIA—22 lines ; IIB—23 lines ; IIIA—23 lines ; IIIB—23 lines ; IVA—23 lines ; IVB—5 lines.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī. Its **language** is Sanskrit. The record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. Its **palaeography** and **orthography** do not call for any special remark. The letter *b* is indicated by the sign for *v*. There is a general tendency to represent class nasals by *anusvāra*. Final *m* is often wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, although it is generally used correctly at the end of sentences in the prose part of the document. The **date** of the charter is quoted in words in lines 91-92 as **Friday**, Maitra(Anurādhā)-nakshatra, Bhādrapada-sudi 7 in the year (Vikrama Saṁvat) **1331** called **Pramāthin** (according to the Northern Cycle of Jupiter). The details of the date correspond regularly to those of the **10th of August in the year 1274 A. D.**

The **object** of the document is to record a grant of land made by *Sādhanika* **Anayasiṁhadēva** while he was staying at Maṇḍapa-durga, with the permission of the **Paramāra** king **Jayavarman** ***alias*** **Jayasiṁha**, described as the lord of **Dhārā**, after having worshipped the husband of Pārvatī, i.e. the god Śiva. Anayasiṁha's order in this respect was addressed to the officials as well as the villagers including Brāhmaṇas and Paṭṭakilas (i.e. Patels) who were associated with the following localities : (1) Kumbhaḍāuda-grāma in Vardhanāpura-pratijāgaraṇaka, (2) Vālauda-grāma in the same *Pratijāgaraṇaka* (i.e. Pargana), (3) Vaghāḍī-grāma in Saptāśīti-pratijāgaraṇaka and (4) Nāṭiyā-grāma in Nāgadaha-pratijāgaraṇaka. It is stated that Anayasiṁha, together with his four sons named Kamalasiṁha, Dhārasiṁha, Jaitrasiṁha and Padmasiṁha, granted the said four villages in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas residing in the Brahmapurī (i.e. Brāhmaṇa settlement) at Māndhātṛi and belonging to various *gōtras* and *śākhās*, whose families hailed from several localities. It is interesting to note that the four villages were divided into 16 parts, each called a *pada* and that, while 14 of these *padas* were granted to the 14 Brāhmaṇa donees, 2 *padas* were made over by Anayasiṁha to his own self. It may be that Anayasiṁha purchased the four villages from the Paramāra king for the purpose of creating a rent-free holding to be granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas, although he was allowed to retain a small part of the land for himself. There are other instances of this kind in inscriptions.[2]

The donees mentioned in the list are the following : (1) Dī(Dīkshita) Padmanābhaśarman, son of Avasathin Vidyādharaśarman and grandson of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Kamalādharaśarman of the Gautama *gōtra*, the Āṅgirasa, Auvathya and Gautama *pravaras* and the Ṛigvēda *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (2) Cha(Chaturvēdin) Mādhavaśarman, brother of No. 1 ; (3) Paṁ(Paṇḍita) Śrīkaṇṭhaśarman, son of Pañchapī(pā)ṭhin Miśra Uddharaṇaśarman and grandson of Miśra Dharmadharaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravaras* and the Ṛigvēda *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (4) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Gōvardhanaśarman, son of Paṁ(Paṇḍita) Vidyāpatiśarman and grandson of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Bhūpatiśarman of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, the Kāśyapa, Āvatsara and Naidhruva *pravaras* and the Ṛigvēda *śākhā* and

[1] Cf. above, Vol. IX, Plate facing p. 111.

[2] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 236. The Baud plates of Pṛithvīmahādēvī appear to offer another instance (cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 211 and note 1) ; but the expression *dāna-pati* (i.e. the person creating a rent-free holding with the approval of the royal authority) has been misunderstood by the editor of the inscriptions.

hailing from Lakhaṇapura ; (5) Dī(Dīkshita) Vāmanaśarman, son of Dī° Dēvaśarman and grandson of Dī° Śrīvatsaśarman of the Chandrātrēya *gōtra*, the Ātrēya, Gāvishṭhira and Pūrvātitha *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Tōlāpauha ; (6) Avasthī (Avasathin) Anantaśarman, son of Sādhāraṇaśarman and grandson of Balabhadraśarman of the Vāśishṭha *gōtra*, the Vāśishṭha, Śāktrya and Pārāśarya *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (7) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Hariśarmaśarman, son of Dvi° Sōlūśarman and grandson of Śukla Pradyumnaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (8) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Mahādēvaśarman, son of Upā(Upādhyāya) Vaijūśarman and grandson of Upā° Dēvaśarman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, the Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭēnī ; (9) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Haridēvaśarman, son of Ava(Avasathin) Āladēvaśarman and grandson of Pā(Pāṭhin) Kūlhaṇaśarman of the Kātyāyana *gōtra*, the Viśvāmitra, Kātya and Kīla(Atkīla) *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (10) Dvi(Dvivēdin) Anantaśarman, son of Ava(Avasathin) Vīṁkūdēvaśarman and grandson of Dvi° Gajādharaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (11) Pā(Pāṭhin) Yōgēśvaraśarman, son of Pā° Atriśarman and grandson of Pā° Kṛishṇaśarman of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, the Ātrēya, Gāvishṭhira and Pūrvātitha *pravaras* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (12) Tri(Trivēdin) Nārāyaṇaśarman, son of Tri° Dāmōdaraśarman and grandson of Tri° Samuddharaṇaśarman of the Vāśishṭha *gōtra*, the Vāśishṭha, Abharadvasu and Indrapramada *pravaras* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (13) Tri(Trivēdin) Purushūśarman, son of Cha(Chaturvēdin) Lakshmīdharaśarman and grandson of Cha° Vāsudēvaśarman of the Sāvarṇi *gōtra*, the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavad, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; (14) Tri-(Trivēdin) Vāṁśarman, son of Tri° Mahēśvaraśarman and grandson of Tri° Viśvēśvaraśarman of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, the Śāṇḍilya, Āsita and Daivala *pravaras* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* and hailing from Ṭakārī ; and (15) Sādhanika Anayasiṁhavarman of the Chāhamāna family and Kshatriya community, son of Sā° Salakhaṇasiṁhavarman and grandson of Sā° Palhaṇadēvavarman of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavad, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras*.

An interesting feature of the list of the donees quoted above is that, in several of the cases, the family names were not still stereotyped in the families since the donee and his father and grandfather have not the same distinctive designation. In one case, Avasathin Vidyādharaśarman is stated to have been the son of Chaturvēdin Kamalādharaśarman and the father of Dīkshita Padmanābhaśarman and Chaturvēdin Mādhavaśarman. The mention of the *gōtra* of the Kshatriya family of the Chāhamānas is also worth noting. But more interesting seems to be the fact that, while the list enumerates only 14 Brāhmaṇas getting one *pada* or share each, along with the Chāhamāna Kshatriya Anayasiṁha receiving two *padas*, line 127 specifically gives the number of doness as '16 Brāhmaṇas'. It is therefore not impossible that the 16 shares in which the 4 gift villages were divided had been orginally planned to be allotted to 16 Brāhmaṇas but that the plan was later modified to the advantage of Anayasiṁha. Whether this was done with the king's consent or by Anayasiṁha on his own initiative without his master's knowledge cannot be determined, although the mention of the 15 donees including himself as '16 Brāhmaṇas' looks rather suspicious. Line 133 also refers to the donees of the grant as' these Brāhmaṇas '.

The fact that Anayasiṁha is stated to have granted the charter, albeit with the king's permission, points to his power and prestige in the court of the Paramāra king. He is stated to have been staying at Maṇḍapa-durga and is called a *Sādhanika*. His immediate ancestors also appear to have enjoyed the same designation. The expression *Sādhanika* is the same as Prakrit *Sāhaṇia*

meaning 'the commander of an army'.[1] An inscription (V. S. 1237)[2] of a Paramāra chief named Jaḍaṇa, from Nāṇa in the old Jodhpur State, uses the same word as *Sāhaṇi* (cf. the family name Sāhnī) which has been supposed to indicate 'the master of the royal stables'. In Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* the expression *Mahāsādhanika* is used in the sense of a chieftain or military governor.[3]

We have seen that the list of donees discussed above mentions Sā° Salakhaṇasiṁhavarman and Sā° Palhaṇadēvavarman respectively as the father and grandfather of Chāhamāna Anayasiṁha. Verses 57-66 (lines 75-86) of the introductory part of the inscription offer further information about this Chāhamāna family owing allegiance to the Paramāras. Verses 75-76 speak of *Rāutta* (i.e. *Rāvat* from Sanskrit *Rāja-putra*) Rāṭa and his son Palhaṇadēva (respectively the great-grandfather and grandfather of Anayasiṁha) and of the power of their arms. The master of Palhaṇadēva is vaguely referred to without disclosing his name, although he must have been the contemporary Paramāra king. Verse 59 mentions Palhaṇadēva's son Salakhaṇasiṁha who is stated to have assisted **Arjunadēva** in his battles. This Arjunadēva is no doubt the Paramāra king Arjunavarman whose known dates are V. S. 1267 (1211 A. D.), 1270 (1213 A. D.) and 1272 (1215 A. D.).[4] It is not impossible that the said Chāhamāna chief is identical with *Rājan* Salakhaṇa mentioned as the *Mahāsāndhi* (i.e. *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*) in Arjunavarman's Bhopal plates (Set 2).[5] A very interesting instance of military assistance rendered by Salakhaṇasiṁha to the Paramāra king is offered by verse 60. It is stated that the Chāhamāna leader of Paramāra forces defeated the army of **Siṁhaṇadēva**, no doubt the Yādava king of that name who ruled in c. 1210-47 A. D., and captured seven plumes (*chāmarāṇi* which appear to have been fitted with the turban) from the general Sāgaya-rāṇaka, apparently a leader of Siṁhaṇadēva's forces, after having pulled the general down from his horse which was in the middle of a contingent. This feat of valour pleased both Siṁha and Arjuna (i.e. Paramāra Arjunavarman) who shook their heads in appreciation.

The Bahal inscription[6] of Yādava Siṁhaṇa and the Paithan plates[7] of his great-grandson Rāmachandra (c. 1271-1310 A. D.) refer to Siṁhaṇa's victory over Arjuna who is none other than the Paramāra king Arjunavarman of Malwa. The *Hammīramadamardana* relates how Chāhamāna Sindhurāja, brother of Arjunavarman's feudatory Siṁha of Lāṭadēśa, was killed by Yādava Siṁhaṇa.[8] This Siṁha of Lāṭa seems to be mentioned as appreciating the valour of Chāhamāna Salakhaṇa in verse 60 of our inscription, referred to above. The stanza, therefore, probably refers to the Yādava invasion of Lāṭa which formed a part of the dominions of Arjunavarman. Sāgaya-rāṇaka, who was a leader of the Yādava army and was defeated by the Chāhamāna general of the Paramāra king, may be the same as the cavalry officer Saṅga mentioned in a Yādava inscription[9] of Śaka 1119 (1197 A. D.).

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[1] H. T. Seth, *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo*, s.v.

[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 395.

[3] Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāras of Malwa*, p. 212. *Mahāsādhanika* seems to be the same as *Paṭṭasāhaṇādhipati* of some records (cf. *A.R. Ep.*, 1953-54, p. 6). For *Sāhaṇi* or *Sāhiṇi* in other inscriptions, see also loc. cit.; Kundangar, *Inscriptions of Northern Karnatak and Kolhapur*, p. 139, No. 16, etc.

[4] Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 457, 460 and 466.

[5] *JAOS*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff. Salakhaṇa mentioned in the Bhopal plates is generally identified with the homonymous father of the Jain poet Āśādhara author of the *Triṣhaṣhṭiṣmṛiti* and various other works and a protégé of Arjunavarman and his successors (cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 899; Ganguly, op. cit., p. 202).

[6] Above, Vol. III, pp. 113 ff. Cf. Hēmādri's *Vratakhaṇḍa* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p.272, verse 48).

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316, text line 27.

[8] Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 208, 212-13. Cf. *Hammīramadamardana*, Aṅka I.

[9] See Kundangar, op. cit., p. 146, No. 17.

The following six stanzas (verses 61-66) describe the activities of **Anayasiṁha**, the son of Salakhaṇa and the donor of the grant. He is stated to have built a temple for the god Śiva and excavated a tank at Dēvapālapura. This locality seems to have been named after the Paramāra king Dēvapāla who succeeded Arjunavarman. Another temple was built by him at Śākapura for the goddess Ambikā. This locality may have been the headquarters of the Pargana called Śākapura-pratijāgaraṇaka which is mentioned in the Piplianagar plates[1] of Arjunavarman. Anayasiṁha also built a temple for the god Jambukēśvara Śiva in the vicinity of the Ōṅkāra (i.e. Ōṅkārēśvara) temple and excavated a tank near the former. In the fort of Maṇḍapa, he excavated a tank and granted in favour of Brāhmaṇas, with the king's permission, a *purī* or township having a surrounding wall, a gate, a big shrine and a pond and containing 16 temples endowed with golden jars [forming their pinnacles]. This *purī* is apparently the Brahmapurī at Maṇḍapa-durga, mentioned as the habitation of the Brāhmaṇa donees of the grant under discussion and already referred to above. Similar pious works were also done by Anayasiṁha at Māndhātṛi-durga.

The earlier part of the inscription before the introduction of the feudatory family of the Chāhamānas, to which the donor Anayasiṁha belonged, may be divided into two sections, the first containing invocation to various deities and the second the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras of Malwā. The first section begins with the *Praṇava* and a passage in prose in adoration to Dharma described as *purush-ārtha-chūḍāmaṇi*. The same invocation is found in several other grants of the Paramāra kings.[2] The above is followed by eleven stanzas (verses 1-11) in adoration of the following deities : 'the lord of sacrificers', i.e. the Moon-god (verse 1) who is similarly invoked at the beginning of some other Paramāra charters ;[3] Rāma, i.e. Paraśurāma (verse 2) ; Rāma, i.e. Rāma Dāśarathi (verse 3) ; Puradruh, i.e. Śiva (verse 4) ; Śarva having eight forms, i.e. Śiva (verse 5) ; Ōṅkāra (verse 6), identical with Paśupati or Śiva and having his temple on the bank of the Rēvā or Narmadā (verse 7), the description of the shrine near the junction of the Rēvā and the Kāvērī being continued in the following stanza (verse 8) ; Kaiṭabhajit or Vishṇu in his Boar incarnation (verse 10) ; and Pitāmaha, i.e. Brahman (verse 11).

The said section is followed by the mythical account of the origin of the Paramāra dynasty. Verse 12 relates how the god Brahman created out of his own mind the Seven Sages, one of whom was Vasishṭha. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to the quarrel between Vasishṭha and Kauśika, i.e. Viśvāmitra, wellknown from the epics and Purāṇas, while verse 14 states how Vasishṭha created out of his sacrificial fire-pit a hero named Paramāra for punishing his foes (i.e. Viśvāmitra's forces) who were the enemies of Dharma. Verse 15 says that this Paramāra was the progenitor of a royal family [bearing his name]. This mythical account of the origin of the Paramāras is first noticed in records of the eleventh century[4] when it seems to have been fabricated. The myth has been interpreted to mean that the Paramāras were Hinduised foreigners of the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.[5] The theory is of course not disproved by the evidence of the Harsola plates,[6] according to which Bappaïrāja (Vākpatirāja I) was descended from the family of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa III (939-66 A.D.), since this apparently refers to Bappaïrāja's relations with the Rāshṭrakūṭa house on his mother's side as otherwise, if the Paramāras were direct des-

[1] *JASB*, Vol. V, 1836, pp. 377-82.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. IX, pp. 108 (text line 1), 120 (text line 1).

[3] Ibid., pp. 108 (text lines 1-2, verse 1), 120 (text lines 1-2, verse 1).

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff. ; *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, XI, 64 ff.

[5] Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. Crooke, Vol. I, pp. 112 ff. ; Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. II, pp. 254 ff., etc.

[6] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 239-40 ; cf Ray, op. cit., pp. 841-42.

cendants of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors, the Paramāra rulers would have continued to mention the fact even in their later records.

The above account of the mythical origin of the Paramāra family is followed by a long list of Paramāra kings ending with the ruler, during whose reign the charter under study was issued. There are altogether 24 names in this section, the first 9 of which are unhistorical. These imaginary names are: Kamaṇḍaludhara, king of Dhārā (verse 16); his son Dhūmarāja whose name was justified by the smoke arising from the cities of his enemies that were burnt by him (verses 17-18); his son Dēvasiṁhapāla (verse 19); his son Kanakasiṁha (verse 20); his son Śrīharsha (verse 20*a*); Jagaddēva king of Mālava (verses 21-22); Sthirakāya (verse 23); Vōśari, lord of Dhārā (verse 24); and his son Vīrasiṁha (verse 25). These names forming a group are introduced in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras for the first time in the present record. Of the nine names, Dhūmarāja seems to have been adopted from the genealogy of the Paramāras of Arbuda[1] while Vīrasiṁha, although he is called the son of an imaginary Vōśari, may be a modification of the name of Vairisiṁha who was the father of Vākpati I mentioned in our inscription in the following stanza (verse 26). A king named Jagaddēva no doubt flourished in the family, but at a much later date than the period indicated by our inscription.[2] There was no Śrīharsha in the family, who was the son and successor of a king named Kanakasiṁha.[3] It will be seen that imagination and confusion have both played a part in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras quoted above from the inscription under study.

Verses 26-56 give the names of 15 Paramāra rulers of the Imperial house, although some of the kings have been omitted. Vākpatirāja is mentioned in verse 26 as famous for his *sūktis* in the Prakrit language; but the well-known literary merits of his great-grandson Muñja (Vākpati II) who is separately mentioned in verses 28-29 of our record, appear to be reflected in this statement. Verse 27 mentions Sīyā (i.e. Sīyaka *alias* Śrī-Harsha, c. 948-74 A.D.) who was the grandson of Vākpati, and omits Vākpati's son Vairisiṁha *alias* Vajraṭa. The next two stanzas (verses 28-29) describe Muñja (who was the son and successor of Sīyaka and ruled in c. 974-95 A.D.) without specifically mentioning his relations with Sīyā, while verses 30-31 mention Sindhurāja (who was the brother and successor of Muñja and ruled in c. 995-1010 A.D.) similarly without stating his relations with Muñja. The following four stanzas (verses 32-35) describe the achievements of Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.), son of Sindhurāja, in vague terms. Verse 36 passes over Bhōja's son and successor Javasiṁha (c. 1055-60 A.D.) and mentions Udayāditya (c. 1060-90 A.D.) who appears to have been a distant cousin of Bhōja. Udayāditya is stated to have recovered the kingdom from the Gūrjara king. This reference to the Gūrjara occupation of Malwa no doubt alludes to the Parāmāra king's struggle with the Chauḥikyas of Gujarāt. According to the *Ras Mālā*, supported by the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Kalachuri Karṇa (c. 1041-72 A.D.) of Ḍāhala and Chaulukya Bhīma (c. 1022-64 A.D.) of Gujarāt jointly attacked king Bhōja of Ujjayinī, defeated and killed him and destroyed the city of Dhārā.[4] The reference may also be to Udayāditya's struggle with Chaulukya Karṇa I (c. 1064-94 A.D.), son of Bhīma I. While a Chitorgarh inscription[5] of

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[1] See above, pp. 135 ff.

[2] Jagaddēva *alias* Lakshmadēva was a son of Udayāditya (known dates between V.S. 1116=1060 A.D. and V.S. 1143=1087 A.D.) and his known date is V.S. 1151 (1097 A.D.) when, according to a bardic tradition, he offered his head to the goddess Kālī (cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 397).

[3] The Paramāra king Sīyaka *alias* Śrī-Harsha (known dates between V.S. 1005=949 A.D. and V.S. 1029=973 A.D.) succeeded his father Vairisiṁha *alias* Vajraṭa (loc. cit.) and he is apparently mentioned as Sīyā in verse 27 of our inscription.

[4] See Ray, op. cit., pp. 777-78.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 209, Nos. 15-22.

Kumārapāla's time merely credits Karṇa I with a victory over the Mālavas at the Sīdakūpa pass, the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*, *Sukṛitasaṁkīrtana* and *Surathōtsava* refer to his conquest of the Mālava country.[1] An inscription[2] in the Nagpur Museum refers to Udayāditya's conquest of the earth (i.e. the Paramāra kingdom) which had been occupied, jointly with the Karṇāṭas, by Karṇa who is identified by some scholars with Chaulukya Karṇa I but by others with the Kalachuri king of Ḍāhala bearing the same name.[3]

Verses 36-37 speak of Naravarman (c. 1101-1135 A.D.), son of Udayāditya, but pass over his elder brother Lakshmadēva or Jagaddēva (c. 1090-1101 A.D.) in silence. The next stanza (verse 39) mentions Yaśōvarman (c. 1135-45 A.D.) without specifying the fact that he was the son and successor of Naravarman. Verses 40-41 speak of Ajayavarman, son of Yaśōvarman,[4] while the next two stanzas describe Ajayavarman's son Vindhyavarman (verse 42) and grandson Subhaṭavarman (verse 43) without stating the fact that Subhaṭavarman was the son and successor of Vindhyavarman. Arjunadēva (i.e. Arjunavarman, known dates between V.S. 1267 and 1270, i.e. 1211-15 A.D.), son of Subhaṭavarman, is mentioned in verses 44-45, in the first of which he is described as devoted to Kṛishṇa.

There is a valuable reference to a historical event in verses 46-48 in the description of the next king **Dēvapāla** (known dates between V.S. 1275 and 1289, i.e. 1218-32 A.D.) who is mentioned without specifying his relationship with Arjunavarman. Dēvapāla belonged to a branch of the Paramāra family, being the grandson of *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarman (known date V.S. 1200, i.e. 1144 A.D.) who was a brother of king Ajayavarman of the main line. In the branch line, ruling independently over the region about Bhopal, Indore, Hoshangabad, Khandesh and Nimar, Lakshmīvarman was succeeded as *Mahākumāra* by his son Hariśchandra (known dates V.S. 1235-36, i.e. 1179-81 A.D.) whose successor was his son *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman (known date V.S. 1256, i.e. 1200 A.D.). Dēvapāla was the younger brother and successor of Udayavarman. With Dēvapāla's accession to the throne of Arjunavarman of the main branch of the Paramāra family, the two parts of the Paramāra kingdom became reunited.

Verse 48 states that Dēvapāla killed an *adhipa* (i.e. a king or chief) of the **Mlēchchhas** in a battle fought near the city of **Bhaillasvāmin.** This no doubt refers to the invasion of the city of Bhaillasvāmin (modern Bhīlsā) by Iltutmish (1212-36 A.D.), the Turkish Sulṭān of Delhi. According to Muslim historians, in 632 A.H. or 1233-34 A.D., Iltutmish reduced Gwalior to subjection and turned his arms against Malwa ; he captured the fort of Bhīlsā where the temple of Bhaillasvāmin was demolished and marched into Ujjayinī where he destroyed the great temple of the god Mahākāla.[5] The claim of Dēvapāla in the stanza of our inscription, referred to above, seems to suggest that the Paramāra king succeeded in recovering the city of Bhīlsā shortly after its conquest by Iltutmish. The Mlēchchhādhipa mentioned in the verse was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge the city was placed by the Sulṭān. That the Paramāras reconquered Bhīlsā is also suggested by the fact that, after half a century, the Khaljī Sulṭāns of Delhi had to reconquer the city from the Hindus.[6]

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[1] Cf. Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 130-31.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 185, 192 (verse 32) ; cf. ibid., Vol. I, pp. 230, 238 (verses 21-22).

[3] See Ganguly, op. cit., p. 130.

[4] Some scholars believe that Yaśōvarman's elder son named Jayavarman was overthrown by his younger son named Ajayavarman, while others believe that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman were two different names of one and the same king. See Ray, op. cit., pp. 888 ff. ; Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 181 ff.

[5] See Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. II, 328 ; *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, p. 211 ; *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī*, Raverty's trans., Vol. I, p. 622.

[6] *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, op. cit., pp. 303-04.

Dēvapāla's son and successor was Jaitugi (known dates V.S. 1292-1300, i.e. 1236-44 A.D.) mentioned in verse 49. Verses 50-56 describe the Paramāra king during whose rule the charter under discussion was issued. He was the younger brother of Jaitugi ; but the relationship between the two is not indicated in our record. It is interesting to note that he is called **Jayavarman** in verses 50 and 56 (as well as in line 87 and verse 72 below) but **Jayasiṁha** in verses 51-52. This king was so far known under the name Jayavarman (it is doubtful whether the name is Jayasiṁha in one of the cases) from the following inscriptions of his time : (1) Rahatgaṛh stone inscription[1] of V.S. 1312 (1256 A.D.) ; (2) Modi stone inscription[2] of V.S. 1314 (1258 A.D.), and (3) Māndhātā plates[3] of V.S. 1317 (1261 A.D.). The Pathari inscription[4] of V.S. 1326 (1269 A.D.) belongs to the reign of a Paramāra king named Jayasiṁha and there is a controversy amongst scholars whether Jayavarman mentioned in the Rahatgaṛh, Modi and Māndhātā records is identical with Jayasiṁha of the Pathari inscription.[5] That a Paramāra king named Jayasiṁha ruled from Maṇḍapa some time before V.S. 1345 (1289 A.D.) is also suggested by the Balvan inscription[6] of Chāhamāna Hammīra of Raṇastambhapura as his father Jaitrasiṁha who died in V.S. 1339 (1283 A.D.) is stated to have defeated the said king. The present inscription, dated V. S. 1331 (1274 A.D.) and mentioning the Paramāra king by both the names Jayavarman and Jayasiṁha, shows clearly that scholars like Ganguly who regard Jayasiṁha of the Pathari inscription as different from Jayavarman of the Rahatgaṛh, Modi and Māndhātā (V.S. 1317) inscriptions are wrong. Ray's suggestion[7] that Jaitugi may have also been known by the name Jayasiṁha is equally wrong since the two brothers, Jaitugi and Jayavarman, could not both of them have enjoyed the common name Jayasiṁha. The rule of Paramāra Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman may be assigned to the period 1255-75 A.D.

Verse 52 of our inscription seems to suggest that Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman was regarded as both a *dauhitra* (daughter's son) and a *pautra* (son's son) with reference to his succession to the Paramāra throne. This statement seems to throw some light on the controversy whether Dēvapāla of a branch line of the family succeeded Arjunavarman of the main line by overthrowing the latter by violence or because Arjunavarman died without leaving any male heir.[8] If the stanza in question means to say that Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman claimed to be a *dauhitra* of Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla may be regarded as having succeeded Arjunavarman as the latter's son-in-law and heir.

Verse 54 speaks of Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman's success against the king of **Dākshiṇātya** lying to the south of the Vindhyas. This may refer to his struggle with the Yādava king Rāmachandra who, according to his Thana plates[9] of Śaka 1194 (1272 A.D.), defeated the Mālavas. The Udari stone inscription[10] of the same king, dated Śaka 1198 (1276 A.D.), speaks of his victory over king Arjuna of Mālava, who was apparently the immediate successor of Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman and may be regarded as Arjunavarman II. The same Paramāra king is also mentioned in the Balvan

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[1] Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 31.

[2] *ASIWC*, 1905, p. 12 ; ibid., 1913, p. 56.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 117-23.

[4] Bhandarkar's List, No. 575.

[5] See ibid., p. 397, and Ray, op. cit., p. 905, for one view, and Ganguly, op. cit., p. 227, for another.

[6] Bhandarkar's List, No. 623.

[7] Op. cit., p. 928.,

[8] Ibid., p. 902.

[9] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 202-03.

[10] *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Mys.* 1929, p. 143.

inscription[1] (V.S. 1345=1288 A.D.) of Chāhamāna Hammīra (c. 1233-1301 A.D.) of Raṇastambhapura. Hammīra is stated to have defeated Arjuna in battle and wrested the glory of Mālava by force.[2]

According to lines 128 ff., the four villages, having well-defined boundaries, were granted as a permanent endowment together with trees, houses, house-sites, granaries and threshing floors, *tala-bhēdhyā* (pits ?) and cow-sheds. The donees' rights included certain taxes payable by the tenants in kind and described as handfuls of vegetables, small measures of oil and vesselfuls of liquids or grains. They were granted the right over objects grown in the space above the earth and treasures and deposits under the ground as well as over temples, gardens, tanks, step-wells, wells, etc. They were further allowed to enjoy taxes in cash, periodical offerings and the customary share of grains, and also the tax on temporary tenants as well as other incomes including fines. But the donees were not allowed to have any right over any part of the land already in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. The *Paṭṭakilas* and villagers were ordered to pay to the donees the usual share of the produce, periodical offerings and taxes in cash as well as to obey their orders. Some of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 134-38. According to verse 72 in line 139, the writer of the charter was Śrīkaṇṭha who was a courtier of king Jayavarman. The document was engraved by *Rūpakāra* (artisan) Kānhāka who may be the same as Kānhāḍa, the engraver of the Māndhātā plates of V.S. 1317 (1261 A.D.), issued by the same king.

The following **geographical** names are mentioned in the inscription : (1) Rēvā, i.e. the river Narmadā ; (2) Kāvērī, a branch of the Narmadā ; (3) Māndhāṭri or Māndhāṭṛi-durga, i.e. modern Māndhātā ; (4) Dhārā, i.e. modern Dhār ; (5) Bhaillasvāmipura, i.e. modern Bhīlsā ; (6) the Vindhya mountain range ; (7) Dākshiṇātya, apparently meaning the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri ; (8) Dēvapālapura, probably modern Dipalpur, 27 miles to the north-west of Mhow ; (9) Śākapura probably the headquarters of a Pratijāgaraṇaka or Pargana of the same name identified by some with the present Shujalpur Pargana ;[3] (10) Maṇḍapa-durga, i.e. modern Māṇḍū ; (11) Vardhanāpura-pratijāgaraṇaka ; (12) Kumbhaḍāuda-grāma ; (13) Vālauda-grāma ; (14) Saptāśīti-pratijāgaraṇaka, literally 'a Pargana consisting of 87 villages' ; (15) Vaghāḍī-grāma ; (16) Nāgadahapratijāgaraṇaka, a Pargana probably having its headquarters at Nagdah near Ujjain ; (17) Nāṭiyā-

[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 623.

[2] The successor of Arjunavarman II on the Paramāra throne seems to have been Bhōja II. According to the *Hammīramahākāvya* of Nayachandra, Chāhamāna Hammīra of Raṇastambhapura also defeated king Bhōja of Dhārā, encamped at Ujjayinī and worshipped Mahākāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 64-65). The Muslim writers speak of one Kōkā (sometimes called Haranand), the Rājā of Malwa, who was defeated by 'Alāuddīn Khaljī in 1305, A.D. (*Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Briggs' trans., Vol. I, pp. 361-62 ; Ray, op. cit., pp. 907-08). In an inscription of V.S. 1496 (Bhandarkar's List, No. 784) the same ruler is called Gōgādeva, king of Mālava, who was defeated by Guhila Lakshmasiṁha, a contemporary of the Khaljī Sulṭān. Kōkā thus appears to have been either identical with or a contemporary of Bhōja II. Wassāf, who wrote his *Taziyatul Amsār* in 1300 A.D., says : " It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Malwa died and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of part of that country " (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 31). It is not impossible that the king of Malwa and his son referred to here are Arjunavarman II and Bhōja II. In such a case, Kōkā may be the minister who became the king of a part of Malwa at the time of Bhōja II during whose reign Wassāf seems to have written his book. Muslim authors sometimes call Kōkā a *Pradhān* of king Mahlak Deo of Malwa (Elliot and Dowson op. cit., p. 76). This Mahlak Deo may have been the successor of Bhōja II. He was probably succeeded by Jayasiṁha whose Udaypur inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 661) is dated in V.S. 1366 (1310 A.D.). But Jayasiṁha must have been ruling over a part of the country, its other parts then being in the hands of the Muslim conquerorrs.

[3] Ganguly, op. cit., p. 201.

grāma (modern Nāvṭiyā near the Birwania railway station in the Ujjain District.); (18) Ṭakāṛī ;[1] (19) Lakhaṇápura ; (20) Tōlāpauha ; (21) Ṭēṇī ; (22) Mālava, i.e. the dominions of the Paramāras roughly comprising modern Malwa ; and (23) Bhārata, i.e. India.

## TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verses 1, 39 *Upajāti* ; verses 2, 5, 9-10, 22, 29, 31, 38, 45, 47-48, 52, 54-55, 60 *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita* ; verses 3, 18-19, 44, 63 *Gīti* ; verses 4, 13, 16-17, 20A, 23-25, 27, 32, 34-35, 37, 40, 42, 46, 49-51, 53, 56-57, 61-62, 68-69, 72 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 7, 33, 41, 46, 72 *Sragdharā* ; verses 6, 8, 26, 58, 64 *Āryā* ; verses 11, 36 *Hariṇī* ; verse 12 *Śikhariṇī* ; verses 14, 28, 65, 67 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 15, 20-21, 43 *Mālinī* ; verse 30 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 59 *Upagīti* ; verse 70 *Śālinī* ; verse 71 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

### *First Plate*

1 ||Õ namaḥ purush-ārtha-chūḍā-maṇayē Dharmāyā(ya | ) Pratigraha[ṁ*] yō virachayya lakshmīm=udīrṇṇa-varṇṇō jagad=ujjihānaḥ [|*] āna[ṁ*]da-

2 yaty=ētad=uru-prasādaḥ sa yajvanām=astu patiḥ priyāya[3] ||1 Kṛitvā lēkhanikāṁ kuṭhāram=udaya-dvāraṁ(rē) niyuddh-āsvarō[4] yaḥ kshatra-kshа-

3 tajāta-jāta-sumakhīṁ(shīṁ) mēlaṁvam[5]=aṁbhōnidhim | patraṁ digvalayaṁ svam=aksharachaṇaṁ nirvvarttayan=śāsanaṁ viprēbhyaḥ pṛithivīm=adā-

4 d=udayinīṁ Rāmāya tasmai namaḥ || 2 [A]śrāṁt-āsraṁ(sra)-payōbhir=laṁghana-vaṁ-(baṁ)dh-ābhimānajā[ṁ] jaladhēḥ | kṛiśatāṁ śamayitum=iva yō

5 rakshāṁsy=avadhīn=namāmi taṁ Rāmaṁ(mam) ||3 Śarībhūya[6] Hariḥ kukshi-nikshipta-bhuvana-trayaḥ | yad-aṁguli-dalē tasthau namas=tasmai

6 Puradruhē ||4 Bhūmiṁ bhūtimayīm=apaḥ Surasarid-rūpās=tṛitīy-ēkshaṇa-jvāl-ābhaṁ jvalanaṁ bhujastha-bhujaga-śvās-ātmakaṁ mā-

7 rutaṁ(tam) | khaṁ raṁdhrēshu kapāla-dāmni nayana-dvaita-chchhalāt=pūshaṇaṁ chaṁdraṁ svaṁ yajamānam=ity=avatu vaḥ Śarvvō=shṭa vi(bi)bhranta(t=ta)nuḥ(nūḥ) ||5 Dēvānāṁ

8 vēdānāṁ trayasya y[ō] jāta-vēdasāṁ jagatāṁ(tām) | lēbhē nām=ādima iti namāmi dēvaṁ tam=Õṁkāraṁ(ram) || 6 Śaṁbhōr=a[ṁ]bhōbhir=asya

9 snapana-vidhi-vasā(śā)d=apy=ahaṁ mūrddhanī(ni) dvē saṁdhānaṁ(nē) sa[ṁ]vidhāsy[ē] dhruvam=iti vidhurā Svardhunī-sparddhay=ēva | Rēvā sōv-ānushaṁgād=i-

10 va charaṇa-tal-ālaṁvi(bi)nī yasya bhāti prāsād[ō]=bhraṁliha-śrī[r*]=jaṁ(ja)yati Pasu(śu)-patēḥ sō=yam=Õṁkāra-nāmnā || 7 Yat-prāsād-āgra-

11 [ka]lasa-tāḍita-pūrā Surāpagā mukharā | Rēv-ānushaṁga-rōsha(shā)d=iva Gaṁgādharam=upālabhatē || 8 Nō gamyō Yama-kiṁkarair=nna du-

12 ritair=āsādanīyō na vā dhṛishyō mōha-mahōrmmibhir=nna Kalinā ch=aisha pravēshṭuṁ kshamaḥ | matvā kuṁḍalanām=iv=ēti paritaḥ

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[1] For this place, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 86.

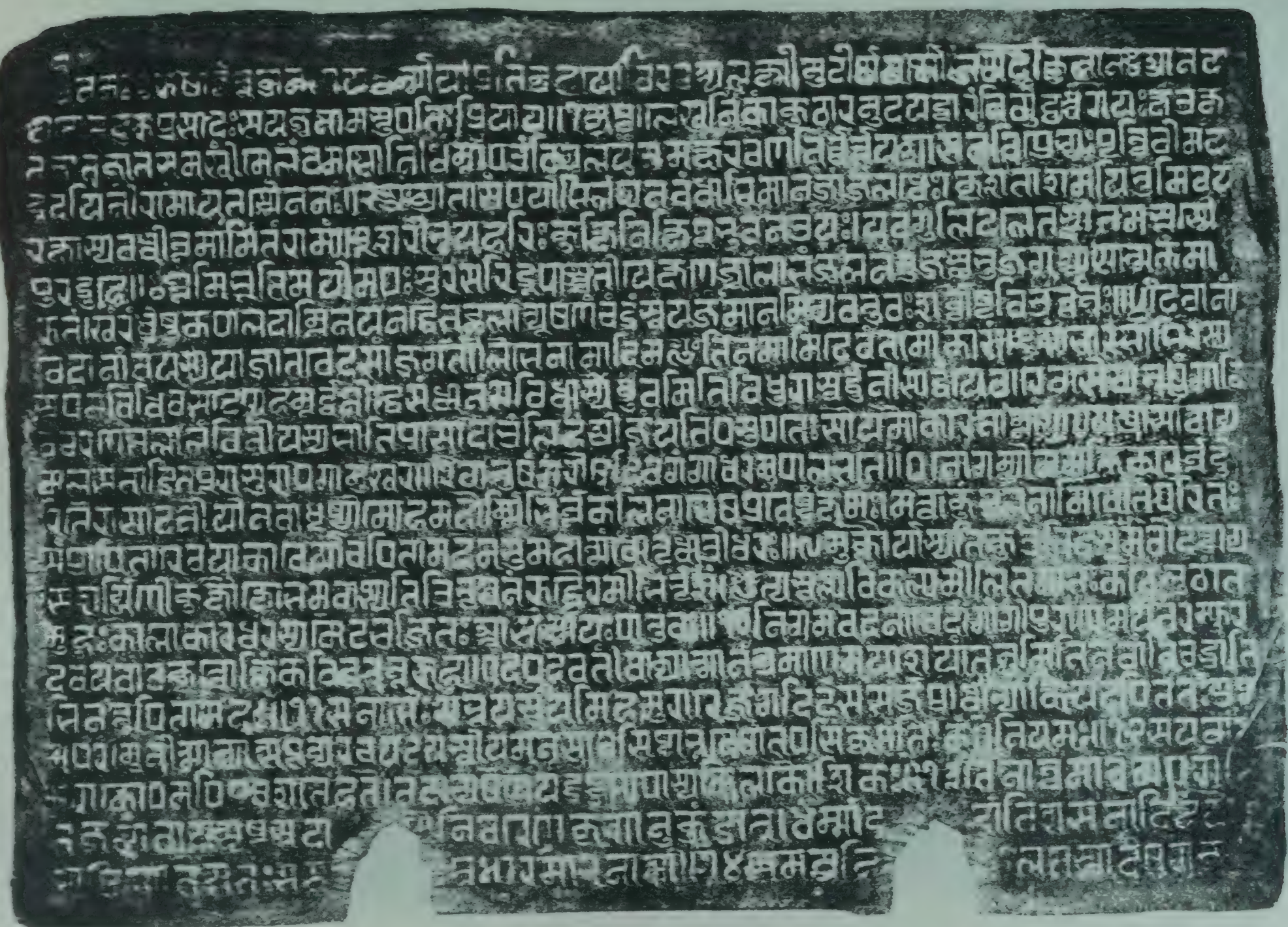
[2] From a set of impressions.

[3] The adoration to the Moon-god also occurs in other Paramāra inscriptions including the Māndhātā plates of V.S. 1317, issued by the same king. See above, Vol. IX, p. 120,

[4] Read °*ādhvarē*.

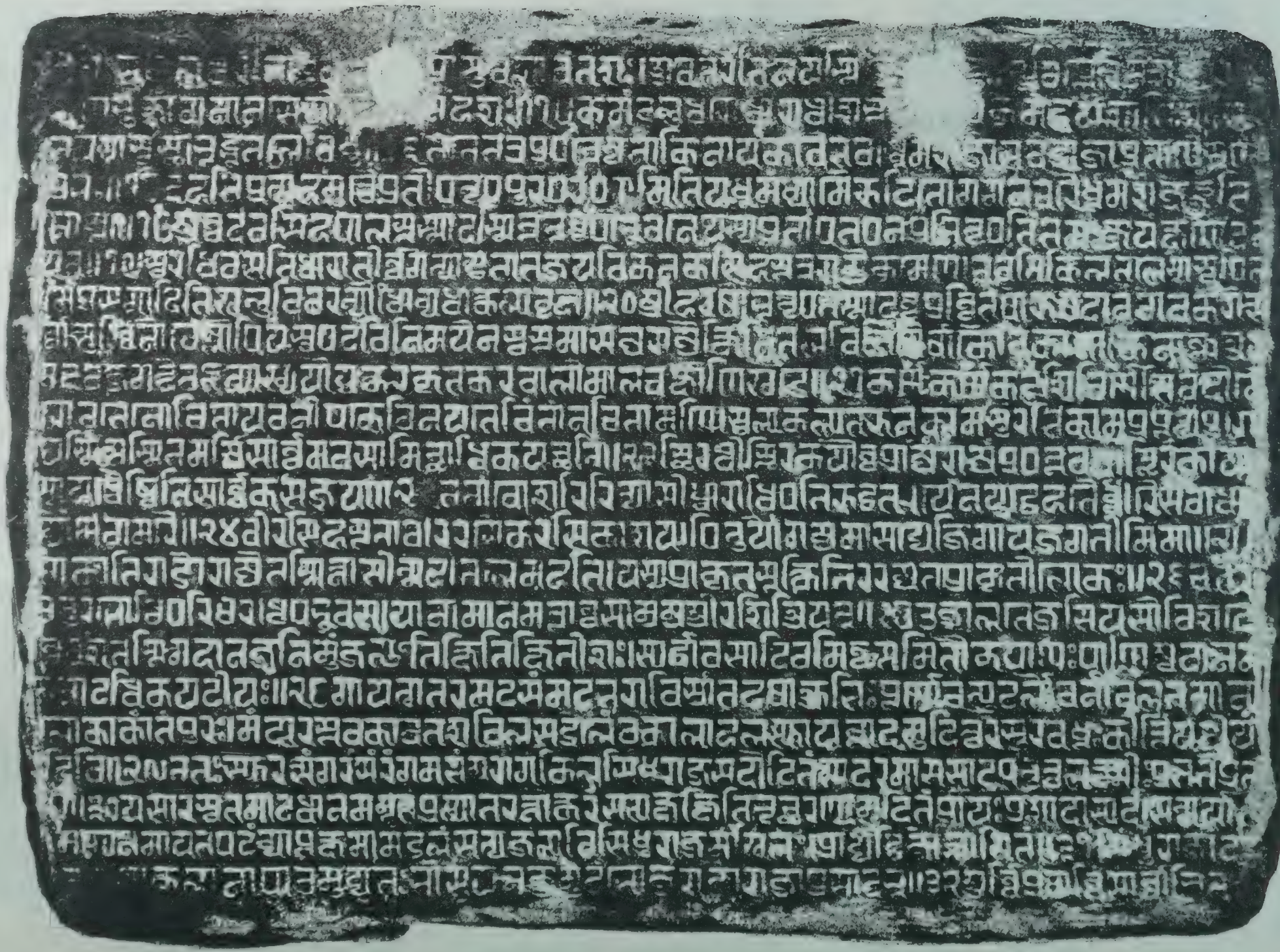
[5] Read *mēl-āmbum*°.

[6] Vishṇu became the arrow with which Śiva killed the demon Tripura. See *Saura Purāṇa*, 35, 16 ; *Śiva Purāṇa*, Jñāna-saṁhitā, 24, 11.



Scale : Two-fifths

PLATE I



13 saṁprāpitō Rēvayā Kāvēryā[1] cha Pitāmahēna sumahān=Māṁdhātṛi-dhātrīdharaḥ ||9 Muktau-(ktai)r=yāsyati kutrachid=vasumatī daṁshṭr-āgra-

14 saṁśa(sa)rggiṇī kukshau kshōbham=avāpsyati tri-bhuvanaṁ ruddhair=amībhir=bhṛiśaṁ(śam) | ity=a-svalpa-vikalpa-mīlita-matēḥ kaṁṭhē luṭhaṁt[ō]

15 muhuḥ kōl-ākāra-dharasya Mai(Kai)ṭabhajitaḥ śvās-ōrmmayaḥ pāṁtu vaḥ ||10 Nigama-vadanāṁ Vēdāṁg-āṁgīṁ Purāṇama[y-ē]tara-sphura-

16 d-avayavāṁ vakratv-ōktiṁ kavitva-tanū-ruhāṁ(hām) | pada-padavatīṁ vāky-ātmānaṁ pramāṇamay-āśayāṁ tanum=iti navāṁ vi(bi)bhrad=bhrāntiṁ

17 bhinattu Pitāmahaḥ ||11 Sa nābhēḥ saṁbhūya svayam=iha Murārēr=jjagad=idaṁ sasarja prādhānyāt=kiyad=api tataḥ srashṭu-

18 m=aparaṁ(ram) | munīn=mānyān=sapta vyarachayad=ayaṁ svīya-manasō Vasishṭhā(shṭhō)=bhūd=ēshāṁ tapasi kṛita-niḥkaṁ(nishkaṁ)pa-niyamaḥ ||12 Sa yadā [n=ā]-

19 karōt=kōpam=api putra-śatē hatē | tad=ābhyashēṇayad=dra[shṭuṁ] tapō=sya kila Kauśikaḥ ||13 Tēn=ātha māraya parān=i-

20 ti jalpatā yat=sṛishṭas=tadā muni-varēṇa kṛiśānu-kuṁḍāt | dharmmā(rmma)-[dru]hāṁ viśasanād=iha yōga-

21 tō=pi khyātas=tataḥ sa[ma][bha*]vat=Paramāra-nāmā ||14 Samajani [ki]la tasmād=ēsha rājanya-

*Second Plate, First Side*

22 vaṁśaḥ sakala-dharaṇi-dhu[rya]-prāṁsu(śu)-vaṁś-āvataṁśaḥ(saḥ) | avatarati na yasmin=jātu Vishṇōr=anaṁśaḥ para-dha-

23 raṇi-bhujāṁ vā mānasē yō na ha[ṁ]śaḥ(saḥ) ||15 Kamaṁḍaludharō Dhār-ādhīśas=tatra kramād=a[bhūt |*] Yaśōbhiḥ śōbhi-

24 tē yasya svasthō=bhūd=bhūtalē vidhu[ḥ] ||16 Tātē tatra prapannē=tha nāki-nāyaka-vai-bhavaṁ(vam) | Dhūmarājō=bhavad=rājā pratāpais=tapana-

25 prabhaḥ ||17 Dahati pratyaham=uchchai[ḥ] pratīpa-nṛipa-pura-paraṁpa[rā]m=iti yaḥ [|*] dhūma-dhyāmair=uditō gagana-charair=Dhūmarāja iti

26 nāmnā || 18 Atha D[ē]vasiṁhapālas=tasmād=asminn=abhūn=nṛipō bhuvanē [|*] yasya pratāpa-tapanaḥ prati-nṛipati-tamaḥ kshayaṁ kshaṇād=ana-

27 yat ||19 Svar=adhivasati Dhārā-tīrtha-gatyā sva-tāt[ē] jayati Kanakasiṁhas=tatra rājyō kramēṇa | bhavati kila talē=sya sva[ḥ*] pitā

28 mē prasaṁgād=iti khalu vitaran=yō=dhō=vyadhāt=Kalpa-vṛikshaṁ(ksham) ||20 Śrī-Hara-rshō[2]=bhūn=nṛipas=tasmād=atha prathita-pō(pau)rusha[ḥ |*] dānavān=akarōt=sa-

29 rvvān=sukhinō Vaishṇōpi yaḥ[3] [ || 20A*] Sva-pada-vinimayēna svas=tam=āsajya rājyē kshiti-tala-vijihīrshā-kautukān=nākināthaḥ | a[bha]-

30 vad=a[tha] Jagaddēva[4] ity-ākhyay=ōdyat-kara-kṛita-karavālō Mālava-kshōṇi-kha[ṁ]ḍē ||21 Karṇṇaḥ karṇṇa-kaṭuḥ Śivirṇṇa(r=nna) si(śi)va-dō Vai-

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[1] This is the name of a northern branch of the Narmadā (Rēvā) near Māndhātā (compared with the epic king bearing the same name) where the Ōṅkārēśvara temple stands.

[2] Read *Harshō* .

[3] Read *Vaishṇavō=pi yaḥ*. The number of this stanza is omitted in the original.

[4] The passage is metrically defective.

31 rōchanē n=ōchitā— — —[1] ya-vanīpakē vinayatē chiṁtāṁ na Chiṁtāmaṇiḥ | svalpaḥ Kalpa-
tarur=na Kāma-surabhiḥ kāma-prapūrtyai purō

32 yasmin=sa-smitam=arthi-sārtha-manasām=ichchh-ādhikaṁ yachchhati ||22 Sthira-dhī Sthira-
k[ā*]yō=tha prājyaṁ rājyaṁ prapannavan(vān) | sthira-kāyō=

33 sya [tu*] yuddhai(ddhē)shv=iti s-ārthaka-saṁjñayā ||2[3] Tatō Vōśarir=ity=āsīdhdhā(d=Dhā)r-
ādhipatir=uddhataḥ | yēna yuddhē hatair= vvīraiḥ saṁvā(bā)dhā

34 dyaurṇṇa(r=nna) v=āmarai[ḥ*] || 24 Vīrasiṁhas=tatō vīra-rasika(kō) rasik-āśayaḥ |
pitur=yō rājyam=āsādya jigāya jagatīm=imāṁ(mām) || 25

35 Vākpatirājō rājyē tasminn=āsīn=mahītalē mahati | yasya Prākṛita-sūktibhir=arajyata prā-
kṛitō lōkaḥ ||26 Chaturaṁ

36 chatur-aṁbhōdhi-paridhēr=adhipaṁ bhuvaḥ [|*] Sīyā-nāmānam=atr=ātha sāmra(mra)jya-
śrīr=aśiśriyat ||27 Ujvā(jjvā)la-tējasi yasō(śō)-viśē(śa)dē=

37 tha vaṁśē tasmin=mahān=ajani Muṁja iti kshiti[2] kshit-īśaḥ | sparddhā-vasā(śā)d=iva
mithaḥ samitau kṛipāṇaḥ pāṇiś=cha dānam=a-

38 tanōd=adhikaṁ yadīyaḥ ||28 Gāyaty=aṁtar-amaṁda-saṁmada-bharā visrāṁ(śrāṁ)ta-
harsh-āśrubhiḥ pūrṇṇ-āṁchat-puṭa-rlō(lō)chan-āṁchalatayā n=ā-

39 lōkya kāṁtaṁ puraḥ | maṁdāra-stava(ba)k-āvataṁśa(sa)-vilasad-rōlaṁva(ba)-kōlāhala-
sphāyan-nādam=uditvaraṁ sura-vadhūḥ kīrttiṁ yadīyāṁ

40 divi ||29 Tataḥ sphurat-saṁgara-saṁ[ga*]-raṁgam=abhaṁgur-āṁgaṁ kila Siṁdhurāja[ṁ]-
(jam | ) sad-ōditaṁ sādaram=āsasāda prabhutva-lakshmīḥ pratata-pratā-

41 paṁ(pam) ||30 Yaṁ sārasvatam=ādadhānam=amṛitaṁ prakhyāta-ratn-ōtkaraṁ sat-paksha-
kshitibhṛich-chharaṇyaṁ=uditaṁ prāyaḥ praśā(sā)d-āspadaṁ(dam) | san-maryāda-

42 m=agādham=āyata-padaṁ vyāpta-kshamā-maṁḍalaṁ satya[ṁ] jalpati Siṁdhurājam=akhilaḥ
prōdya[d*]-dvij-ōllāsitaṁ(tam) ||31 Siṁdhurājād=a-

43 bhūt=tasmāt=kalānāṁ pātram=udyataḥ [|*] bhāsayan kumudaṁ Bhōjarājō rājā prasāda-
bhū[ḥ*] ||32 Arthi-pratyarthi-sārthā(rtha)-sthita-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

44 kara-nikar-ōpātta-[saṁ]nyasta-ma[tta]-prājya-prōddāma-daṁtāvala-va(ba)hala-galad-dāna-
tōy-ōdbhavishṇuḥ | ya[d*]-dvāri dvāstha-mukhya-kshaṇa-dhṛita-

45 dharaṇīpāla-niśvāsa-rāśi-sphūrjjad-vātyā-pratānaiḥ prachuram=api pu[na]ḥ śushkatām=
ēti paṁkaḥ[3] || 33 Śaṁva(ba)rāri-śaraiḥ pūrvva-janman=ī-

46 ha nij-ēshuṇā | Rādhāṁ vivyādha yaḥ prāyaḥ prathayann=Achyut-ātmatāṁ(tām) ||34 Yaḥ
kurvvan=mārgaṇān=rājñaḥ parān=rājñaś=cha mārgaṇan(ṇān) | sarva-

47 sva-tyāga-yōgēna parivartakatāṁ dadhau ||35 Udayam=Udayādityaḥ prāpa pratāpa-nidhis=
ta[tō] ripu-nṛipa-tama-stōmān=astaṁ naya-

48 n=vilasat-karaḥ [|*] udaharata yō dōr-ddaṁshṭrābhyāṁ sad-ūrjjita-Gūrjjara-kshitipa-
jaladhau magnām=ētā[ṁ*] Vā(Va)rāha iv=āvaniṁ(nim) || 36 Naravarmmā ta-

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[1] Three syllables are omitted here due to carelessness of the scribe or engraver.

[2] These two letters are redundant.

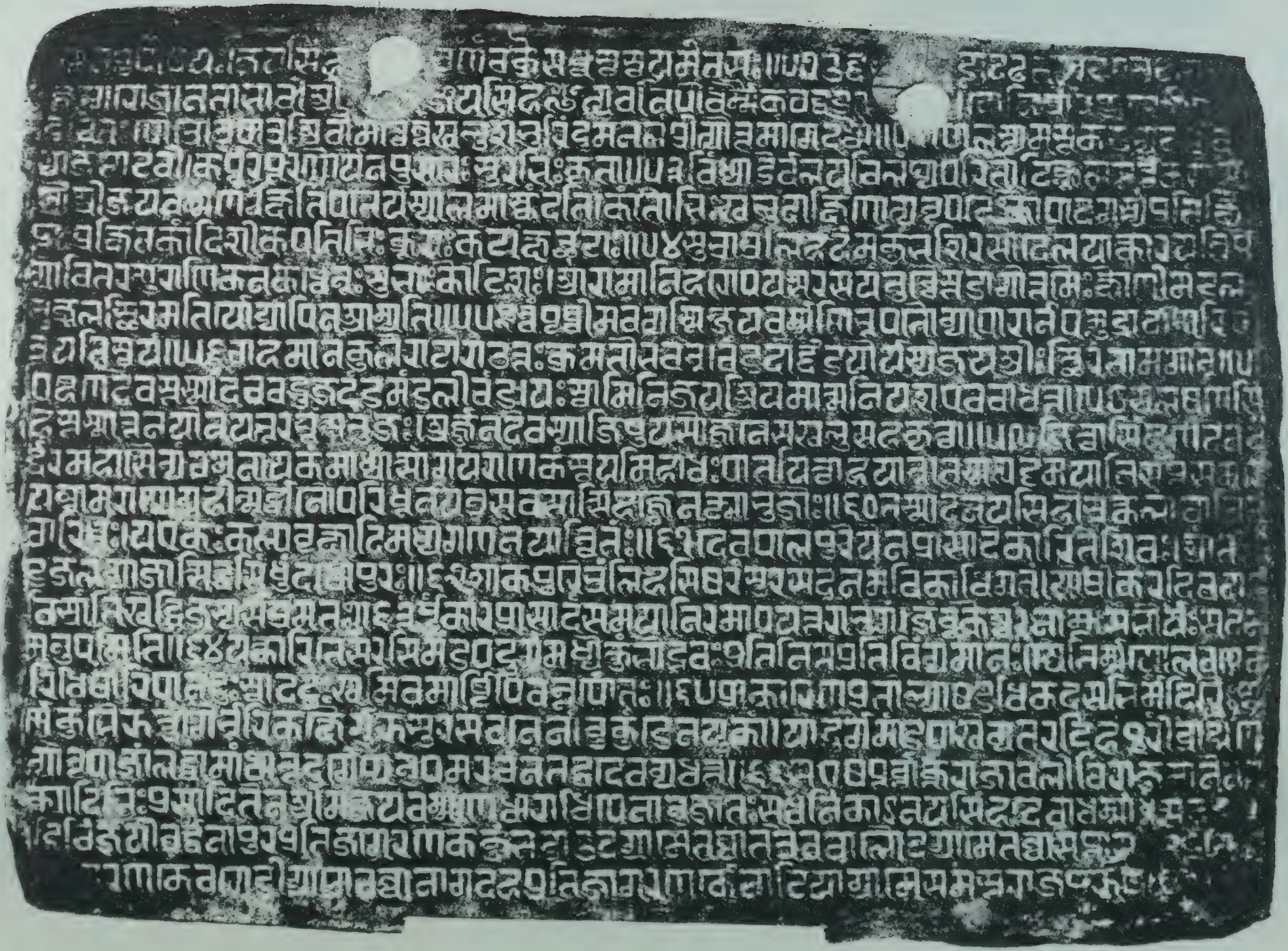
[3] There is an *anusvāra* above *kaḥ*. The intended reading is *°bhavishṇu.....paṁkam*.

*ii, b*



Scale : Two-fifths

PLATE II



49 tō rāja-ratnaṁ ratn-ākarān=nṛi[paḥ | jāta]ḥ sva-tējas=ākrāṁta-sarvv-ōrvvī-bhartṛi-bhū-shaṇē(ṇaḥ) ||37 Utkhātāḥ para-bhūmayaḥ punar=aṁūr=āttās=tatō=

50 bhyu[d*]dhṛitā drāgniḥkaṁṭakitāḥ[1] karaiḥ parichitāś=chakrē nijē rōpitāḥ | pātr-ārthaṁ ghaṭitāḥ sva-sūtra-kalitāḥ snigdhīkṛitā yatnatō

51 yēn=ēti prakaṭaṁ kulāla-charita-krīḍāsu na vrīḍitaṁ(tam) ||38 Tatō Yaśōvarmmā(rmma)-nṛipō va(ba)bhūva prachaṁḍa-dōr-ddaṁḍa-lasaj-jaya-śrīḥ | mā-

52 ty=arddham=ādyaṁ na kiṁ(ki)la trilōkyāṁ dvitīyam=aṁgē yudhi yasya nāmnaḥ ||39 Tasmād=Ajayavarmm=ābhūd=bhū[ta]lē bhūmi-vallabha[ḥ] | pratā-

53 pa-tapanō yasya kamal-ōllāsan-ōlvaṇaḥ ||40 Prabhrasyan-muṁḍa-mālaṁ skhalita-gaja-mukhaṁ vyagra-jāgrach-chhiv-āsyaṁ vyākirṇṇasthi[2]-prakāraṁ

54 dhuta-vidhura-mahāsēnam=udbh[r*]ānta-bhūtaṁ(tam) | dhvast=ōchchaiḥ-kṛitti-khaṁḍaṁ prapatita-nayana-śrōtram=ugr-ōgra-bhā[va]ṁ yatsha(t-kha)ḍgēna vyadhāyi pravaṇa(ṇa)m=a-

55 nudinaṁ raṁga-bhūr=Bhairavasya ||41 Viṁdhyavarmm=ābhavat=tasmād=asminn=urvvī-talē=khilē | yō Viṁdhya-giri-[va]d=vairi-nṛip-ōpāyana-daṁtibhiḥ

56 || 42 Ajani Subhaṭavarmmā saṁgarē krūra-karmmā kshata-ripu-nṛipa-varmmā saṁsadi prāpta-śarmmā | tridasa(śa)-pati-sadharmm=āth=āṁgan-ō-

57 dgīta-narmmō(rmmā) ruchita-ruchira-varmmā mārgaṇa-prāpta-kharmmā[3] ||43 Arjjunadēvas=tasmād=Arjjuna iva Karṇṇa-jitvarō dānē | Bhārata-bhūshā-

58 bhāvī Kṛishṇ-aika-ratirva(r=ba)bhūva bhū-bharttā ||44 Satva(t-pa)ksha-kshitibhṛij-jaya-vyasanitāṁ śrutv=āsya nām-ānvayān=Maina(nā)ka-pramukhāḥ prakaṁpam=a-

59 dadhur=mmādhya-'mvu[4] bhītā dhruvaṁ(vam) | śrī-Sōmēsva(śva)ra-pabhṛivaṁdha[5]-samayē prakshutya(bhva)tō=ṁbhōnidhēr=utkallōlatay=āvanau yad=abhavat=saṁvartta-kō-

60 lāhalaḥ ||45 **Dēvapālas**=tataḥ prāpa prajyaṁ rājyaṁ dhar-ādhipaḥ | sumanaḥ-saṁsadi prītaḥ Kalpa-vṛiksh-ādi-madhyagaḥ ||46 Sphārai-

61 r=ullikhitē turaṁgama-khuraiḥ prauḍha-pratāp-ānalair=uddīptē=ri-vadhū-vilōchana-jalair=lliptē galat-kajjalaiḥ | yat-kāshṭhā-vi-

62 jayē vṛishaḥ khalu Kalāv=ēk-āṁhi(ghri)ṇā saṁcharan=pūtatvāch=charaṇaiś=chaturbhir=adhunā bhū-maṁḍalē kha(khē)lati || 47 Dhāvad-vāji-

63 khur-āgra-dhūta-vasudhā-pṛishṭha-sphurad-dhūlija-dhvāṁt-ākrāṁta-dig-aṁtarāla-viṣhaya-vyarthīkṛit-āhaskaraṁ(ram) | **Bhaillasvāmi**-pur-ōpa-

64 kaṁṭha-samarē Mlēchchh-ādhipaṁ durddharaṁ yaḥ krōdhāt=taravāriṇ=aiva sahasā dvēdhā vyadhād=uddhataṁ(tam) ||48 Tasmāj=Jaitugidēvō=bhūt=pā-

65 rthivaḥ pṛithivītalē | dharām=uddharatā yēna śrīmatā Śrīdhavāyita[m*] ||49 Tataḥ śrī-**Jayavarmmāṇaṁ** śiśri-

66 yē Śrīḥ sphuradbhū(d-bhu)jaṁ(jam) | śrīr=dduryaśō yam=āsādya tatyāja chapal=ēty=alaṁ(lam) ||50 Yuga-yōgād=atikshīṇaṁ vṛisha-

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[1] Read *drāṅ=nishkaṁṭakitāḥ.*
[2] Read *vyākirṇṇ-āsthi.*
[3] The word is generally spelt as *kharma* and not *kharman.*
[4] Read °*r=mmadhyē-'mbu.*
[5] Read *paṭṭa-baṁdha.*

*Third Plate, First Side*

67 m=ēva pupōsha yaḥ | **Jayasiṁhas**=tṛiṇaṁ chakrē sarvvasvaṁ svayam=ēva saḥ ||51 Uddaṁ-
ḍō dadatāṁ paṭuḥ pravadatām=u-

68 jjāgarō jānatā[ṁ] bhāvī śrī-**Jayasiṁha** ity=avanipō dharmm-aika-va(ba)ddha-vrataḥ |
dauhitrō=tra kulē vipaśchi-

69 d=uchitaḥ pautrō=tra pātraṁ śrivō(yō) matv=ētthaṁ khalu Śaṁbhur=iindum=analaṁ
prīty=ōttamāṁgē dadhau ||52 Paulastya-mastaka-bhrasyad-asra-vi-

70 srā jaṭ-āṭavī[1] | karpūra-pūraṇair=yēna Purārēḥ surabhiḥ kṛitā || 53 **Viṁdhy**-ādrēr=valayaṁ
vilaṁghya parītō dik-kūla-sarvvaṁkakhē(shē) sai-

71 nyē śrī-**Jayavarmmaṇaḥ** kshitipatēr=yasy=ālam=āskaṁdati | kāṁtābhiḥ khalu
**Dākshiṇātya-nṛipatēḥ** kōpād=Agastyaṁ prati kshi-

72 ptāḥ prakshita-kāṁdiśīka-patibhiḥ krūrāḥ kaṭāksha-chchhaṭāḥ || 54 Su(Śu)bhr-ābhraṁ-
liha-hēma-kuṁbha-śirasō dē[v-ā*]layān=kārayan=viprē-

73 bhyō vitaran=purāṇi kanakaṁ dhēnūḥ su(śu)bhāḥ kōṭiśaḥ | ārāmān=iha rōpayan=sara-
sayaṁ(yan)n=uchchais=taḍāg-ōttamaiḥ **kshōṇī**-maṁḍala-

74 m=ujva(jjva)laṁ sthira-matir=yō=dy=āpi na śrāmyati ||55 Itthaṁ pṛithvīm=avaty=asmin=
**Ja(ñ=Ja)yavarmmaṇi** bhūpatau [ |*] vyāpārārna(n=a)pa(pi) mudrād[ī]n=paripa[ṁ]-

75 thayati[2] svayaṁ(yam) ||56 **Chāhamāna**-kulē Rāṭō rāuttaḥ kramatō=bhavat | chaṁḍa-
dōr-ddaṁḍayōr=yasya jaya-śrīḥ sthiratām=agāt || 57

76 Palhaṇadēvas=tasmād=a[bha]vad=bhuja-daṁḍa-maṁḍalī-chaṁḍaḥ | yaḥ svāmini jaya-
śriyam=ātmani yaśa ēva ch=ādhatta ||58 Salasha(kha)ṇasiṁ-

77 has=tasmāt=tanayō naya-bhūr=abhūt=subhujaḥ | **Arjjunadēvasy**=ājishu yasō(śō)-rjjanē
sa khalu saha-kṛitvā ||59 Jitvā **Siṁhaṇadēva**-du-

78 rddhara-mahāsainyaṁ chamū-nāyakaṁ mādhyāt=Sāgaya-rāṇakaṁ svayam=ih=ādhaḥ pāta-
yitvā hayāt[3] | tasmāt=paṭṭamayāni sapta samarē

79 yaś=chāmarāṇy=agrahīn=mūrddhānau paridhūnayan=rasa-vasā(śā)t=**Siṁh-Arjjuna**-kshmā-
bhujōḥ || 60 Tasmād=**Anayasiṁhō**=[bhū]t=kalāvān=iva

80 vāridhēḥ | ya ēkaḥ Kalpa-vṛiksh-ādi-madhyē gaṇanay=ānvitaḥ ||61 Dēvapālapurē yēna
prāsādē kāritē Śivaḥ | śrāṁtaḥ [kuṁ]-

81 ḍa-jala-vyājāt=siddha-siṁdhuṁ dadhau puraḥ ||62 Śākapurai(rē)=bhraṁliha-sisharaṁ[3]
sura-sadanam=Aṁvi(bi)k-ādhigataṁ(tam) | yō=[chi]karad=iva dā[tuṁ]

82 visrāṁ(śrāṁ)tiṁ khē dvijasya saṁpra(bhra)mataḥ ||63[4] Ōṁkāra-prāsādaṁ samayā nira-
māpayattarāṁ tuṁgaṁ(gam) | Jaṁvū(bū)kēśvara-nāmnaḥ Saṁ(Śaṁ)bhōr=yaḥ sadana-

83 m=anupam=iti[5] ||64 Yat-kāritē sarasi **Maṁḍapa-durga**-madhyē Kuṁbhōdbhavaḥ prati-
nisaṁ(śaṁ) prativiṁvya[6]mānaḥ | jyē(jyō)tirmmayō lavaṇa-vā-

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[1] For Rāvaṇa offering his heads to Śiva, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, N.S. Press, Āraṇya-kāṇḍa, Canto XXXII, verse 18.

[2] Cf. Passages like *śrīśrīkaraṇ-ādi-samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripanthayati* used in medieval documents (cf. *Lēkhapaddhati*, pp. 2, 5, 17, 34, 35c.) with reference to a high administrative officer (often a viceroy) under the king. The word *paripanthayati* in such cases means the same thing as *saṁvyavaharati* in other inscriptions (cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 284, text line 6; 286, text line 5; 324, text line 2; 328, text line 4; etc.), although this meaning of the verb is not found in the lexicons. In the present case the administrative function in question seems to have been carried out by the king himself.

[3] Read *śikharaṁ*.

[4] The stanza becomes metrically satisfactory if we read *Śākapur-ākhyē* at the beginning.

[5] Read °*paṁam=iti*.

[6] Read °*biṁbya*°.

84 ridhi-vāri-pāna-duḥsvāda-duḥkham=iva mārshṭi piva(ba)nn=apō=ṁtaḥ ‖65 Prākārēṇa pratōlyā shaḍ-adhika-dasa(śa)bhir=maṁdiraiḥ sva-

85 rṇṇa-kuṁbhair=uttuṁgair=bhūri-kakshair=guru-sura-sadanēn=āṁvu(bu)-kuṁḍēna yuktāṁ-(ktām) | yō durgē Maṁḍap-ākhē(khyē) vyatarad=iha purīṁ Vrā(Brā)hmaṇē-

86 bhyō nṛip-ājñāṁ lavdhvā(bdhvā) Māndhātṛi-durgē=py=anupama-rachanaṁ tadvad=ēva vyadhatta ‖ 66 sa ēsha pūrvv-ōkta-rāj-āvalī-virājamānēna bha-

87 kty-ādibhiḥ prasāditēna śrīmaj-**Jayavarmmaṇā Dhār-ādhipēn**-ānujñātaḥ Sa(Sā)dhanikō =’**nayasiṁhadēvō** dharmm-ādhat[1]-saṁva(ba)ddha-vu(bu)-

88 ddhir=vijayī **Varddhanāpura**-pratijāgaraṇakē Kuṁbhaḍāuda-grāmē tathā tatr=aiva Vālauda-grāmē tathā **Saptāśīti**-prati-

89 jāgaraṇakē Vaghāḍī-grāmē tathā **Nāgadaha**-pratijāgaraṇakē Nāṭiyā-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=Vrā(n=Brā)-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

90 hmaṇ-ōttarān=pratinivāsi-paṭṭakila-janapad-ādīṁś=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ **saṁvi**-ditaṁ yathā | **Maṁḍapa**-durg-āvasthitai-

91 r=asmābhir=**ēkatriṁśad-adhika-trayōdaśa-śata-saṁkhy-ānvitē Pramāthi-nāmni saṁvatsarē Bhādrapadē māsi śukla-pakshē**

92 **saptamyāṁ tithau Śukra-dinē Maitrē**[2] **nakshatrē** snātvā bhagavaṁtaṁ Pārvvatīpatiṁ samabhyarchya saṁsārasy=āsāratāṁ dṛishṭvā tathā

93 hi [|*] Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-mātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇās=tṛin-āgra-jala-viṁdu-samā narāṇāṁ

94 dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē [ ‖ 67*] iti sarvvaṁ vimṛi[ś]y=ādṛishṭa-phalam=aṁgīkṛitya cha sva-putraiḥ Kamalasiṁha-Dhārasiṁha-Jaitra-

95 siṁha-Padmasiṁha(hā) ity=ētaiḥ sahitai[ḥ*] nānā-gōtrēbhyō nānā-nāmabhyō **Māṁdhāṭṛi**-Vra=(Bra)hmapurī-vāstavyēbhyō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ ya-

96 thā Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya Āṁgiras-Auvathya-[Gau]tam-ēti-tri-pravarāya[3] Ṛigvēda-śākh-ādhyā-

97 yinē Cha°[4]-Kamalādharaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Avasathi-Vidyādharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Dī°[5]-Padmanābhaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya

98 padam=ēkam ‖ 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya-Āṁgiras-Auvathya-Gautam-ēti-tri-pravarāya Ṛigvēda-

99 śākh-ādhyāyinē Cha°-Kamalādharaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Ava°[6]-Vidyādharaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Cha°-Mādhavaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇā-

100 ya padom=ēkam ‖ 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya Āṁgirasa-Vā(Bā)-rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti-tri-prava-

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[1] The intended reading may be *dharmm-ārtha*.

[2] The popular name of the constellation is *Anurādhā*.

[3] According to many authorities, the *pravaras* of the Gautama *gōtra* are Āṅgirasa, Ayāsya and Gautama, while those of the Utathya or Uchathya *gōtra* are Āṅgirasa, Utathya or Uchathya and Gautama.

[4] This is a contraction of *Chaturvēdin*.

[5] This is a contraction of *Dīkshita*.

[6] This is a contraction of *Avasathin*.

101 rāya Ṛigvēda-śākhā-pravarddhamānāya Miśra-Dharmmadharaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Paṁcha-pīṭhi[1]-Miśra[2]-Uddharaṇaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Paṁ°[3]

102 Śrīkaṁṭhaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1 Lasha(kha)ṇapura-vinirgatāya Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhru-

103 v-ēti-tri-pravarāya Cha°-Bhō(Bhū)patiśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Paṁ°-Vidyāpatiśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Ṛigvēda-śākhā-pravarddhamānāya Dvi°[4]-

104 Gōvarddhanaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1 Tōlāpauha-sthāna-vinirgatāya Chaṁdrātrēya-sagōtrāya Ātrēya-Gāvi-

105 shṭhira-Pūrvvātith-ēti-tri-pravarāya Dī°-Śrīvatsaśarmmanaḥ pautrāya Dī°-Dēvaśarmmaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyaṁdina-śā-

106 kh-ādhyāyinē Dī°-Vāmanaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Vaśishṭha-sagōtrā-

107 ya Vāśishṭha-Śāktrya-Pārāsary-ēti-tri-pravarāya Va(Ba)labhadraśarmmaṇaḥ p[au]trāya Sādhāraṇaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyaṁdi-

108 na-śākh-ādhyāyinē Avasthī[5]-Anaṁtaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya [Bh]āra-

109 dvāja-sagōtrāya Āṁgirasa-Vā(Bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti-tri-pravarāya Śukla-Pradyumna-śarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Dvi°-Sō-

110 lūśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyinē Dvi°-Hariśarmmaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1

111 Ṭēṇī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti-tri-pravarāya Upā°-[6]

112 Dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Upā°-Vaijūśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyinō Dvi°-[Ma]-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

113 [hā]dēvaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam ||1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Kātyāyana-sagōtrāya Vi[śvā]-

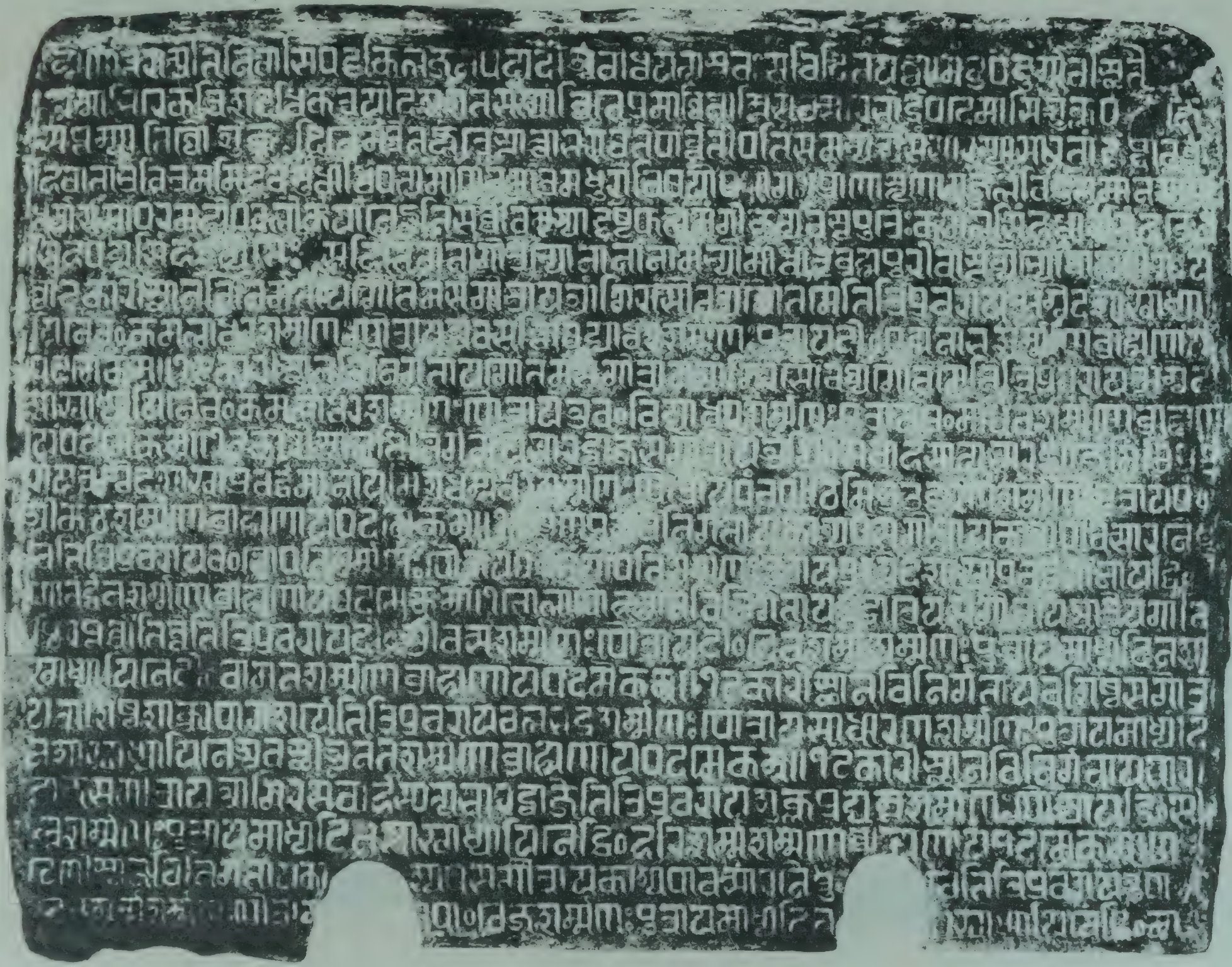
114 [mi]tra-Kātya-Kīl[7]-ēti-tri-pravarā[ya] Pā°[8]-Kūlhaṇaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Ava°-Āladēvaśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya

115 Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyinē Dvi°-Har[i]dēvaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam ēkam || 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya [Bh]āradvāja-

116 sagōtrāya Āṁgirasa-Vā(Bā)[r]haspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti-tri-pravarāya Dvi°-Gajādharaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Ava°-Vī[ṁkū]dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ

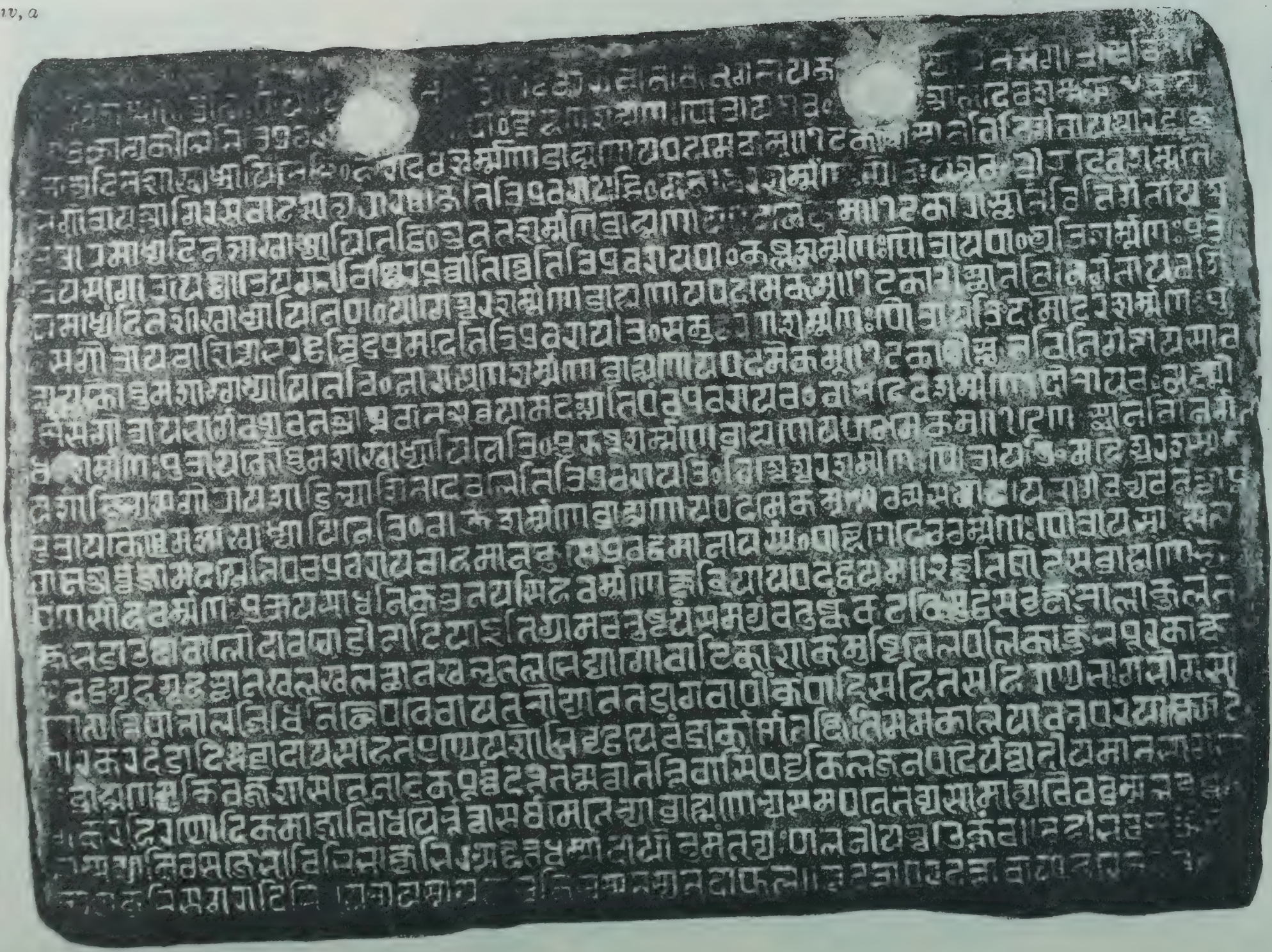
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[1] The intended word seems to be *pāṭhi°*.
[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[3] This is a contraction of *Paṁcha-pī(pā)ṭhin* or more probably *Paṁḍita*.
[4] This is a contraction of *Dvivēdin*.
[5] Sanskrit *Avasathin*. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[6] This may be a contraction of *Upāsanin* or more probably *Upādhyāya*.
[7] The correct form of the name is *Atkīla* according to many authorities.
[8] This may be a contraction of *Pāṭhin*.



Scale : Two-fifths

PLATE III



117 putrāya Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyinē Dvi°-Anaṁtaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam =ēkam || 1 Ṭakār[ī]-sthāna-vinirgatāya Ā-

118 trēya-sagōtrāya Ātrēya-G[ā]vishṭhira-Pūrvvātith-ēti-tri-pravarāya Pā°-K[ṛi]shṇaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Pā°-Atriśarmmaṇaḥ putrā-

119 ya Mādhyaṁdina-śākh-ādhyāyinē Pā°-Y[ō]gēśvaraśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam= ēkam || 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Vaśi-

120 shṭha-sagōtrāya Vāśishṭh-Ābharadvasv-Iṁdrapramad-ēti-tri-pravarāya Tri°[1]-Samuddharaṇa-śarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Tri°-Dāmōdaraśarmmaṇaḥ pu-

121 trāya Kauthuma-śākh-ādhyāyinē Tri°-Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1 Ṭakārī-sthāna-vinirgatāya Sāva-

122 rṇṇi-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnavāna-Aurvva[2]-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṁcha-pravarāya[3] Cha°-Vāsudēvaśarmmaṇa[ḥ] pautrāya Cha°-Lakshmī-

123 dha[ra]śarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Kauthuma-śākh-ādhyāyinē Tri°-Purushūśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)-[hma]ṇāya pa[da]m=ēkam || 1 Ṭēṇī-sthāna-vinirgatā-

124 ya Śāṁḍilya-sagōtrāya Śāṁḍily-Āśi(si)ta-Daival-ēti-tri-pravarāya Tri°-Viśvēśvaraśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Tri°-Mahēśvarasarmma[ṇaḥ]

125 [pu]trāya Kauthuma-śākh-ādhyāyinē Tri°-Vāṁśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya padam=ēkam || 1 Vatsa-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpna-

126 vāna-Aurvva[2]-Jāmadagnē(gny-ē)ti-pa[ṁ]cha-pravarāya Chāhamāna-ku[l]ē pravarddhamānāya Sā°[4]-Palhaṇadēvavarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Sā°-Sala-

127 sha(kha)ṇasīha[5]varmmaṇaḥ putrāya Śādhanika[6]-Anayasiṁhavarmmaṇē Kshatriyāya pada-dvayam || 2 iti shōḍasa(śa)-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ

128 Ku[ṁ]bhaḍāudā(da)-Vālaudā(da)-Vaghāḍī-Nāṭiyā iti grāma-chatushṭayaṁ samagraṁ chatush-kaṁ-kaṭa-visu(śu)ddhaṁ sa-vṛiksha-māl-ākulaṁ ta-

129 t-saṁva(ba)ddha-gṛiha-gṛihasthāna-khala-khalasthānaṁ khalu tala-bhēdyā-gōvāṭikā-śāka-mushṭi-tailapalikā-kuṁbhapūrak-ātkā(kā)-

130 ś-ōtpatti-pātāla-nidhi-nikshēpa-[d]ēvāyata[n]-ōdyāna-taḍāga-vāpī-kūp-ādi-sahitaṁ sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhōga[ṁ*] s-ō-

131 parikara[ṁ*] daṁḍ-ādi-[sar]vv-ādāya-sahitaṁ puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē chaṁdr-ārk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat parayā bhaktyā dē-

132 va-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukti-varjjaṁ śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvvaṁ dattaṁ tan=matvā tan-nivāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadair=yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhō-

133 ga-kara-hiraṇy-ādikam=ājñā-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvvam=ētēbhy[ō] Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhya[ḥ*] sam[u]panētavyaṁ sāmānyaṁ ch=aitad-dha[r]mma-[pha*]laṁ vudhvā[7]

134 asmat-svāmi-vaṁsa(śa)j[air]=bhāvibhir=bhoktṛibhir=asmad-datta-dharmmā(rmma)-dāyō= numaṁtavyaḥ pālanīyaś=cha | uktaṁ cha || Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhu-

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[1] This is a contraction of *Trivēdin*.

[2] Read *Chyavan-Āpna*(or *pnu*)*vad-Aurvva*.

[3] The *pravaras* of the Sāvarṇi *gōtra* are Bhārgava, Vaitahavya and Sāvēdasa according to many authorities.

[4] This is a contraction of *Sādhanika*.

[5] The Sanskrit form of the name is *Sallakshaṇasiṁha*°.

[6] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[7] Read *buddhvā*.

135 ktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [68*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō haréta vasuṁdharāṁ(rām | )

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

136 sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati [ || 69*] Sarvvān=ēvaṁ bhāvinō bhūmi-pālān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ |

137 sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kāl[ē] kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [70*] Iti kamala-dal-āṁvu(bu)-viṁdu-lōlāṁ śriyam=a-

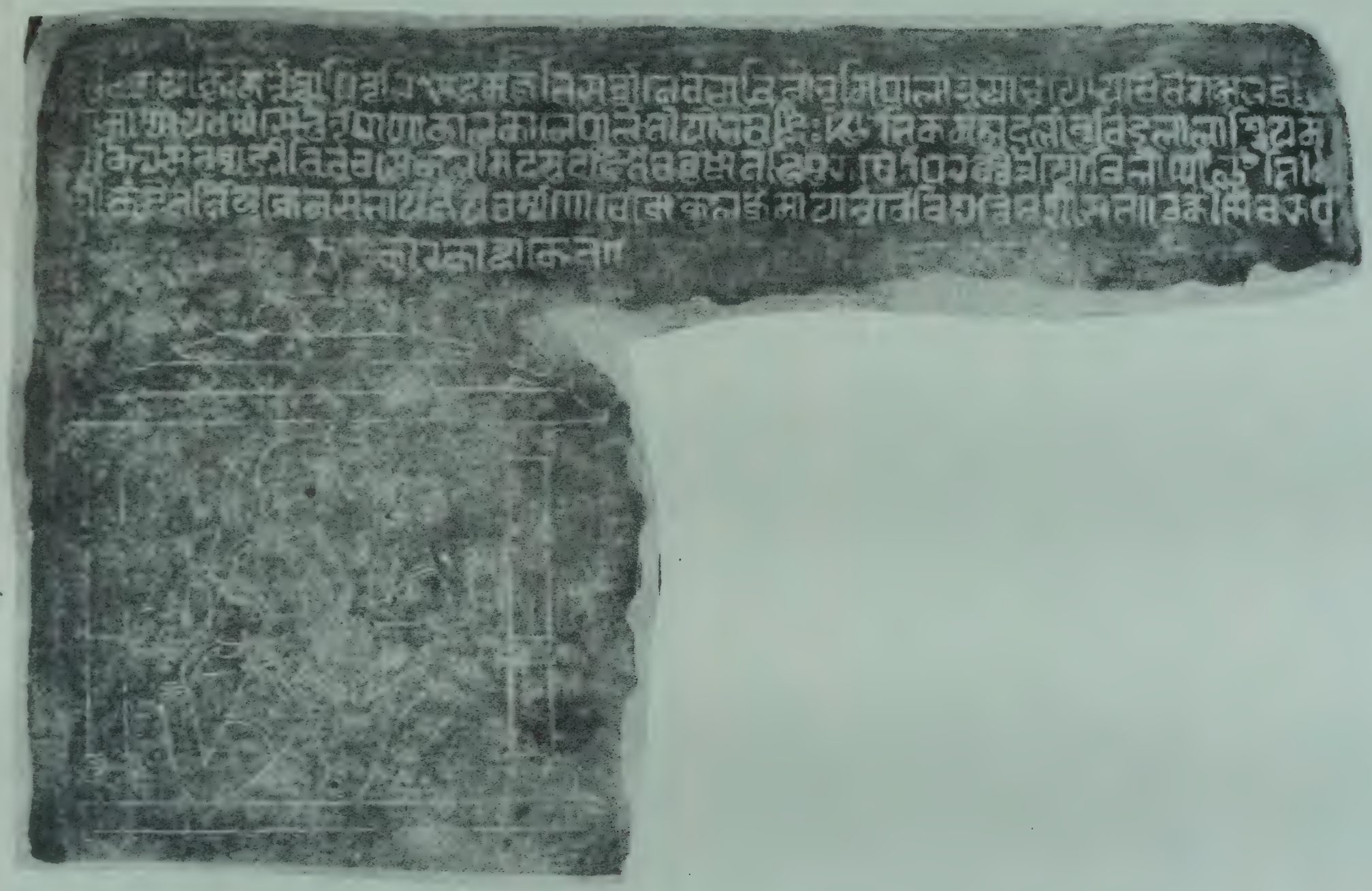
138 nuchi[ṁ]tya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha vu(bud)dhvā na hi purush-aiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[ḥ || 71*] iti ||

139 Śrīkaṁṭhēna niyuktēna sabhāya[ṁ](yāṁ) **Jayavarmmaṇā** | chakrē kula-kraṁ-āyātū(ta)-traividyatvēna śāsanaṁ(naṁ) || [72*] utkīrṇṇaṁ cha ru(rū)pa-

140 kāra-Kāṁhākē[1]na ||

[1] Originally *kō* was engraved.

*iv, b*



Scale : Two-fifths

PLATE IV

## No. 18—JHARIKA GRANT OF RASHTRAKUTA GOVINDA III, SAKA 725

*(2 Plates)*

V. B. Kolte, Nagpur

These plates were discovered on the 13th of April 1954 by Shri Achyutrao Gulabrao Deshmukh in the dilapidated mud wall on the south-west side of a small fortress owned by him at **Sirso,**[1] a village two miles north of Murtizapur, the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Akola District, formerly in Madhya Pradesh but now in Bombay State. Shri B. G. Deshmukh, E. A. C., the younger brother of Shri A.G. Deshmukh and an erstwhile pupil of mine, kindly sent them to me through Shri J. B. Kadam *alias* Nanasaheb, M. L. A. I am indebted to these gentlemen for permitting me to edit the plates.

The plates are strung together on a ring (about ·4″ in thickness and 3″ in diameter), the ends of which are soldered into the socket of a circular **seal** (1·8″ in diameter), containing in relief, on a counter-sunk surface, the figure of Garuḍa, facing full front, squatting on a lotus and carrying a serpent in each hand. The ring was intact when the plates reached my hands. I got it cut through the Curator, Nagpur Museum. The weight of the plates is 175 *tolas* and that of the ring together with the seal 51 *tolas*.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring from 9·5″ to 10″ in length and 7″ in breadth. Their ends are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. At the centre of the proper right and about ·8″ from the end, each plate has a circular hole about ·8″ in diameter for the ring to pass through. When I received the plates, they were all covered with verdigris. After cleaning them, it was found that they were corroded in many places. Several letters on each plate have been damaged, especially the letters in lines 51 and 52 on the second side of the second plate. This has rendered the decipherment of the names of the boundary villages very difficult, although the introductory part of the inscription could be read without much difficulty with the help of cognate records. There are 73 lines in all, 17 of them occurring on the first plate, 19 and 20 on the first and second sides of the second plate, and the remaining 17 on the third plate. The penultimate line on the first side of the second plate is short in length by 1·5″ and the last line incised on the right side at the bottom, is only 1·7″ in length and contains only seven letters. The last line on the second side of the second plate is also only 1·5″ in length and contains only five letters incised at the bottom on the right side. The size of the letters therefore is not the same everywhere. They are generally $\frac{1}{8}$″ to $\frac{1}{2}$″ in height, but are slightly bigger in lines 72 and 73 and smaller in line 39. The engraving is careless and, in certain places, some syllables and words are omitted or repeated (cf. e.g., the confusion in line 34).

Medial *ā* is generally denoted by adding a short downward stroke at the end of the top *mātrā*, e.g., *maṇḍalā*° in line 2. In some places, it is a long full-fledged stroke, e.g., *niśāta* in line 12. Sometimes it is indicated by a horizontal stroke turned upwards, e.g., *parākrama* in line 17 while often it is a short vertical stroke on the top of the letter, e.g., *vasudhā* and *dattā* in line 67. Medial *u* is denoted by a short horizontal stroke at the foot of a letter, e.g., in *rājasu* in line 3, and sometimes by a curve open to the left, e.g., *kāṁt-ēṁdu* in line 1. Medial *ū* is represented in many cases by a

[1] It is at this village that the Sīsavai and Lōhārā grants of Gōvinda III were discovered (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 204).

curve open to the right, e.g. *pūjā-pūjita* in line 72, and sometimes by a horizontal stroke slanting to the right ; e.g. *bhūmi* in line 60. The forms of *ru* and *rū* may be noted in *ruchirō* in line 8 and *rūpaṁ* in line 24. Medial *ē* or *ō* is shown either by a short vertical or a slanting downward stroke to the left of the top *mātrā* of a letter or by a slanting line cut on its head. The letters are generally uniform ; but *k*, *v*, *p*, etc., have different forms. The letter *n* has two forms, one North Indian and the other South Indian.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit which is not accurate in all cases. Sometimes *ś* is used for *s* and *vice versa*. In certain places, *anusvāra* is used for final *n* (cf. °*mānakāṁ* for *mānakān* in line 46). Attention may also be drawn to the use of *ṭri* for *tri* (line 6) and *gri* for *gṛi* (line 12). There are instances of short vowels being used for long ones and *vice versa*. As an example of metathesis may be cited *jaga* for *gaja* in line 23.

Some discrepancy is noticed in the **date** as recorded in lines 55-58 of the inscription. The **Śaka** year, given both in words and in figures, is 726 according to the former and 725 according to the latter. A lunar eclipse is stated to have occurred on the full moon of Kārttika during the year in question. According to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, there was a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Kārttika in the expired Śaka year 725. There was no eclipse on Kārttika *paurṇimā* of the preceding and following few years. The Śaka year intended here was therefore 725 (expired).[1] The corresponding Christian date is the **2nd November 803 A.D.**

The plates were issued by the **Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III** from his victorious camp on the bank of the river **Tuṅgabhadrā near Alaṁpura.** The genealogy of the king recounted here is the same as in his other copper-plate grants, viz. Gōvinda I ; his son Karkka I ; his son Indra ; his son Dantidurga ; his uncle Kṛishṇa, son of Karkka I ; his son Gōvinda II ; his younger brother Dhruva ; and his son Gōvinda III, the donor of the present charter. In line 45 he is referred to as *Śrī-Vallaḍha-narēndradēva*.

The introductory stanzas are mostly the same as in the Paiṭhaṇ plates[2] of Śaka 716, except that verses 20, 24 and 27 of the present plates do not occur in the latter and that verses 24, 26 and 27 of the Paiṭhaṇ plates do not occur in the present record. An interesting point to be noted is that verses 20 and 21 of the Paiṭhaṇ plates, which do not occur in any previous records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, are found in the present plates (verses 21-22). Verse 24 of the present inscription is not found in any other charter.

Although the present inscription contains no new facts about the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, it is useful for elucidating the **time of the southern campaigns of Gōvinda III.** According to our epigraph the king was camping on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā near Alaṁpura on the 2nd November 803 A.D. According to the Sanjan plates[3] which describe the exploits of Gōvinda III, this king is stated to have launched an offensive against the Draviḍa kings after his campaigns in the north. While engaged in this southern expedition, he was encamped at Hēlāpura. In the other records of Gōvinda III, he is said to have spent the rainy season at Śrī-bhavana after his northern expedition and thence proceeded to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā.

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[1] In most of the charters issued by Gōvinda III the Śaka year mentioned is expired and the system followed is the northern luni-solar one. Sometimes the Śaka year is a current one, though it is said to be an expired one, as in the present plates. Besides this grant, there are two more records in which the date is mentioned as above. They are the Wāṇi-Diṇḍōri plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 159) and the Bahulāwāḍ plates (*Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 21). In the present charter, notwithstanding the expression *Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta*, the year 726 has to be taken as current, the year intended being 725 (expired).

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.

[3] Ibid Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

It is very probable[1] that Alaṁpura of the present charter is identical with Hēlāpura of the Sanjan plates.[2] According to the British Museum plates,[3] Gōvinda III was camping at Rāmēśvara-tīrtha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā on the 4th April of 804 A.D. after his victorious expedition against the Pallava ruler. From this we are led to surmise that his southern expedition was carried on between the date of the present charter and that of the British Museum plates, i.e., between the 2nd November of 803 A.D. and the 4th April of 804 A.D.

As pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,[4] the charters of Gōvinda III fall into two groups, the first consisting of the Paiṭhaṇ and Añjanavati plates, in both of which the draft of the introductory part follows for the most part the text of the earlier records of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Under the second group fall all other charters commencing with the Nēsarī plates of Śaka 727. In this series, a new draft was employed for the introduction describing the victories of the king over his northern and southern adversaries. The new draft is also found in the Maṇṇe plates of his brother Stambha dated Śaka 724 which was therefore taken to be the starting point of the second series by Prof. Mirashi. The genuineness of the Maṇṇe plates was questioned by Dr. Altekar who pointed out that as Gōvinda III was still engaged in his southern campaign in Śaka 726 according to the British Museum plates, the new draft could not have been composed prior to this date. To obviate this difficulty, Prof. Mirashi argued that the southern expedition mentioned in the British Museum plates must have been a second expedition of a later date. But an examination of the inscription shows that there is no ground for such an assumption.[5]

The present inscription proves the spurious nature of the Maṇṇe plates. The first group of charters issued by Gōvinda III is represented by the Paiṭhaṇ and Añjanavatī plates and the present record is a new and important addition to it. While the Paiṭhaṇ and Añjanavatī plates were issued before the Maṇṇe plates, the charter under study was issued one year later than that record. It can therefore be inferred that even in Śaka 725 the old draft was being used by the king. If the new draft was already composed and used in the Maṇṇe charter, there was no point in continuing with the old one in a charter issued one year later. The combined evidence of the Jharikā and British Museum plates shows that, during Śaka 725 and 726, Gōvinda III was still engaged in his southern campaign which he carried on from his camp at Alaṁpur on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā and that after this expedition, on his way back to the capital, he had the new draft prepared. It was used, as far as evidence goes, for the first time in the Nēsarī charter of Śaka 727. Prof. Mirashi's inference that Gōvinda III's expedition against the southern kings occurred in Śaka 722 and 723 needs revision.[6]

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[1] Bhandarkar's suggestion (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 241) that Hēlāpura might be Vēlāpūr or Bēlūr in the Hassan District of Mysore does not seem to be correct, as the place is far away from the Tuṅgabhadrā.

[2] [The identification of Hēlāpura with Alaṁpura is correct. The place was known by various names such as Hataṁpura mentioned in a Kākatīya inscription (*Hyd. Arch. Ser.* No. 13, Ins. No. 55, p. 167), Hēmalāpurī according to a passage in the *Sthalapurāṇa* (*Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka*, No. 96, 1943, p. 29), and Ālāpura reckoned among the eighteen Śākta Pīṭhas (*JOR*, Vol. XIX, p. 287 ; *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1-2, p. 131).—P. B. D.]

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 397-98.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 214 ff.

[5] Fleet's translation of this record as given by him earlier in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127, is incorrect and misleading. This mistake was rectified later by him in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 397. I am indebted to Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this reference.

[6] [For the controversy on the nature of the Maṇṇe plates between Dr. Altekar and Prof. Mirashi, neither of whom regards the inscription as spurious, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 293-97. For the former's views on the chronology of Gōvinda III's campaigns, see also *Ācārya-Puspāñjali Volume*, pp. 153 ff., and *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 8, where he has accepted the date of Gōvinda's southern campaign as suggested by Prof. Mirashi.—P.B.D.]

The donee of the present plates is *Bhaṭṭa* Risiyapa of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who was a resident of Dhārāśiva, belonged to the family of Traividyas (i.e. learned in three Vēdas) and was a student of the Ṛigvēda. He was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Annasvāmin. It is to be noted that with some variations of spelling in the name the figures in the same capacity in three more records of Gōvinda III, viz. the Sīsavai,[1] Daśapura[2] and Lōhārā[3] grants. The grandfather of Risiyapa is not mentioned in the present grant. According to the Sīsavai charter he was Vishṇu-chaturvēda who, it may be noted, belonged to the family of Chāturvidyas and not Traividyas as stated in other grants. He is called *mōs-ōpavāsin* in the Lōhārā and Daśapura plates.

As stated in the last two lines of the record, the charter was written in the presence of the king by Kukkāyya who was the son of the general Gauḍa, honoured by the five great titles, and by Dēvayya,[4] officer in charge of the records. Kukkaika who wrote the Añjanavatī charter seems to be identical with this Kukkāyya. The same person seems to be responsible for the writing of the Paiṭhaṇ plates, as the last sentence in the record (line 73) can be read as *likhitaṁ cha Paramēśvar-ādra(jña)yā Śrī-Kukkāyēyē(n=ē)ti*, although Kielhorn, its editor, did not decipher this portion. Thus it seems that Kukkāyya wrote the charters in which the old draft was used and that Aruṇāditya wrote the others in which the new draft was utilised.

As for the places mentioned in the present grant, Alaṁpura is the present Alaṁpūr, near the Alaṁpūr Road railway station on the Central Railway, 3 miles to the north of the Tuṅgabhadrā river. Jharikā, the donated village, may be modern Zarī in the Kelapur Taluk of the Yeotmal District. Pōṇa, the headquarters of the territorial unit in which Jharikā was situated, may be modern Pōhanā on the bank of the Wardhā river in the Hinganghat Taluk of the Wardha District. Of the boundary villages, Taluti may be identified with the present Tarōdī, 3 miles to the east, Vidurāmra with Uṁbari about 4 miles to the south, and Māragrāma with Mārōgāon 5 miles to the north of Zarī. Talabhī cannot be identified.

## TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 23, 29-30, 32-33, 35 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 24-25 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 4, 19, *Upajāti* ; verse 7 *Gīti* ; verses 10, 17, 20-22 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 11-14, 26, 28 *Āryā* ; verses 16, 18 *Śragdharā* ; verses 27, 31, 34 *Indravajrā* ; verse 36 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

### *First Plate*

1 Ōm[5] [|*] Sa vō=vyād=Vēdhasā dhāma yan=nābhi-kamalaṁ kṛitaṁ(tam) [|*] Haraś=cha yasya kāṁtaṁ(t-ēṁ)du-kalayā kam=alaṁkṛitaṁ(tam) |[| 1*] Āśī(sī)tdva(d=dvi)-shaṭi(shat-ti)mi-

2 ram=udyata-maṇḍal-āgrō dhvastin=nayaṁna(yann=a)bhimu[khō] raṇa-śarvvarīshu | bhūpaḥ śuchir=vidhur=iv=āpta-dig-aṁta-kīrti[r*]=Gā(Gō)vindarāja

3 iti rājasu rāja-siṁghaḥ(haḥ) |[| 2*] Dṛishṭvā chamūm=abhimukhī[ṁ*] subhaṭ-āṭṭa-hāsām=unna(nnā)mitaṁ sapadi yēna raṇēshu nityaṁ(tyam) [|*]

4 dasṭā(shṭ-ā)dharēṇa dadhatā bhṛikuṭī(ṭiṁ) lalāṭē khaḍgaṁ kulaṁ cha hṛidayaṁ cha nijañ-cha satvaṁ(ttvam) |[| 3*] Khaḍgaṁ kar-āgrān=mukhataś=cha śō-

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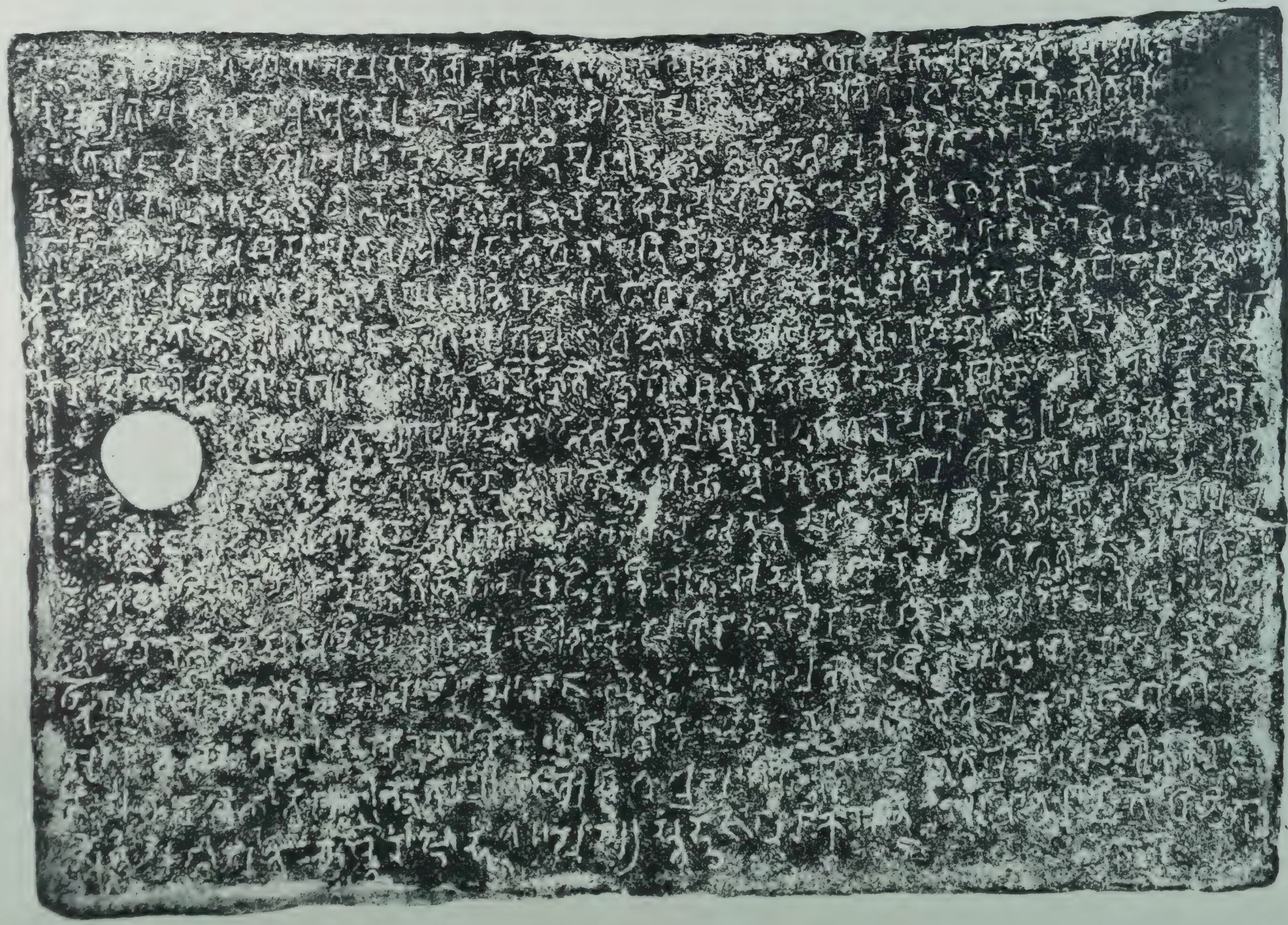
[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 205.

[2] *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, pp. 27 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 213.

[4] This Dēvayya seems to be identical with Dēvaiya-rāṇaka figuring as the *Dūtaka* in the Nēsari charter.

[5] Expressed by symbol.



Scale : Nine-tenths

5 bhā mānō maṅasta[ḥ*] śa(sa)mam=ēva yasya [|*] mah-āhavē nāma niśamya yasya[1] sadyas=trayaṁ ripūṇāṁ vigalaty=akā[ṁ*]ḍē [|| 4*]

6 Tasy=ā[tmajō] jagati viśruta-dīrgha-kīrttir=ā[rtt-ā]rtti-hāri-Ha[ri-vikra]ma-dhāma-dhārī [|*] bhūpaḥ tṛi(pas=tri)pishṭapa-kṛit-ānu-

7 [kṛi]taḥ(tiḥ) kṛit-ājñaḥ śrī-Karkkarāja iti gōtra-maṇirva(r=ba)bhūva |[| 5*] Tasya prabhinna-karaṭa-chyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahā-

8 ra-ruchir-ōli(lli)khit-āṁsa-pīṭhaḥ ||(|) kshmāpaḥ kshitau kshapita-śatrur=abhūta(t=ta)nūjaḥ sad-Rāshṭrakūṭa-kanak-ārdri(dri)r=iv=Ē-

9 ndrarāja[ḥ] |[| 6*] Tasy=ōpārjita-mahasas=tanayaś=chatur-udadhi-valaya-mālinyā[ḥ |*] bhōktā bhuvaḥ Śata-

10 kratu-sadṛiśaḥ śrī-Dantidurggarājō=bhūt || [7*] Kāñch-īśa-Kērala-narādhipa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-śrī-Ha-

11 rsha-Vajraṭa-vibhēda-[vidhāna]-daksha[m*] | Kārṇṇāṭakaṁ va(ba)lam=anantam=ajēyam=aṇyair=bhṛityai[ḥ*] kiyadbhir=api ya[ḥ]

12 sahasā jigāya ||[8*] A-bhrū-vibhaṁgam=a-gri(gṛi)hīta-niśāṭa-śastram=a-śrāntam=a-pratihat-ājñā(jña)m=apēta-ya-

13 tnaṁ(tnam) [|*] yō Vallabhaṁ sapadi daṇḍa-va(ba)lēna jī(ji)tvā rājādhīrāja-paramēśvara-tām=avāpa || [9*] Āsētō-

14 r=vipul-ōpal-āvali-lasa[l-lō*]l-ōrmmi-mālā-jalād=āprālēya-kala[ṁ*]kit-āmala-śilā-jālā[t=Tu]-

15 shār-āchalāt | ā[pū*]rvv-āpara-vāri-rāśi-pulina-prāntaḥ(nta)-prasiddh-āvadhēyē(r=yē)n=ēyaṁ jagatī śva(sva)-vi-

16 krama-va(ba)[lēn=ai]kātapatrīkṛitāḥ(tā) || [10*] Tasmi[n*] divaṁ prayātē Vallabharājē kshata-prajā-vādhaḥ [| *] śrī-Karkkarāja-

17 sūnur=mahīpatiḥ Kṛishṇarājō=bhūt || [11*] Yasya sva-bhuja-parākrama-niḥśēsh-ōtsādit-āri-ditā[2](k-chakram | )

*Second Plate, First Side*

18 Kṛishṇasy=ēv=ā-kṛishṇaṁ charitaṁ śrī-Kṛishṇarājasya |[| 12*] Śubhatuṁga-tuṁga-turaga-pravṛiddha-rēṇ-ūrdhva-rurudhva[3]- ravi-kira[ṇam |*]

19 grīshmē=pi nabhō nikhilaṁ prāvṛiṭkālāyatē spashṭaṁ(shṭam) |[| 13*] Dīn-ānātha-praṇayishu yath-ēshṭa-chēshṭaṁ samīhitam=a-

20 jasraṁ(sram) [|*] ta[t*]-kshaṇam=Aka(kā)lavarshō varshati sarv-ārtti-nirvvapaṇaṁ(ṇam) |[| 14*] Rāhappam=ātma-bhu[ja]-jāta-va(ba)l-āvalēpam=ājau

21 vijitya niśit-āsi-latā-prahāraiḥ [|*] Pāli-dhvaj-āvali-śu[bhā]m=achirē[ṇa] yō hi rājādhirāja-paramē-

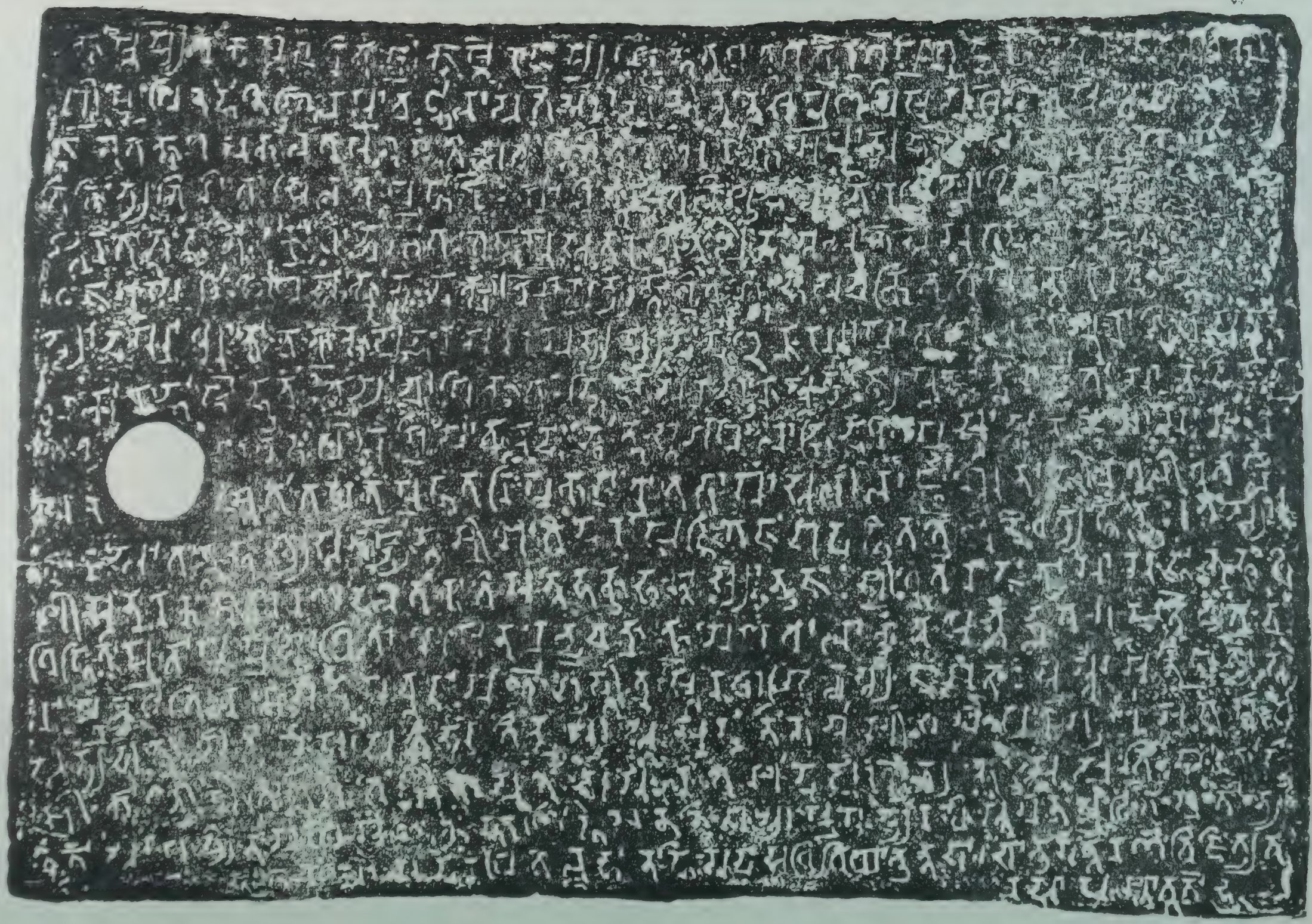
22 śvaratāṁ ta[tā]na |[| 15*] Krōdhād=u[khā](tkhā)ta-khaḍga-prasṛita-ruchi-chayai[r=bhā]-samānaṁ samaṁta(tā)d=ājāv=udvṛitta-vairi-pra[ka]-

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[1] The word has been unnecessarily repeated here.

[2] The letters *ditā* seem to have been wrongly repeated and the two conjunct letters that should actually follow *di* left out.

[3] Read *ruddha*.



23 ṭa-jaga(gaja)-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-saṁkshōbha-da[kshaṁ(ksham)] | śauryaṁ tyaktā(ktv=ā)ri-vargō bhaya-chakita-vaṕuḥ kv=āpi dṛishṭv=ai[va sa]-

24 [dyō] darpp-ādhmāt-ā[ri*]-chakra-kshaya-bha(ka)ram=agamad=ya[sya] dōr-ddaṇḍa-rūpaṁ-(pam) || [16*] Pātā [ya]ś=chatur-amvu(mbu)rāśi-rasa(śa)n-ā-

25 laṁkāra-bhājō bhuvaḥ tra[yā]chāpi[1] kṛitaḥ(ta)-dvij-āmara-guru-prājy-ājya-pū[j-ā]dara[ḥ |*] [jā](dā)tā [mā]na-bhri(bhṛi)d-agra-

26 [ṇīr=guṇa]vatāṁ yō=sau śriyō vallabhō bhōttaṁ(ktuṁ) svarga-phalādi(ni) bhūri-tapasā sthānaṁ jagām=āmaraṁ(ram) [|| 17*]

27 Yēna śvēt-ātapatra-prahata-[2]ripu-karā(ra)-vrāta-tāpāṁ salīlāṁ[3] jagmē nāsīra-dhūlī-dhavali-[ta*]-

28 [śi]rasā vallabh-ākhya[ḥ*] sad=ājyē(jau) [|*] sa śrī-Gōvinda-rājā(jō) jita-jagad=ahita-trai-(strai)ṇa-vaidhavya-hētuḥ |[4] tasy=ā-

29 śīsū(sīt=sū)nur=ēka-kshaṇa-raṇa-dalit-ārāti-matt-ēbha-kuṁbha[ḥ || 18*] Sta(Ta)sy=ānujaḥ śrīḥ(śrī-Dhruvarāja-nāmā mah-ānubhāvō

30 vihita-pratāpa[ḥ |*] prasādhit-āśēsha-ṇarēndra-chakra[ḥ*] kramēṇa vā(bā)l-ārkka-vapurvva-(r=bba)bhūva || [19*] Jātē yatra cha

31 Rāshṭrakūṭa-tilakē sad-bhūpa-chūḍāmaṇō(ṇau) gurvvī tushṭir=ath=ākhilasya jagataḥ sau-svāmini praty-ahaṁ(ham) |

32 satyaṁ satyam=iti prasā(śā)saṭi sati [kshmā]m=ā-samudr-āṁtikām=āśī(sī)dha(d=dha)rma-parē guṇ-āmṛita-nidhau [satya-vrat-ādhishṭhitē*][5] [|| 20*]

33 Śrī-Kāñchī-pati-Gaṁga-Vēṁgika-yutā [yē] Mālavēś-ādaya[ḥ*] prājyān=āma(na)yati sma tā[n=kshi][ti*]-

34 bhṛitō [yaḥ prā]jyānām=api[6] [|*] māṇikya(ky-ā)bharaṇi(ṇā)[ni*] hēma-nati[7] yasya prapadyōrapi[8] svaṁ yēna prathitaṁ yatōnya[9]

35 [bhrāta]raṁ(ram) [|| 21*] Sāma(m-ā)dē(dyai)r=api Vallabhā(bhō) na hi yadā sa[ṁ*]dhiṁ vidhātun=tadā |[10] chāturdanta-raṇē vijitya ta-

36 rasā paśchāt=tatō bhū-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

37 patiṁ(tim) [|*] prā[chy-ōdīchya]-parāchya-yāmya-chalasat[11]-pa(pā)li-dhvajair=bhūshitaṁ chi[hnai]r=ya[ḥ*] Paramēśvaratvaṁ=a[khi]laṁ lēbhē mah-ēbhō vibhuḥ [| 22*]

38 Jit-āśēsha-mahī[pālaḥ] Puraṁdara-jigīśa(sha)yā | sa śrī-Nirupamō rāja(jā) hitvā matti-(rtyaṁ) divā(vaṁ) gata[ḥ*] |[| 23*] Durvāra-vairi-vanitā-mu-

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[1] Read *bhuvas=trayyāś=ch=āpi*.

[2] Read *ravi* as in the Paithaṇ and other plates.

[3] Read °*tāpāt=sa-līlaṁ* as in the Paiṭhaṇ and Añjanavatī plates.

[4] Read °*hētus=ta*°.

[5] This phrase omitted through oversight has been supplied from other published charters.

[6] Read *prātirājyān=api*.

[7] Read *nichayaṁ*.

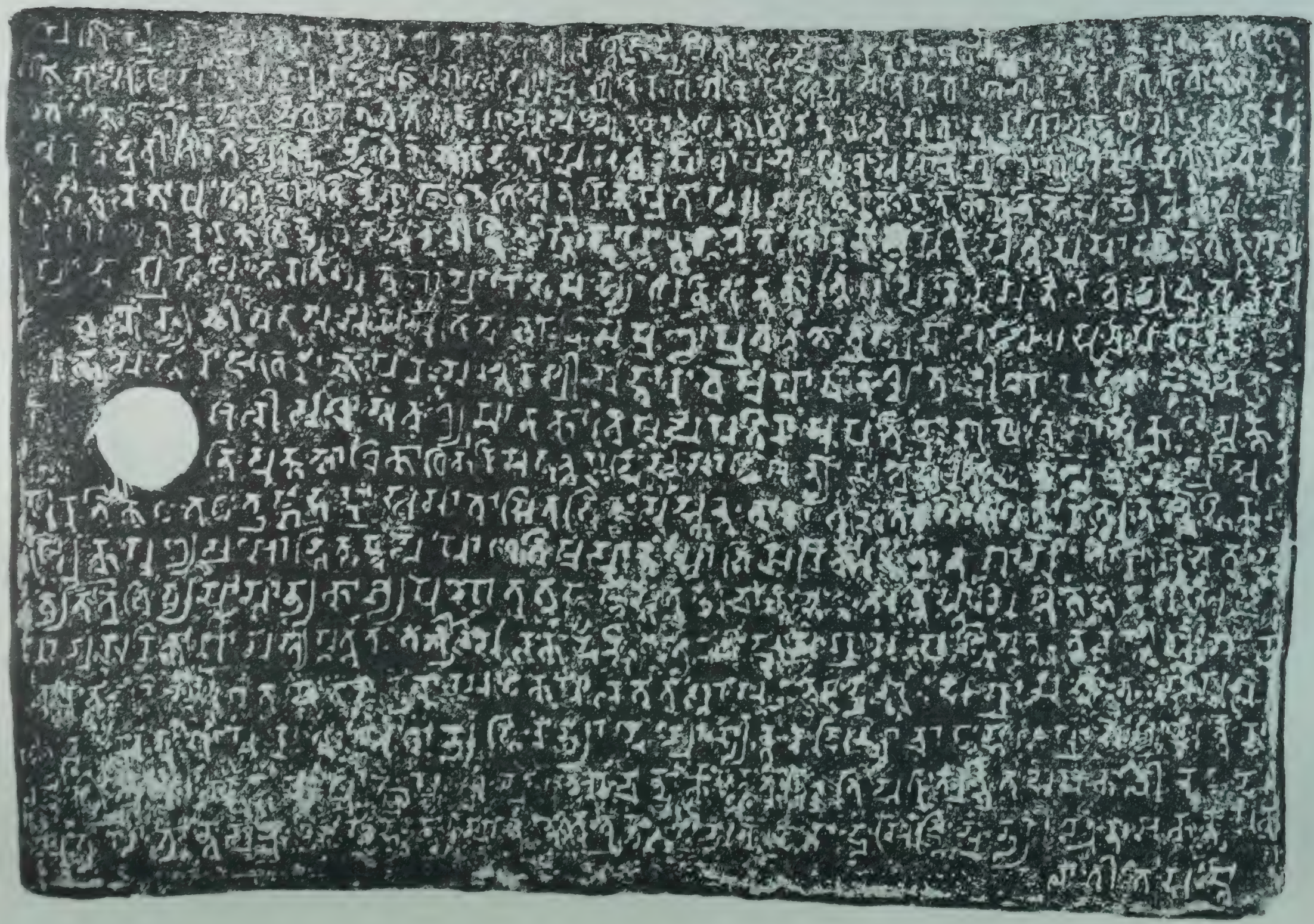
[8] Read °*dy=ōpari*.

[9] Read *prati taṁ tath=āpi na kṛitaṁchētō=nyathā*.

[10] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[11] Better read °*yāmya-vilasat*° as in the Bhor Museum plates.

*ii, b*



Scale : Nine-tenths

39 kha-paṁkajānī(ni) [dēvē] divaṁ gatavati tṛi(tri)-jagatsu yasya [|*] ady=āpi kīrtir=anura-[kta]m=iv=ānurāgā[da]. . . yaśasā

40 pari[dō]dravīti |[| 24*] Tasy=āp[y=a]bhūd=bhuvana-bhāra-bhṛitau samarthaḥ Pārth-ōpamaḥ Pṛithu-samāna-guṇō guṇajñaḥ [|*] durvvāra-vairi-va-

41 nit-ātula-tāpa-hētur=Gōvindarāja iti sūnur=ina-pratāpa[ḥ*] || [25*] Śaśadhara-kara-nikara-nibhaṁ yaśya(sya) yaśasaḥ[1] [Suranag-āgra-sānu-sthaiḥ |*][2] pa-

42 rigīyatē=nuraktair=Vidyādhara-sundarī-nivahaiḥ [|| 26*] Hṛishṭō=nvahaṁ yō=[rthi]-janāya sarvva[ṁ*] sarvvaṁ samānandita-va(ba)ndhu-varga[ḥ |*]

43 prādāt=prahṛishṭō[3] harati [sma vēgāṁ(gāt)] prāṇāna(n=Ya)masy=āpi nitānta-kīrtiḥ |[| 27*] Yēn=ēdam=anila-vidyuch-chaṁchalam=a-

44 valōkya jīvitam=asāraṁ(ram) [|*] kshiti-dāna-parama-puṇya[ḥ*] pravarttitō vra(bra)hma-dāyō=yāṁ(yam) || [28*] sa cha paramabhaṭṭā-

45 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dhārāvarsha-pād-ānudhyāta-śrī[4]-Gōvindarāja-dēva[ḥ*] ku-

46 śalī yathā-saṁva(ba)dhyamānakāṁ(kān) vishayapati-rāshṭrapati-bhōgapati-grāmakūṭ-āyukta-

47 niyuktak[5]-ādhikādhikāri[5][ka*]-mahattar-ādiṁ(dīn) samādiśaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā **Alaṁ-**

48 **pa(pu)ra-**nikaṭa-ṭata-**Tuṅgabhadrā-**samāvāsita-vijaya-skandhāvā[r-ā]vāsitēna **māṭā-**pitrōr=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmu-

49 shmika-puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē Pōṇa-vishay-ānta[ḥ]pāti-Jharik-ābhidā(dhā)na-grāmaḥ Dhārāśiva-vāsta-

50 vya-tatraividya[6]-sāmānya-Kāśyapa-gōtra-va(ba)hvṛija(cha)-sva(sa)vra(bra)hmachāri-bhaṭṭa-[7]Annasvāmi-suta-bhaṭṭa-Risiya-

51 pāya[8] Jharikā-grāmasya pūrvvataḥ Taluti-sā[va]kaṁ dakshiṇataḥ [Vi]du[rā]mra-grāmaḥ paśchimataḥ Talabhī-grāmaḥ u-

52 ttarataḥ [Māragrāma] ēvam=ēta[ch-cha]tur-āghāṭa-kapāla-va(ba)[dha](ddha)-grāmaḥ s-ōdraṁgaḥ sa-grāma-bhōgaḥ [s-ō]pari-

53 karaḥ sa-daś-āparādhaḥ sa-[dhā]nya-hiranyā(ṇy-ā)dēyō=bhyaṁtara-si[ddhy-a]-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya[ḥ] sarvva-rā-

54 jakīyā[nā]m=a-[hasta]-prakshēpaṇīyaḥ ā-chandr-ārkk-ā[rṇṇa]va-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sama-kālīnaḥ sa-

55 putra-pautr-ānvaya-kram-ōpabhujyamāna-dēva-vra(bra)[hma]-dāya-rahitō bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna | **Śaka-nṛipa-kā-**

56 **l-ātīta-samva(saṁva)-**

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[1] Read *yaśaḥ*.

[2] These words which were omitted by the engraver have been restored here from the Paiṭhaṇ and other records,

[3] Read *prarushṭō* as in Jethawai and other plates.

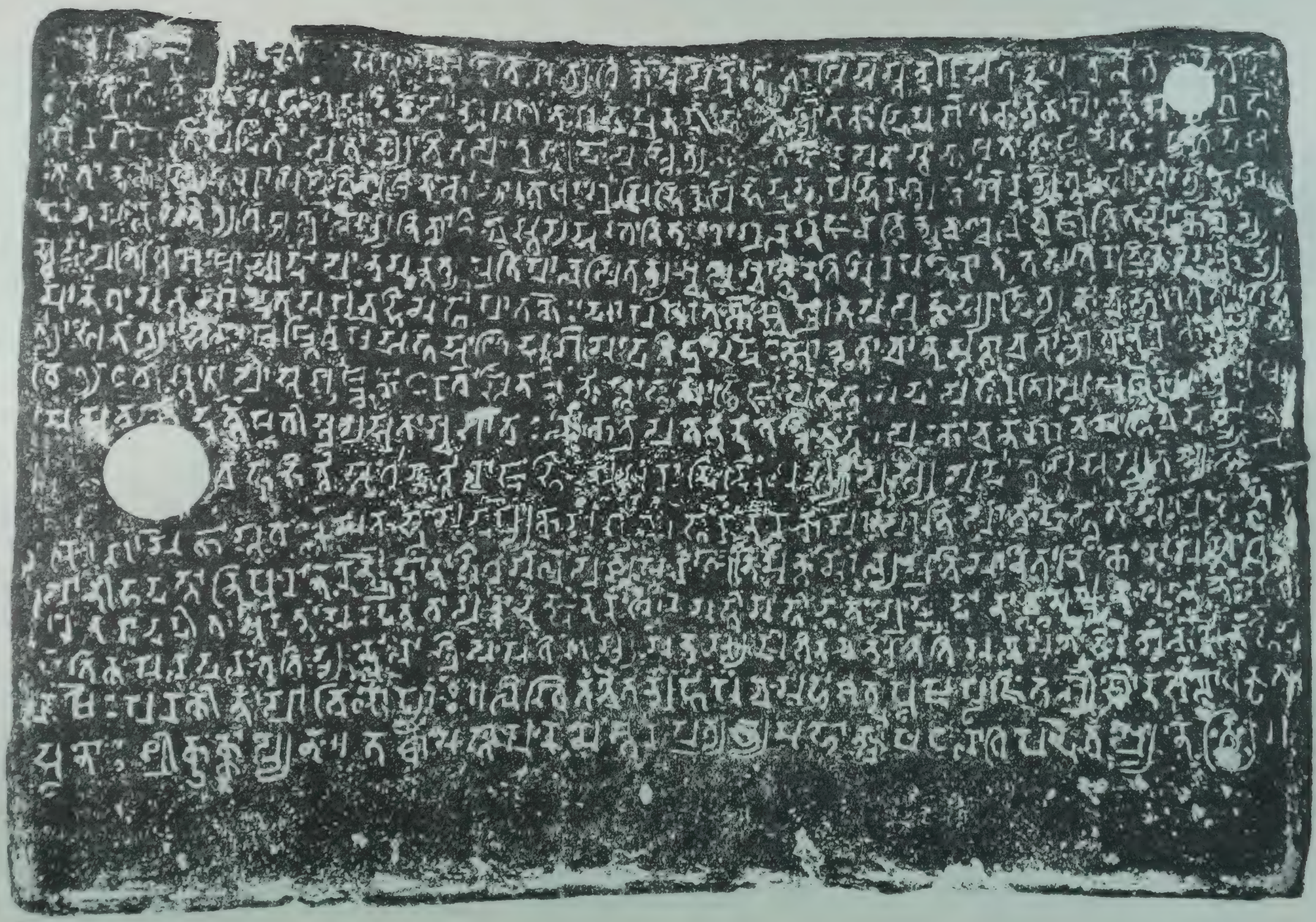
[4] Read before this as in the Paiṭhaṇ and Añjanvatī plates *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-prithvīvallabha-Prabhūtavarsha*. These words have been left out by the engraver evidently through mistake.

[5] The letters *kādhi* are unnecessarily repeated.

[6] Read *traividya*. [Or, *tat-traividya*.—ED.]

[7] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[8] This word referring to the donee is to be connected with *pratipāditaḥ* in line 59.



*Third Plate*

57 **tsara-śatēshu**[1] **saptasu sha[ḍ-viṁ]viṁ**[2]**śaty-adhikēshu yatr-āṅkatō pi samva-(saṁva)tsarasa(sya) 725** va(ba)li-vaiśvadēv-āgni-

58 hōtr-ātithi-paṁcha-mahāyajñ-ādi-kra(kri)y-ōtsa[r*]paṇ-ā[rthaṁ*] Tuṅgabhadrā-na[dīṁ]-(dyāṁ) snātvā dyōtakādisargēna[3] **Kārta(rtti)ka-paurṇṇamāśyāṁ(syāṁ) grah-ō-**

59 **parāgē** pratipāditaḥ [|*] Yatō=sy=ōchitayā vra(bra)hma-dāya-sthityā bhuṁjatō bhōjayatā(ta)ś=cha kṛishatō(taḥ) karshayataḥ pratidiśa-

60 tō vā na kaiśchid=alp=āpi pratipaṁthanā[4] kāryā | tath=āgrā(gā)mibhir=api bhadra-nṛipa-[ti*]bhir=aśma(sma)d-vaṁśai(śyai)r=anyair=vvā sāmānyaṁ bhūmi-

61 dāna-pa(pha)lam=avētya vidyul-lōlāny=anityāni aiśva[rya]-sukhāni tṛiṇ-āgra-lagna-jala-vindu-chañchalaṁ cha jīvitam=ākalayya

62 sva-dāya-nirvviśēshō=[yam=a*]sma[d*]-dāyō=numantavya[ḥ*] pratipālayitavyaś=cha [|*] yaś=ch=ājñāna-timira-paṭal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhindyād=āchchhidya-

63 mānaṁ vāmanu[5]mōdēta sa paṁchabhi[r*]=mahāpātakaiḥ s-ōpapātakaiś=cha pratisaṁyukta-[ḥ*] syād=ity=uktaṁ cha bhagavatā Vēda-

64 vyāsēna Vyāsēna | Shashṭir=va[r*]sha-sahasrāṇi sva[r*]gē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [29*]

65 Viṁdhy-āṭavīśva(shv=a)-tōyāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇ-āhayō hi jāyaṁtē bhūmi-dāyaṁ haraṁti yē ||[| 30*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ pratha-

66 maṁ suvarṇaṁ bhūr=Vaishṇavī Sūrya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] lōka-trayaṁ tēna bhavēd=dhi dattaṁ ¦[6] yaḥ kāṁchanaṁ gāṁ cha mahiṁ cha dadyā[t ||31* ]

67 Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā [pha*]-

68 laṁ(lam) ||[| 32*] Gām=ēkāṁ suvarṇam=ēkaṁ bhūmēda(r=a)py=ēkam=aṁgulaṁ(lam) | haraṁ(ran=)narakam=āyāti yāvad=ābhūta-saṁplavam [|| 33*]

69 Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndrair=dānāni dharma(rm-ā)rtha-yaśas-karāṇi [|*] nirmukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ

70 punar=ādadīta ||[| 34*] Sva-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttāṁ) vā yatnād=raksha narādhipa [|*] mahīṁ mahībhṛitāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrē[yō]=nupālanam ||[|| 35*]

71 Iti kamala-dal-āṁvu(bu)-vidyul-lōlāṁ śriyam=adhigamya manushya-jīvitaṁ cha [|*] a'ti-vimala-manōbhir=ātma-kāmair=na hi pu-

72 rushaiḥ para-kīrtayō vilōpyāḥ || [36*] Likhitaṁ ch=aitan=mahā-paṁcha-mahāśavda(bda)-pūjā-pūjita-śrī-[Gau]ḍa-va(ba)lādhikṛita-

73 sūnōḥ(ṇunā) śrī-Kukkāyyēna || Tathā mahāparamēśvara-pratya[kshya(kshaṁ)] ma-ākshapaṭal-ādhipa-Dēvayyēn=ēti |||

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[1] There is some gap in between each two of these three letters.

[2] This letter is superfluous.

[3] Read *nady-udak-ātisargēṇa*. [Or, *snātv=ādy=ōdak°*—Ed.]

[4] Better read *paripaṁthanā*.

[5] Read *v=ānu°*.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

## No. 19—KALYANA INSCRIPTION OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD, SAKA 1248

*(1 Plate)*

P. B. Desai, Dharwar

**Kalyāṇa** is a small town in the Humnabad Taluk of the Bidar District, Mysore State. Its original name was also Kalyāṇa and this was modified as Kalyāṇi during the Muslim regime. The latter form of the name is still recognised in official quarters, although the common people prefer to call it by its earlier name. Kalyāṇa figures in hundreds of inscriptions of the rulers of the Later Chālukya family, who made it their principal headquarters about 1033 A.D.[1] This seat of political power was occupied by the usurpers of the Kalachuri family for some time in the latter part of the 12th century. It was also the scene of the religious conflict between Kalachuri Bijjala II and his minister Basavēśvara, the founder of Vīraśaiva school, when it witnessed the great upsurge of the latter's followers. These memorable events are remembered to the present day and a visitor to Kalyāṇa is shown various sites associated with the activities of the historical personages.[2] An attempt is made in certain quarters even to restore the place-name as Basava-Kalyāṇa after the great leader of the Vīraśaiva movement.[3]

Kalyāṇa, until recently included in the Hyderabad State, was in the possession of a family of petty Nawabs or Jāgīrdārs who constructed a fort at the place. In the courtyard of this fort have been kept a large number of antiquities such as inscriptions, sculptures and remains of architectural constructions, brought over from various sites inside the town and also from the neighbouring villages. In the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions, I visited Kalyāṇa in January 1957 and copied 16 inscriptions kept in the said place, and two more in the Nawab's Bungalow. Of these, seven belong to the reign of Vikramāditya VI, one to that of his son Sōmēśvara III and three to that of the latter's successor Jagadēkamalla II. One more in the former place is the epigraph under study here. I edit the inscription from the estampages taken during my visit. It was previously edited in *A. R. Arch. Dept.*, Hyderabad, 1936-37, pp. 43 ff.

The inscribed area of the stone slab bearing the epigraph is clearly demarcated by lines drawn on its four sides and it measures 45·7″ long and 21·3″ broad. At the top of this space are engraved figures of the crescent on the left and of the sun on the right. The stone has peeled off at the left corner of the bottom, resulting in the loss of a few letters. There are in all 32 lines of writing and in most cases they are in a fair state of preservation.

[1] B. K. Coll., No. 126 of 1933-34 ; *SII*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Ins. No. 69. The Śaka years in both these records are wrongly engraved. For an elaborate discussion on the various Chālukya capitals, see the *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad*, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 3 ff.

[2] Some of the sites may be mentioned here : 1. the palace of Bijjala, 2. the mansion of Basavēśvara, 3. the cave of Akkanāgamma, sister of Basavēśvara, 4. the pedestal of Allama Prabhu, 5. the cave of Viḍaṇēśvara.

[3] *Annual Report of Basavēśvara Dēvasthāna*, 1954-55, and other publications (Hindi) of the institution.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, being normal for the period to which the inscription belongs. The following peculiarities, however, deserve to be noted. The top *mātrā* which is generally a straight line is sometimes curved towards the left, the curve being turned into a loop in a few cases ; see for instance *t* in *°rōpita* in line 7 and *d* at the beginning of the next line. The letters *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many cases ; e.g. *tanayō* in line 17. The letter *ś* presents two forms ; e.g. *Śākē* in line 1 and *śudi* in line 2. In regard to **orthography,** two rare instances of the doubling of the consonant after *r* are available and they are confined to one letter only which is *t* in *varttamānē* in line 7 and *varttatē* in line 13. *Sh* is written for *kh*, e.g. *Shōjā* in line 7. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition both prose and verse. There are four verses which are numbered. Of the large number of errors that have crept into the writing, a few may be attributed to the insufficient knowledge of the language on the part of the person who prepared the draft and the majority to the incompetence of the scribe who apparently failed to follow the draft fully. These blemishes are particularly glaring in verses 3-4 which have become difficult to decipher and interpret.

After the auspicious symbol the inscription mentions the **date** which is cited as **Śaka 1248,** Kshaya,[1] Kārttika śu. 15, Monday (lines 1-2). This regularly corresponds to the **10th November 1326 A.D.** The epigraph then states that *Mahārājādhirāja Suratāṇa* **Mahamada** was ruling at this time (lines 2-4). Next we are introduced to his subordinate *Mahāpradhāna* Mallika Kāmadīna who was in charge of the whole administration and was governing Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala (lines 4-6). The phrase found in this context, viz. *samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripaṁthayati* is interesting. The expression *paripanthayati* as it occurs here cannot be traced in the lexicons, although it seems to have been used in the sense of 'conducting' or 'executing'. This phrase appears to have passed into the administrative terminology of this period as seen from its occurrence elsewhere also.[2] Next comes a local official under the provincial governor. He was in charge of the area of the town of Kalyāṇa and called Shōjā (i.e. Khōjā or Khvājā) Ahamada (lines 7-8).

What follows (lines 8-10) is highly interesting though difficult to interpret fully on account of the faulty text. It seems that in connection with the revolution (*viparyaya*) caused by Bāhabadīnu, Khōjā Ahamada, the officer of Kalyāṇa, along with Jaṇḍamala, went to Syāra Mallika. This gave room for confusion which was taken advantage of by the unruly elements who seem to have caused serious damage to the temple of Madhukēśvara and even broken the Śiva-liṅga. Soon after this, some devotees of the god from the Karṇāṭa section of the population appear to have made a premature offer to embellish the temple. The text of the relevant passage after correction stands as *Kārṇāṭa-lōkaiḥ añjana-buddhiḥ kṛitā*. But this move was not encouraged by the trustees of the temple.

After some time when the governor of the town returned, a representation was made to him in the matter of reinstating the deity and resumption of ceremonial worship as usual by Ṭhakkura

[1] The name of the cyclic year is given as Akshaya in verse 2 (line 19).

[2] Compare *Lēkhapaddhati* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XIX), pp. 33-34.

Malla,[1] son of Vaiṇasiṁha or Vaiṇapāla, who was in charge of the management of the temple. The request was granted by the governor in consultation with his secretary.[2] The governor is stated to have given the verdict that as it (i.e. worship in the temple) was the religious duty of the petitioners, they should follow it (lines 11-14).

Then come four verses, all in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. In verse 1 the Sultan is mentioned as Mahīmada. Verses 1-2 together summarise the main facts stated before. The only additional information furnished by them is that the said Malla was a Kāyastha and that the installation of the deity took place according to the prescribed rites such as the chanting of the *mantras* at night during the Rōhiṇī *nakshatra*. It is interesting to note that on the date cited previously the Kṛittikā *nakshatra* lasted till ·34, followed by Rōhiṇī thereafter. Verse 3 seems to allude to the Puranic episode of the destruction of the Three Cities by the god Śiva. Verse 4 praises the deity Madhukēśvara, i.e. Śiva, as the supreme god and invokes his blessings. In the prose passage that follows (lines 29-30) is introduced Vijāditya who wrote (i.e. drafted) the charter. He is described as one respected by Syara Sihādā-rāja[3] who appears to have been an officer of some importance, probably a prince of the royal family. It is not unlikely that he is identical with Syāra Mallika mentioned in line 8. This Vijāditya appears to have been a person of some learning, though his composition has been spoiled by the ignorant engraver. The last two lines (31-32) are damaged. Line 31 again refers to Ṭhakura and Madhukēśvara.

**The inscription is of unique historical importance.** The ruling king introduced as *Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Suratāṇa* must no doubt be **Sultan Muhammad Shah bin Tughluq.** The epithet *Suratāṇa* is a Prakrit form of *Suratrāṇa* (cf. lines 14-15) which is a Sanskritised form of *Sulṭān*. Muhammad Shah's accession took place a few days after the death of his father Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq in February or March 1325 A.D.[4] The areas around Kalyāṇa might have been annexed by Muhammad Shah himself in the course of his campaigns against Warangal and Bidar during the life-time of his father when he was acting as the viceroy of the southern provinces under his original name Ulugh Khan.[5] Our inscription dated 1326 A.D. falls in the second year of Muhammad Shah's reign. It thus furnishes **the earliest epigraphic evidence** so far known **for the reign of the king.**[6]

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[1] This name is spelt as Māla in one place and Malla in two places. Similarly, the family name Ṭhakkura given alternately as Ṭhakura and Ṭhākura and perhaps wrongly as Ṭākura also.

[2] The name of this secretary appears to be Jaṁḍadāsa (lines 12-13). It is not unlikely that the same person is mentioned as Jaṁḍamala in line 8 immediately after Shōjā Ahamada. Compare the name of Mulla's father mentioned with variations as Vaiṇapāla (line 12) and Vaiṇasimha (line 17).

[3] *Sihādā* may be a corrupt form of *Shāhjādā*, meaning a prince.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. II, p. 135.

[5] Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, 1921, pp. 133-34.

[6] It is interesting to note that two inscriptions associated with the Sultan are found in the south. One of them, in Persian, from Rajahmundry is dated September 12, 1324 A.D. (Sewell and Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions*, etc., p. 182). But it is clear that Muhammad Shah was not the reigning king at that time. As the record mentions the name Muhammad Shah which was assumed by the Sultan after his accession, it is possible to think that the epigraph was set up later in his reign. The second one is dated in his ninth year (1334 A.D.) and comes from Panaiyūr in the former Pudukotta State (Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 153).

Another piece of historical information which was not known hitherto and which is offered for the first time by our epigraph is that Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala was placed at this time under the governance of Mallika Kāmadīna.[1] This Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala seems to have comprised the erstwhile dominion of the Dēvagiri kings, as the latter is sometimes referred to as Mahraṭṭa.[2] A subordinate officer of this Kāmadīna, Shōjā (i.e. Khōjā or Khvājā) Ahamada, was in charge of the small area around Kalyāṇa. Although included in Mahārāshṭra for the exigency of administration, Kalyāṇa must have been a Kannaḍa area as seen from the numerous Kannaḍa inscriptions from earlier centuries found there. This fact, curiously enough, is indicated by an allusion to Kārṇāṭa (i.e. of Karṇāṭa) occurring in the present inscription itself.

The charter under study incidentally offers confirmatory evidence in favour of **a tumultuous event in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq,** which looms large in the history of South India. This was the rebellion, in the second year of his reign, of his cousin Bahā-ud-dīn Gurshāsp, who held the fief of Sāgar, near Shorāpur,[3] in the present Gulbarga District. The expression *Bāhabadīnu-viparyaya* occurring in line 8 of our inscription undoubtedly alludes to this episode. The region of Kalyāṇa which is not far away from Sāgar seems to have been affected by the disturbances following this revolt. What took place is not clearly stated in our record; but it appears that the governor of Kalyāṇa had to leave his headquarters in this connection, probably for advice and aid from another officer of the Sultan, posted in the adjoining area. This officer seems to be one who is mentioned as Syāra Mallika[4] in line 8 and Syara Sihādā in line 29.

It is stated in verse 1 that the temple of Madhukēśvara which became a victim of vandalism during these disturbances was situated at Kalyāṇa itself. The magnanimous view taken by the Muslim governor of Kalyāṇa in respect of the reinstallation of the Hindu deity and the resumption of traditional worship therein, particularly at the time when the communal feelings ran so high, deserves high appreciation.

The following **geographical** names are mentioned in the epigraph: Mahārāshṭra-maṇḍala, Karṇāṭa and Kalyāṇa. The first of these has been discussed above. The reference to Karṇāṭa separately either as a territory or as its people is interesting, as this province under its distinct name generally does not find a place as an independent unit in the official records of the period. Kalyāṇa is of course still known by its old name.

## TEXT[5]

1 Siddham[6] || Svasti śrī-**Śākē 1248 Kshaya-saṁvatsarē** ||[7] **Kārttik**[ē]

2 **śudi 15 Sōmē** ||[7] adya=ēha samasta-rājāvalī-māl-ālaṁ-

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[1] He has been identified with Qivāmuddīn Qutlugh Khān. See *A. R. Arch. Dept.*, Hyderabad, 1936-37, p. 43.

[2] Elliot, *History of India*, etc., Vol. III, p. 236. There is evidence to show that during the later days of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, the Mahārāshṭra country and Marāṭhī language came to prominence.

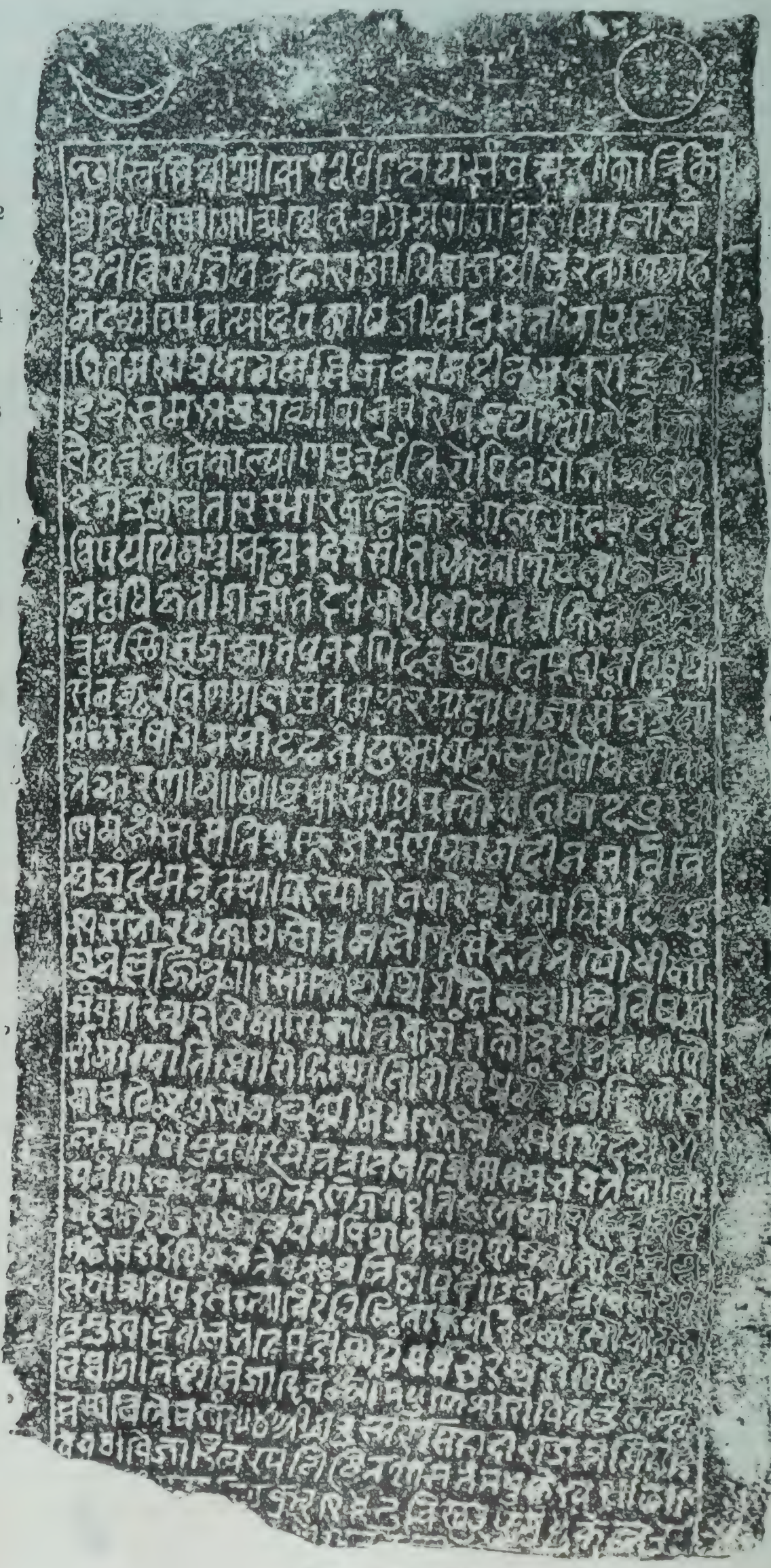
[3] *Cambridge History of India*, op. cit., p. 140.

[4] The original personal name may be Shēr.

[5] From inked impressions.

[6] Expressed by symbol.

[7] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.



Scale : One fourth

3 kṛi[1]ta-virājita Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Suratāṇa-Maha-**

4 **madaḥ[2] rājyē** tat-pāda-padmā(dm-ō)pajīvī(vi)[ta]-sar[nā](rva)-bhāra-n[i]rū-

5 pita-Mahāpradhāna-Mallika-Kāmadina(nē) Mahārā[sh]ṭra-maṁ-

6 ḍalē samasta-mudrā-vyāpā[rā*]n paripaṁthayati || [i*]ty=ēvaṁ-kā-

7 lē varttamānē **Kā(Ka)lyāṇapurē** taṁ(tan)-nirōpita-Shōjā Ahama-

8 da[ḥ*] Jaṁḍamalaṁ(laḥ) ta[tha][3](thā) [Syā]ra-Mallikantaṁ[4] gatā(tau | ) [**B**]**āhabadīnu-**[5]

9 **viparyayē** Madhukēśvaradē[va]-saṁ[tityā][6] Kārṇāṭa-lōkē aṁja-

10 navudhi kṛitaṁ |[7] jalāṁta-dēva[tō dha nī]yata tra[8] kiṁ na hi | ta-

11 tra tasmin prasthānē punar=api dēva-sthāpana-pūjana-vishayē

12 saṁ[9] Ṭhakkura-Vaiṇapāla-suta Ṭhākura Māla[10] | Shōjā saṁ[9] [Jaṁḍa]dā-

13 saḥ uta [Shōjē] prasādaṁ dattaṁ[11] | Yushmā[kaṁ] kula-dharmō varttatē |

14 tat=karaṇīya[ṁ] || ṭha[12] || [13]Pṛithvīsā(ś-ā)dhipatau Mahīmada-suratrā-

15 ṇē mahīṁ[14] sā(śā)sati prasphūrjargu(d-gu)ṇa-Kāmadīna[15] savivi(dhiṁ)

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[1] This letter is peculiarly formed.

[2] Read °*madasya*.

[3] The engraving of this letter is peculiar. It may be read as *rē* also.

[4] The intended reading may be either *Mallikārthaṁ* or *Mallikāntikaṁ*.

[5] There is a top *mātrā* above this letter, which is to be ignored.

[6] These two letters are doubtful. The reading intended may be *bhittyāṁ* as suggested by the context.

[7] The reading of this passage is almost certain ; but its meaning is rather obscure. See the interpretation suggested above, p. 166.

[8] The intended reading may be *jal-āntar=daivatē=dhaḥ kshīyatē=tra*.

[9] This *saṁ* seems to stand for *saṁbaddha*.

[10] The sentence is left incomplete.

[11] The intended reading may be *Jaṁḍadāsēna uta Shōjēna prasādaḥ dattaḥ*.

[12] This letter which may be read as *chha* indicates the end of a topic ; see above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, note 2.

[13] The metre of this and the following three verses is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[14] This *anusvāra* is given before the letter.

[15] Grammatically it should have been *Kāmadīnē* ; but this will violate the metre.

16 mudrāṁ dadhānē tadā | Kalyāṇē nagarē [va]rāṁga-vipadaṁ [dṛishṭva(shṭv=ā)]-

17 [sya] Saṁ(Śaṁ)bhōr=ayaṁ Kāyasth-ōttama-[V]aiṇasiṁha-taṇayau(yō) dhīmāṁ(mān)

18 [su]-Marllājita[ḥ][1] || 1 [||*] **Sā(Śā)[kē]**=shṭ-ā[vyē](bdhy-a)yan-aika-nā[mni] vishamā(mē)

19 saṁvatsarē ch=**Akshayē** māsē **Kārttika**-saṁjñakē vidhu-yuta-śrī-pau-

20 ṇṇamā[pō](yāṁ) ti[th]au | **Rōhiṇyā niśi** vipra-mantra=vihitai[s=tē]-

21 [shāvanaiḥ][2] [Ṭā]kurō[3] Malla[ḥ*] śrī-Madhukē[śva]rasya vidadhē dha-

22 [nya[4]]-pratishṭhāṁ punaḥ || 2 [||*][5] Yaṁtrē trānayatē [asya] samabhavata kānō

23 pataṁ[gā]spada pakaṁja **bharaṇē** jagaddhati harata kālakūṭa-visha-

24 madē | tēnē purā pura-trayam=apī [ghā]taṁ kathāśēshatāṁ sō=yaṁ Mahā-

25 mahēśvarō='dhikurutē [chē]taḥ pratishṭhā-padaṁ(dam) || 3 [||*] Vaṁtrē trāṁ valaśā

26 tathā pratipadaṁ la[kshmyā] chiraṁ [chi]hnitāṁ ha[ta]ri[pu]ma[tau] śatatā

27 tumukhā dēvā labha[ṁ*]tē padaṁ | sō=yaṁ sarva-surēśvarō=pi mahatāṁ

28 datvā(ttvā) pratishṭā[ṁ*] nijā[ṁ*] dēvaḥ śrī-Madhukēśvarō vitanutā[t=ta]-

29 [t=ta]sya vitt-ēshaṇāṁ || 4 [||*] Śrīma[tu] Syara Sihādā-rājapūjita-[dē]-

30 va[vachā] Vijāditya[s]ya li[chhi](khi)ta-śāsanam Madhukēsvara || chha[6]||

31 . . . . . [Ṭha]kura [rē]dhatu Vi[śvarupu] Madhukē[śva]ra . .

[sthāna] ||

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[1] The reading intended might be *Mall-ōrjitaḥ*. One of the dots of the *visarga* sign after *ta* is given before the letter.

[2] There is something wrong in the engraving of these letters. The intended reading may be *°taiḥ pāvanaiḥ*.

[3] Read *Ṭhakkurō*.

[4] This letter is intriguing. The intended letter may be *rma* also. [Or, it may be *nyaḥ*.—Ed.]

[5] The engraving of this and the following lines is faulty resulting in errors too numerous to be corrected.

[6] This indicates the end of a topic ; compare above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, n.2.

## No. 20.—HOSUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA-BALLALA, [SAKA] 1129

B. R. Gopal and Shrinivas Ritti, Ootacamund

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a pillar in the Trikūṭēśvara temple at **Hosūr** in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. It was copied in 1926-27 and noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year.[1] The record covers a space of about 1′ 2·5″ × 1′ 2″ and is in a fair state of preservation, though a few letters in the middle are worn out. It contains 19 lines of writing.

The record is in **Kannaḍa** and is written in prose throughout.

The **palaeography** of the record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e. early half of the 13th century A.D. However, the following points deserve notice. *Ạnusvāra* is used in place of *anunāsika* as in *Chikka-[Nara]siṁgayyaṁgaḷu*, line 7. The use of the prosthetic *y* in *Yēḷunūrv-vara*, (line 9), may be noted. The cursive forms of *v* and *m* are used, e.g. *gāvuṁḍa*, (line 8) and *mukhyav°* (line 9). The following may be noted in **orthography** : the doubling of letters preceded by *r* as in *sarvvādhikāri* and *Chakravartti* (line 6, etc.), the use of *ś* for *sh* as in *āśāḍha*, (line 4) and *varuśa*, (line 3), and the wrong use of *ḷ* for *ḷ*, e.g. [*Nara*]*siṁgayyaṁgaḷu* and *Muḷugunda* in line 7, *Tuppadahaḷḷi* in line 14, etc. The long *mā* in *saṁkramāṇa* in line 5 is a scribal error for *ma*.

The **purpose** of the record is to register a gift of land to the god Morakēśvaradēva by Chikka-Narasiṁgayya who is described as *Mahāpradhāna* and *Sarvvādhikāri* and as the second son of the sovereign. He is stated to be governing Muḷugunda Twelve. The gift land was obtained by the donor from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr, headed by Mahābaḷa-gāvuṇḍa. Mahābaḷagāvuṇḍa along with others figures in another record[2] of this place, dated in 1192 A.D.,[3] as the recipient of the income derived from taxes as a compensation for the damage caused to the town of Hosavūru, when king Vīra-Ballāḷa had camped there. It is likely that the gift was made in the course of the king's campaign against Yādava Bhillama which took place between 1191 and 1192 A.D.

The record under review is **dated in 1129, apparently of the Śaka era, Prabhava, Āshāḍha śu. 11, Sunday, Karkkaṭaka-saṁkramaṇa.** The details of the date are irregular. The *saṁkramaṇa* occurred on Wednesday, the 27th June in the year 1207 A.D., when the *tithi* was śu. 1, the month being Nija Āshāḍha. The given *tithi*, however, corresponds to July 7 of the same year when the week-day was Saturday and not Sunday as stated in the record. The details do not work out correctly in the Adhika Āshāḍha either.

The record is **important** inasmuch as it furnishes certain details pertaining to the Hoysaḷa family which were hitherto not properly assessed. Chikka-Narasiṁgayya is introduced as the second son (*dvitīya kumāra*) of Vīra-Ballāḷa. It is well known that Vīra-Ballāḷa was succeeded by his son Narasiṁha II in 1220 A.D.[4] If Chikka-Narasiṁgayya, apparently Narasiṁha II, was the second son of the king, who was his first son and what became of him? In his account of the Hoysaḷas, Fleet has referred to a record from Śravaṇa Belgoḷa which mentions Sōmēśvara as a

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[1] Appendix F, No. 116. This has also been noticed in the *ARASI* for 1926-27, p. 192.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1926-27, App. F, No. 113.

[3] The details of the date, viz. *Śaka 1114, Paridhāvi, Kārttika, Puṇṇami*, Monday, correspond to 1192 A.D., October 22. The week-day, however, was Thursday.

[4] *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VII, Ci. 72 ; ibid., Vol. V, Bl. 85.

*kumāra* or son of Ballāḷa.[1] But he dismisses the fact, not supported as it was by any other known record, with the remark that there was probably some mistake about either the original or the transcript.[2] Commenting on the same epigraph, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar contended that Sōmēśvara mentioned in the record must have called himself the king's son by courtesy ; for, Ballāḷa had no son of his own by that name. He has, however, shown that the record could be attributed, undated as it is, to 1206 A.D., judging from the internal evidence of the mention of Nayakīrtti's disciples in this record as in some other dated records allied with this epigraph.[3] It may be noted that the cyclic year Akshaya corresponding to 1205-06 A.D. cited in this record as the year from which the tax exemptions alluded to in it were to take effect, falls well within the reign-period of Ballāḷa II (1173-1220 A.D.). It may not be unreasonable to presume that the inscription itself should have been actually engraved and set up sometime prior to Akshaya inasmuch as its object was to proclaim the grant of exemptions of specified taxes and the proclamation itself was to take effect from the year Akshaya. This we will discuss in the sequel.

The date of Narasimha II's birth, viz. Śaka 1105, Śubhakṛit (1182 A.D.), is furnished by an epigraph from Aḷesandra.[4]

The earliest record[5] mentioning him as administering in association with his father bears the date *Śaka 1128, Krōdhana* (=1205 A.D.).[6] He should have been a young man about this period. To revert to the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epigraph, in the light of the categorical expression *dvitīyaṁ kumāraṁ* applied to Narasiṁha in the record under review, it appears that the Sōmēśvara mentioned in the former inscription was the elder son of Vīra Ballāḷa. The record has been attributed to 1205-06 A.D. for reasons already referred to. But the cyclic year Akshaya from which or rather from the commencement of which (by inference) the tax-exemptions proclaimed in the record were to be effective and which corresponded to 1206 A.D. could not have been the year in which the record was set up. Allowing a reasonable time for the proclamation to be effectively made known to the public concerned, we may suppose that the inscription might have been set up some time in the year Krōdhana preceding the year Akshaya. But we have seen above that Narasiṁha figures already in Krōdhana actively in association with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom in an inscription[7] from Gañjigaṭṭe in Chitaldurg, which bears the date *Śaka 1128, Krōdhana, Chaitra, paurṇamī,* Monday, *Saṅkramaṇa-vyatīpāta,* the details corresponding to 1205 A.D., April 4, Monday, f.d.t., .47, on which day there occurred a lunar eclipse not mentioned in the record. Whether Sōmēśvara was still living on this date and was also associated with his father in the administrative activities of the kingdom, we do not know. If he was dead by this date, then his Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa record must have been set up at the very commencement

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 502, note 2.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II (rev. ed.), Int. p. 62 ; Sb. 327, 333 and 335.

[4] Ibid., Vol. IV, Ng. 32.

[5] A record from Hachchalu ( ibid., Vol. IX, Kn. 67) has been ascribed to Narasiṁha II by Prof. Wilham Coelho in his book *Hoysaḷavaṁśa*. This damaged record refers to *Kumāra* Narasiṁghadēva as 'ruling over the world'. Apart from the date and the mention of a Vīra-Gaṅga Vīra-Ballāḷadēva, no other details are available. It is dated in the cyclic year *Naḷa, Jyēshṭha śu. 10*, Sunday. The Śaka year is not given. Vīra-Gaṅga Vīra-Ballāḷadēva does not seem to have borne any of the epithets of the king and it is inexplicable as to why he is mentioned after his son and that too during his own lifetime, as the cyclic year *Naḷa* falling in his reign-period, corresponds to 1196 A.D. The details of the date also do not work out correctly. On the other hand, the details regularly correspond to June 4, Sunday, in the year 1256 A.D., when Narasiṁha III was ruling. Therefore the record may be assigned to Narasiṁha III rather than to Narasiṁha II.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 23.

[7] Loc cit.

of the year Krōdhana itself or sometime prior to it. Further evidence by future research alone can settle these points. Since Ballāḷa's father himself was Narasiṁha, his own son is called Chikka-Narasiṁgayya.

The **geographical** names that occur in the record are **Muḷugunda, Hosavūr** and **Tuppadahaḷḷi** besides the well-known **Vāraṇāsi,** i.e. Banaras which is usually mentioned in the imprecatory portion of such records. Muḷugunda can be identified with modern Muḷgund in the Gadag Taluk and Hosavūr apparently is the modern Hosur, the findspot of the record. Tuppadahaḷḷi, however, cannot be identified, since no village of that name is now found in the vicinity of Hosur.

## TEXT[1]

1 ◎ Svasti śrīmatu Yādava-Nārāyaṇa-pratā-
2 pa-chakravartti Hoyisaṇa **Vīra-Ballāḷa(ḷa)-**
3 **dēva-varuśa(sha)da 1129 neya Prabhava saṁ-**
4 **vatsarada Āśā(shā)ḍa(ḍha)-su 11 Ādivāra vi(vya)tīpāta Ka-**
5 **rkkāṭaka saṁkramā(ma)ṇadaṁdu** śrīman-mahāpra-
6 dhānaṁ sarvvādhikāri chakravarttiya dvitīyaṁ
7 kumāra[ṁ*] **Chikka-[Nara]siṁgayyaṁgaḷu**(ḷu) Muḷu(ḷu)guṁda-
8 haṁne(nne)raḍan=āḷu(ḷu)ttaṁ Hosavūra Mahābaḷa-gāvuṁḍa-
9 mukhyav=āgi Yēḷu-nūrvvara kayyalu sarvvā(rvva)-bādha(dhā)-
10 parihārav=ā[gi] dhārāpūrvvakaṁ māḍisi-koṁḍu
11 Śrī-Morakēsva(śva)ra-dēvara aṁga-bhōga-naṁdā-dīvige-nivēdya-
12 kke biṭṭa bhūmi dēvara pūrvvada keyiṁdaṁ baḍagalu
13 Koṁḍa[ra*]sana keyiṁdaṁ mūḍalu brahmapu-
14 riya keyiṁdaṁ teṁkalu Tuppadahaḷḷi(ḷḷi)-
15 ya baṭṭeyiṁdaṁ paḍuvalu biṭṭa keyi hi-
16 riyakōlu mattaru 1 [|*] Yī-dhamma(rmma)vaṁ nāḍan=āḷuv-ara-
17 sugaḷu pratipāḷisuvaru [|*] Pratipāḷisadavargge Vā-
18 raṇāsiyalu sāyira-kavileyaṁ koṁda pāta-
19 kav=aku(kku) ||

## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-10. Hail! **In the year 1129**[2] of the illustrious Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Pratāpachakravarti **Vīra-Ballāḷadēva** of **the Hoysaḷa family** and the year **Prabhava, on Sunday, the 11th day** of **the bright half of Āshāḍha,** when there were **vyatīpāta** (*yōga*) and **Karkaṭaka-saṁkramaṇa,** *Mahāpradhāna* and *Sarvvādhikāri* **Chikka-Narasiṁgayya,** the second son of the emperor, while administering (*the division of*) Muḷugunda Twelve, obtained with the pouring of water from the Seven-Hundred of Hosavūr headed by Mahābaḷagāvuṁḍa, land, free from all imposts.

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[1] From ink impressions.

[2] Apparently this stands for the Śaka year.

Lines 11-16. (*And*) he made a gift (*of that land*) for the *aṅga-bhōga*, burning of a perpetual lamp and offerings to god Morakēśvaradēva. The gift land measures one *mattaru* by *Hiriyakōlu* (i.e. *the big rod*) and its situation is as follows : (*it lies*) to the north of the eastern field of the god ; to the east of the field of Koṇḍa[ra*]sa ; to the south of the field of Brahmapuri and to the west of the road to Tuppadahaḷḷi.

Lines 16-19. The kings ruling over the country should protect this righteous deed. Those who do not, will incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows in Vāraṇāsi, i.e. Vārāṇasī.

## No. 21.—AMUDALAPADU PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, YEAR 5

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The inscription was published in the Telugu journal *Bhārati* for May 1957, pp. 86 ff., by Pandit Gadiyaram Ramakrishna Sarma[1] who secured the plates for examination from Mr. Narayana Reddi, a pleader of Vanaparti in the Mahbubnagar District of the old Hyderabad State, now in Andhra, through Mr. Dumpali Rami Reddi. Mr. Narayana Reddi got the plates about 20 years ago from an inhabitant of the village of **Amudālapāḍu** in the Alampur Taluk, formerly of the Raichur District of Hyderabad but now forming a part of the Mahbubnagar District of Andhra.

The inscription is incised on **four** plates each measuring about 7·1″ in length and about 3″ in height. They are strung on a ring, the ends of which are secured beneath a **seal** containing the well-known Varāha emblem of the Chālukyas. The borders of the plates are not raised. Of the four plates, the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 48 lines of writing in the inscription. They are distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates as follows: I—7 lines; IIA—7 lines; IIB—8 lines; IIIA—9 lines; IIIB—8 lines; IV—9 lines. The last line on IIIA consists only of two letters. The weight of the plates is 75 *tolas* and that of the ring with the seal 16·5 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the old Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet and closely resemble those of the published records of the issuer of the charter, viz. Chālukya **Vikramāditya I** (655-81 A.D.) of Bādāmi.[2] As regards palaeography, it is difficult in some cases to distinguish between the medial signs for *i* and *ī* and between the consonants *ch* and *v*, *n* and *ṇ*, etc. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. In point of **orthography** and style, the inscription closely resembles most other charters of Vikramāditya I. The orthography of the record is characterised by the tendency to use class-nasals in preference to *anusvāra* and the rare use of the *upadhmānīya* (cf. line 9). There are several instances of *visarga-sandhi* as in *mātṛibhis=sapta* (line 3) and *gurōś=śriya*° (line 19). The grant is **dated** in the **5th regnal year** of the king. As Vikramāditya I is known to have ascended the throne in 654-55 A.D.,[3] the issue of the grant may be assigned to 659-60 A.D. Since the *tithi* on which the grant was made is stated to have been the *Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsī*, the actual date seems to be the **30th April 660 A.D.**

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[1] Recently Pandit Sarma has also published the Pallepāḍu (Alampur Taluk, Mahbubnagar District, Andhra) plates of Vinayāditya I in the *Journal of the Deccan History and Culture*, Hyderabad, Vol. III, No. 1, January 1956. This charter was issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in Śaka 604 expired (27th April, 682 A.D.) and the second regnal year of the king who is stated to have granted, when he was stationed at Bānumgal-nagara (modern Pāngal in the Nagar Karnul Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District), the village of Paṇiyaḷ, situated on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇabēṇṇā at a distance of one *gavyūta* from Dharmapura, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Mādhavasvāmin. The grant was made at the request of Svāmikarāja.

[2] For three sets of his plates from Karnul, see *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff., pp. 238 ff., pp. 240 ff.; for the Talamanchi, Gadval and Hyderabad plates, see respectively above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.; ibid., Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 72 ff. For the Honnur plates, see *A. R. Mys. Arch. Dep.*, 1939, pp. 129 ff. Good facsimiles of most of the inscriptions have been published along with the articles on them.

[3] Above, Vol. IX, p. 102; cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 363, 366. If Kielhorn's suggestion that the 13th July 660 A.D. fell in the sixth regnal year of Vikramāditya I is accepted, it may be supposed on the basis of the date of the present charter that the accession of the king took place roughly in the period between the 30th April and the 13th July 655 A.D.

The record begins with the well-known stanza *Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ*, etc., found at the beginning of numerous charters of the Chālukyas and their subordinates. As in the other grants of Vikramāditya I, the king's great-grandfather is introduced as belonging to the family of the Chalikyas (Chālukyas) who claimed to be Hāritīputras of the Mānavya *gōtra*, to have increased through the favour of the Seven Mothers, to have obtained prosperity through the protection of the god Kārttikēya and to have overpowered their enemies who submitted at the very sight of the Boar emblem which the family acquired through the grace of Lord Nārāyaṇa. The Chālukya king is represented, as in most of his records, as the great-grandson of Pōlikēśivallabha-mahārāja (i.e. Pulakēśin I) who celebrated the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, as the grandson of Kīrtivarma-Pṛithivīvallabha-mahārāja (i.e. Kīrtivarman I) who subdued the territories of his adversaries including the land of Vanavāsī (i.e. the capital of the Kadambas), and as the dear son of Satyāśraya Śrīpṛithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara (i.e. Pulakēśin II) who obtained the second name *Paramēśvara* as a result of his victory over Harshavardhana, the lord of the entire Uttarāpatha (meaning here the northern half of India lying to the north of the Vindhyas). King Vikramāditya I, the issuer of the charter, is stated to have overthrown, with the help of his charger Chitrakaṇṭha and his sharp sword, the three kings who were responsible for the disappearance of his father's royal fortune and to have restored the properties belonging to gods and Brāhmaṇas in the kingdoms of the said three kings who had confiscated them. The above introductory part of the record is concluded with a stanza saying that king Anivārita-Vikramāditya (i.e. Vikramāditya I) recovered the prosperity of his family as a result of his conquests over many adversaries in different directions. This verse is found in the earlier charters of the king, while the later Gadval (674 A.D.) plates add to it four more stanzas referring to his success against his three adversaries belonging to the Pallava royal family of Kāñchī.

None of the facts recorded in the introductory part of the inscription, discussed above, is new. It is well known that the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I (c. 630-68 A.D.) defeated and killed Pulakēśin II about 642 A.D. and occupied the southern part of the Chālukya empire including the capital city of Bādāmi while Vikramāditya I succeeded in recovering the lost part of the kingdom and in establishing himself on his father's throne about 655 A.D., although his struggle with the Pallavas continued till the early years of Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 669-90 A.D.), the grandson of Narasiṁhavarman I.[1] But two points deserve notice in this connection. In the first place, the statement that Pulakēśin II assumed the second name *Paramēśvara* after his victory over king Harshavardhana of Northern India does not appear to be strictly accurate. As we have elsewhere[2] suggested, the Chālukya king probably assumed that name after saving his homeland from enemies and restoring Chālukya sovereignty in the territories of the disaffected neighbours while an additional significance was later attached to it after his victory over *Paramēśvara* (i.e. the imperial ruler) Harshavardhana. Secondly, it is well known that the reference to the regal fortune of Pulakēśin II, which had been interrupted by three kings, and to the re-establishment of the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇas (which had been confiscated by the three kings) by Vikramāditya I was understood by Fleet as an allusion to the Chālukya king's success against his three Pallava rivals, viz. Narasiṁhavarman I (c. 630-68 A.D.), Mahēndravarman II (c. 668-69 A.D.) and Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 669-90 A.D.).[3] This view is, however, clearly wrong, because the claim is noticed in the records of Vikramāditya I, including the one under study, which bear dates much earlier than the end of the rule of Narasiṁhavarman I. It has also to be noticed, as already indicated above, that the stanzas referring to his success against the said three rulers of the Pallava family are found

[1] See *The Classical Age*, pp. 241 ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 237.

[3] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 362.

for the first time in the Gadval plates of 674 A.D.[1] They appear therefore to have been added to his *praśasti* after the accession of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I some time about 669 A.D.[2] One of the three kings who shadowed the royal fortune of Pulakēśin II must have been Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I while the two others were apparently his allies, although their identity is not clear. The allusion to the three kingdoms of the hostile rulers, in which Vikramāditya I re-established his family's prestige, does not appear to suggest that three kingdoms were established in the southern part of the Chālukya empire, which had been conquered by the enemies of Pulakēśin II. The implication of the passage in question seems to be that Pulakēśin II conquered the three kingdoms in which he created certain endowments in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas, that the rulers of those kingdoms later defeated and killed Pulakēśin II and confiscated the properties involved in the endowments and that Vikramāditya I sometime afterwards reconquered the three kingdoms and restored the endowments. This seems to be supported by the Aihole inscription,[3] according to which Pulakēśin II defeated the Pallava king of Kāñchī and went to the land to the south of the Kāvērī, where he became the source of prosperity to the Chōḷas, Kēraḷas and Pāṇḍyas. It appears that Pulakēśin II succeeded in winning over the allegiance of the southern neighbours of the Pallavas. Since it is very probable that it is two of these three smaller powers of the south that sided with Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I in his successful encounter against Pulakēśin II, the Chālukya king's policy of befriending the neighbours of the Pallavas, referred to above, appears to have been successful only for a short time. But which one of the four southern kings, viz. the Pallava, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa, is omitted in the reference to the three kings (*avanipati-tritaya*) and their kingdoms (*rājya-traya*) in the records of Vikramāditya I is difficult to determine, although it may be Kēraḷa. It is, however, interesting to note that the inscriptions of Vinayāditya (681-96 A.D.), son of Vikramāditya I, credits his father with success against all the four rulers.[4] Vinayāditya speaks of his father as °*Pallavapati-parājay-ānantara-gṛihīta-Kāñchīpura* (i.e. one who captured Kāñchīpura after having defeated the Pallava king) and °*dalita-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Kēraḷa-dharaṇidhara-māna*° (i.e. one who curbed the pride of the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas). Vinayāditya himself also claims to have arrested, under his father's orders, the power or forces of *trairājya-Pallava* or *trairājya-Kāñchī-pati*. These expressions have been variously interpreted; but the reference is apparently to the same achievements ascribed to the Chālukya king's father separately, i.e. to the success against the Pallava king of Kāñchī and against the three kingdoms of the Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Kēraḷas.[5] The explanation of the omission of one of the four powers in the records of Vikramāditya I seems to be that he had no occasion to enter into that particular territory. The presence of the Chālukya king in the Chōḷa country is well known from his Gadval plates issued from Uragapura (i.e. the Chōḷa capital) situated in the Chōlika *vishaya* on the southern bank of the Kāvērī.[6] But the references in the passages under study appear to point to his exploits in the southern kingdoms before his occupation of the throne of Bādami about 655 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Ipaṟuṁkal**, situated in **Vaṁgūravāḍi-vishaya**, by *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Vikramāditya Satyāśraya Śrīpṛi-**

[1] The stanzas are also found in the undated Hyderabad plates. But they are absent from the Honnur plates issued on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in Śaka 592 or the king's 16th regnal year (i.e. April 9, 670 A.D.). The grant was made when the king was camping at Malliyūr-grāma to the west of Kāñchīpura at the request of Gaṅga Kaliyaṅga's son Mādhava and the latter's wife who was the daughter of Vikramāditya's elder brother Raṇarāgavarman.

[2] As already noted above, the stanzas in question are not found in the Honnur plates, dated the 9th April 670 A.D.

[3] Above, Vol. VI, p. 6, text lines 14-15.

[4] Cf., e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

[5] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 362, note 6; *The Classical Age*, p. 344.

[6] Above, Vol. X, p. 103, text line 25.

**thivīvallabha** (i.e. Vikramāditya I), when he was stationed at the village of **Maṟṟūra**, in favour of Sudarśanāchārya in payment of *guru-dakshiṇā* on the occasion of the king's *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshā* on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the fifth year of his reign.

It is clear that the Chālukya king underwent *Śaiva-dīkshā*, i.e. initiation into the Śaiva faith, at the hands of his *guru* or preceptor Sudarśanāchārya who received the village as his *dakshiṇā* or perquisite for the performance of the initiation ceremony.[1] It is further stated that the *Āchārya* (i.e. the king's preceptor Sudarśanāchārya) distributed plots of land in the gift village among the following twentyseven Brāhmaṇas: (1) Rudraśivāchārya of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (2) Gāyatrīśiva of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*; (3) Śivasvāmin of the Hārīta *gōtra*; (4) Gōllabhaṭṭi of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (5) Paramaśiva of the same Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (6) Vāmanasvāmin of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (7) Kēśavasvāmin of the same Kauśika *gōtra*; (8) Kōkilasvāmin of the Maitrēya *gōtra*; (9-10) Nārāyaṇa and Vāmana of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (11) Rēvaśarman of the Sāṁkṛityāyana *gōtra*; (12-15) Rudraśarman, Rēvaśarman, Ādityaśarman and Tātaśarman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (16-19) Bhīmaśarman, Durgaśarman, Bhōyiśarman and Bādiśarmaṇ of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (20) Nāgaśarman of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*; (21) Brahmaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*; (22) Ādityaśarman of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*; (23) Ravisvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; (24) Śravaṇasiṁhaśarman of the Kauśika *gōtra*; (25) Dāmasvāmin of the Bhalaṇdana *gōtra*; (26) Dāmōdarasvāmin of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*; and (27) Mādusarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Of these Brāhmaṇas, Śravaṇasiṁhaśarman is stated to have received two shares or plots of land, probably implying thereby that the others received only one share each. It seems that one share of land was also alloted to Sudarśanāchārya's wife. There is little doubt that the said Śaivite Brāhmaṇas assisted Sudarśanāchārya in the celebration of the *dīkshā* ceremony of Vikramāditya I. It may be noted that the king's *guru* Sudarśanāchārya has been mentioned without the name of his *gōtra*. This was possibly due either to an oversight of the scribe or of the engraver, or because he was an ascetic who had renounced the world. The first alternative is more probable since Sudarśana's wife seems to be mentioned in the record.

We know that the Early Chālukyas were devoted to the Seven Mothers, to the god Kārttikēya (the son of Śiva according to Hindu mythology) and to Lord Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) and that their emblem was the boar representing the Varāha *avatāra* of the god Vishṇu. Their title *Śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha* (literally, 'the husband of Śrī and Pṛithivī') seems to allude to their claim to having been incarnations of Vishṇu, the husband of Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī. The early members of the family thus appear to have been Vaishṇavas, with leanings towards Śaivism and the cult of the Mother-goddess. It may be recalled in this connection that Maṅgalēśa (597-610 A. D.), younger brother and successor of Kīrtivarman I, is described as a *Paramabhāgavata* (i.e. a devout worshipper of Vishṇu, the Bhagavat) in one of his inscriptions,[2] but that he not only made grants in favour of the Vaishṇava cave-temple at Bādāmi but also supplemented an endowment of the god Makuṭēśvara-nātha (Śiva) made by his father and elder brother.[3] His successor Pulakēśin II, father of Vikramāditya I, is called a *Paramabhāgavata* in one of his records, viz. the Lohaner plates.[4] Under these circumstances, the initiation of Vikramāditya I into the Śaiva faith is a very interesting fact. The Nausāri plates of the feudatory prince Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, dated 671 A. D., mention Vikramāditya I as a *Paramamāhēśvara* (i.e. a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara or Śiva) and meditating

[1] In Indian epigraphy, there are other instances of the grant of land in payment of *guru-dakshiṇā* on the occasion of a king's initiation. See B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, pp. 58, 64, 68, 76, 78 (especially p. 76 where the expression *pūjā-mantra-grahaṇa* has been used for *dīkshā*). See also *A.R.Ep.*, 1953-54, App. B. No. 19; etc.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 347.

[3] Ibid., p. 348.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 40, text line 17.

on the feet of śrī-Nāgavardhana who is believed to have been a god or a religious teacher.[1] It is not impossible that the king's *guru* Sudarśana was the head of a Śaiva religious order and that Nāgavardhana was one of his successors in that position. But the Talamanchi plates[2] of Vikramāditya I speaks of one, śrī-Mēghāchārya of the Vāsishṭha *gōtra*, as his *svakīya-guru*. This grant was issued on the 13th July 660 A. D. in the sixth regnal year of the king, i.e. shortly after the issue of the charter under study. This may suggest that Sudarśanāchārya was succeeded as head of the order or organisation in question, soon after the king's initiation, by Mēghāchārya who was probably himself succeeded by Nāgavardhana. It is interesting to note that Mēghāchārya and Nāgavardhana are not mentioned in the list of Brāhmaṇas who were benefited by the grant under discussion and do not therefore appear to have taken part in the initiation ceremony of the Chālukya king. Alternatively it may be suggested that Mēghāchārya was the king's *śikshā-guru* just as Sudarśana was his *dīkshā-guru*, though in such a case his relationship with Nāgavardhana cannot be determined.

The devotees of the great god, called variously by such names as Śiva, Paśupati and Mahēśvara, were generally known in early times as Śaiva, Pāśupata or Māhēśvara, although the three expressions gradually came to indicate different sects of the god's votaries. In epigraphic and numismatic records, the royal devotees of the deity usually call themselves *Māhēśvara*. The *Mahābhāshya*[3] of Patañjali, who flourished in the second century B.C., mentions a sect of Śiva-worshippers as Śiva-bhāgavata (i.e. devotee of Śiva, the Bhagavat; identified with Kāpālika in Nāgēśa's *Uddyōta*), who used to carry an iron lance in the hand. The same work also alludes to the construction of images of Śiva as well as of Skanda and Viśākha, for sale.[4] In the first or second century A. D., a great Śaiva saint named Lakulin (literally, 'the bearer of the club') or Lakulīśa, flourished at Kāyāvarōhaṇa (modern Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluk of the old Baroda State now in Bombay) and he founded a new school of Śaivism.[5] Owing to the great popularity and influence of this school Lakulin came to be regarded as an incarnation of the god Śiva and Lākula became another name of the Śaiva, Pāśupata or Māhēśvara faith. Lakulin is said to have had four pupils, viz. Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya, while his ascetic followers are stated to have resorted to the *yōga* of Mahēśvara and besmeared their bodies with ashes.[6] According to the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang who visited India in the seventh century, the ascetics devoted to Mahēśvara went about naked, tied their hair in a top-knot and besmeared their bodies with ashes.[7] Gradually the name Pāśupata came to be more or less specially applied to the said ascetics.

The present Kannaḍa-speaking area was a great stronghold of Śaivism, especially of the school of Lakulin, in the early medieval period. A sculpture on the outer wall of the temple of Virūpāksha (built by a queen of Chālukya Vikramāditya II, 733-45 A.D.) at Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur District represents Śiva in the form of Lakulīśa.[8] In Karṇāṭaka was born a great Śaiva ascetic, named *Munināṭha* Chilluka-bhaṭāra, who, according to an inscription of 943 A.D. from Mysore, was regarded as an incarnation of Lakulin.[9] An ascetic is called an ornament of the *Lākula* school and another a follower of the same faith in an inscription of about 1078 A. D.,[10] while a record of 1103

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[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 364.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 200.

[3] See under Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V, 2, 76.

[4] See under op. cit., V, 3, 99.

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 7. The name is also spelt as *Nakulin* and *Nakulīśa*.

[6] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Chapter 23, verses 221 ff.; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, Chapter 24.

[7] See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 47. Varāhamihira (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Chapter 60, verse 19) calls them 'Brāhmaṇas smeared with ashes (*sa-bhasma-dvija*)'.

[8] *Prog. Kan. Res.*, 1941-46, p. 58.

[9] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Sira, No. 28; trans., p. 92.

[10] Ibid., Vol. VII, Shikarpur, No. 107; trans., p. 80.

A. D. mentions a student of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśēshika* philosophies, by name Sōmēśvara-sūri, as having caused the *Lākula-siddhānta* to bloom.[1] A record of 1117 A. D., from Dharwar, registers a gift entrusted to *Āchārya* Sōmēśvara-paṇḍita who was well-versed in the *Lākul-āgama*.[2] In an inscription of 1177 A. D. certain ascetics are mentioned as the upholders of the *Lākul-āgama-samaya* (i.e. the religious system following the views of Lakulin) and the adherents of the Kālāmukha sect,[3] and in another of 1213 A. D. a person is described as an upholder of the system of Lakulin.[4] An epigraph of 1285 A. D. similarly refers to a supporter of the *Lākula* system.[5]

Medieval authors like Vāchaspati, Bhāskara, Yāmunāchārya and Rāmānuja mention four schools of Śaivism, viz. Śaiva, Pāśupata, Kāpālika, and Kālāmukha, this last also called Kāruka-siddhāntin, Kāṭhaka-siddhāntin or Kāruṇika-siddhāntin[6] and supposed by some scholars to have been followers of Kaurushya who was a disciple of Lakulin.[7] The Kāpālika and Kālāmukha sects represented two extremist orders of Śaivite ascetics, while the doctrines of the Śaivas were even more moderate and rational than those of the Pāśupatas.[8] The sect of the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyatas of the Kannaḍa-speaking area is believed by Bhandarkar to have developed out of the moderate Śaiva school.[9]

The foundation of the Vīraśaiva (Liṅgāyata) sect is attributed to Basava, a contemporary of the Southern Kalachuri king Bijjala (c. 1156-67 A. D.) of Kalyāṇa ; but Bhandarkar suggests that the system came into being before the days of Basava.[10] He points out how, according to the *Basava Purāṇa*, Śaiva saints like Viśvēśvarārādhya, Paṇḍitārādhya, Ēkōrāma and others flourished from time to time and worked for the establishment of Śiva-bhakti amongst the people before Basava's age.[11] He also draws our attention to certain works[12] describing the *dīkshā* (i.e. the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Shikarpur, No. 98 ; trans., p. 64.

[2] *Prog. Kan. Res.*, 1941-46, p. 19. Since Sōmēśvara was a rather common name, it is difficult to say whether he was identical with Sōmēśvara-sūri mentioned above.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Arsikere, No. 62 ; trans., p. 135. See below, note 7.

[4] Ibid., Arsikere, No. 46. Bhandarkar (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Poona edition, p. 172), relying on the faulty translation of the record in op. cit., trans., p. 126, speaks in this connection of '*Vāgi-Lākula*, i.e. the system of the learned Lakulin' although the letters *vāgi* form a part of another expression (*nandā-dīvigegav-āgi*, i.e. 'for a perpetual lamp') and can in no way be connected with *Lākula*.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tiptur, No. 12. Bhandarkar (loc. cit.), relying on the wrong translation in op. cit., trans., p. 45, finds here a reference to the 'new system of Lakulin' which he understands in the sense of the later school of the Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyatas. But there is no word for 'new' in the original. It should also be pointed out that the Vīraśaivas do not appear to have recognised Lakulin.

[6] Loc. cit.; Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 234.

[7] Bhandarkar, loc. cit. In the Kannaḍa country, the Kālāmukhas are often identified with the Lākulas. An epigraph of 1035 A.D. from Bāḷagāmi in Mysore records certain grants accepted by a great saint named Lakuliśvara-paṇḍita on behalf of the temple of the god Pañchaliṅga which was 'the college of the Kāḷāmukha Brāhmaṇa students of Baḷḷigāve, the capital of the Banavase 12000' (cf. above, Vol. V, p. 227). He is also mentioned in some other records (ibid., p. 228). See above, note 3.

[8] Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 180, 187. See *The Sākta Pīṭhas*, p. 10, note ; cf. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. 1, p. 121. For the practices of the Pāśupatas, see also Handiqui, op. cit., pp. 199 ff.

[9] Op. cit., p. 190.

[10] Loc. cit.

[11] Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 188, 190. As Dr. G.S. Gai points out to me, the names are not found in Nārada's report to Śiva on the state of Śaivism on the earth, as stated by Bhandarkar, in the *Basava Purāṇa* published by Appaji Appaṇṇappaṇṇavar and Beṅgaḷūru Rāma Śāstri in 1914 from the Śri Rājarājēśvari Press. There is, however, no doubt that the saints in question are believed to be earlier than Basava. Some of the Vīraśaiva *vachana-kāras* (i.e. saints credited with religious sayings), such as Jōḍara Dāsimayya and Śaṅkara Dāsimayya who were contemporaries of Chālukya Jayasiṁha II (1015-42 A.D.), flourished about a century before Basava (cf. Mugali, *Kannaḍa-Sāhitya Charitre*, pp. 149-50).

[12] *Vivēkachintāmaṇi*, Pūrva-bhāga, pp. 230 ff. ; *Vīraśaivāchārapradīpikā*, pp. 33-37 ; *Pañchāchāryapañcha-ṭīkāsthalatripuṭiprakaraṇa*, pp. 1, 35.

ceremony of initiation) of a Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata when he chooses his *guru* or preceptor.[1] In connection with the ceremony, it is necessary to place four metallic vessels full of water at the four cardinal points with a fifth in the middle. This last vessel belongs to the person to be consecrated as the *guru* who is supposed to represent an old *Āchārya* named Viśvārādhya (Viśvēśvarārādhya) while the others belong to four other *Āchāryas* pertaining to the schools respectively of Rēvaṇasiddha (also called Rēṇukāchārya), Maruḷasiddha, Ēkōrāma and Pāṇḍitārādhya[2] and connected with certain Maṭhas. The five vessels are consecrated to the five faces of Śiva, viz. Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpurusha and Īśāna, and the five *Āchāryas* are believed to have sprung from the five forms of Śiva.[3] Bhandarkar notes that, of the five names of the teachers mentioned in this connection, at least three are stated in the *Basava Purāṇa* to have flourished before Basava and comes to the conclusion that the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata creed, known to its followers as the Śaiva-darśana or Siddhānta-darśana, was affiliated to the moderate or sober school of Śaivism. He further suggests that this creed was reduced to a shape by learned Śaiva Brāhmaṇas called Ārādhyas, while subsequent reformers gave it a decidedly uncompromising and anti-Brahmanical character.[4] The inscription under study appears to support these views inasmuch as the *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshā* referred to in it seems to have some resemblance with the initiation of the Vīraśaivas described above, though some authorities prescribe only *Jñāna-dīkshā* for kings.

We have seen how the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I of Bādāmi granted a village to Sudarśanāchārya in payment of *guru-dakshiṇā* (i.e. fees to be paid to the preceptor on the occasion of one's initiation) at the time of his *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshā* (i.e. initiation into Siva's circle)[5] and how the said *Āchārya* (i.e. his preceptor Sudarśanāchārya) allotted portions of the land in the gift village to as many as twentyseven other Brāhmaṇas as well as to his own wife. The names of the Brāhmaṇas who received shares of the land in the gift village and must have assisted Sudarśanāchārya in the performance of the king's *dīkshā* ceremony have been quoted above.[6] That at least one of them acted in the capacity of a subordinate *Āchārya*, as in the case of the four assistant *Āchāryas* in the initiation of a Vīraśaiva (Liṅgāyata), referred to above, seems to be suggested by the suffix *āchārya* added to the name of Rudraśivāchārya who heads the list of the twentyseven Brāhmaṇas. Another interesting fact is the name-ending *śiva* affixed to the names of three of the Brāhmaṇas, viz. Rudraśiva, Gāyatrīśiva and Paramaśiva. As Bhandarkar has pointed out, the

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[1] Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 189 ff.

[2] The word *ārādhya* is often also affixed to the names of Rēvaṇa (Rēṇuka), Maruḷa and Ēkōrāma. The Ārādhya-Brāhmaṇas appear to have been also known as Śiva-Brāhmaṇas.

[3] In a Kannaḍa work entitled *Māhēśvaradīkshāvidhi* by Kāśīnātha Śāstri, to which my attention was drawn by Dr. G.S. Gai, it is stated in connection with the *svastivāchana* ceremony associated with *Śiva-dīkshā* that two new vessels, either metallic or earthen, are placed, one in the north and the other in the south. They are filled with sacred water, etc., and four Māhēśvaras take their seats, two behind each vessel.

[4] Op. cit., p. 191. Among the reformers who are regarded as the founders of the Vīraśaiva (Liṅgāyata) sect, the names of Basava and of his contemporary Ēkāntada Rāmayya, both of whom were born in Brāhmaṇa families, and of Basava's nephew Chenna Basava are the most celebrated.

[5] As suggested above, *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshā* seems to be the same as *Śaiva-dīkshā*. According to Kāśīnātha Śāstri's *Māhēśvaradīkshāvidhi*, when the *Āchārya* performs the *Śivaliṅga-saṁskāra* in connection with *Śiva-dīksha*, he has to make a *Maṇḍala* for the performance of the *dhānyādhivāsa* of the Liṅga and another in connection with its *shaḍadhvaśuddhi*. These ceremonies, however, do not appear to have caused the introduction of the word *maṇḍala* in the expression *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshā*. But the arrangement of the five vessels in connection with the Vīraśaiva *dīkshā*, i.e. four in the four corners and the fifth in the middle, may be regarded as forming a *maṇḍala* or circle, although it is difficult to determine whether the expression *Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshā* really owes its origin to such a practice.

[6] In Kāśīnātha Śāstri's *Māhēśvaradīkshāvidhi*, it is stated in connection with the *nāndī-samārādhana* ceremony of the *Śiva-dīkshā* that a coconut is placed in a vessel filled with rice and also money sufficient to be offered to 24 Māhēśvaras. The money is given to 24 Māhēśvaras who are fed afterwards.

suffixes *śakti, jīya, śiva* and *rāśi* were generally affixed to the names of the more extremist sects of the Śaiva school.[1] Although therefore most of the Brāhmaṇas participating in the *dīkshā* of Vikramāditya I, including his preceptor Sudarśana, thus appear to have belonged to the more moderate and rational school of Śaivism, a few of them were ascetics of the extremist orders. This fact again seems to suggest that there was no general antagonism between the sober and extremist sects of the followers of Śiva at least in the Kannaḍa country during the seventh century A. D.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Vanavāsī and Uttarāpatha are well-known. As suggested by Sarma, the village of **Maṟṟūra**, where the king was staying at the time of making the grant, may be one of the two localities called Chinna Maṟṟūru and Pedda Maṟṟūru on the bank of the Krishna in the present Kollapuram Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District. There is a ruined temple at Chinna Maṟṟūru. It seems that the king visited the village for his initiation ceremony and that Sudarśanāchārya was a resident of the said locality. The name of the Vaṁguravāḍi *vishaya* seems to be preserved in that of the modern village called Vāṁgūru in the Kalvaparti Taluk of the same District, about 40 miles from the villages called Maṟṟūru. Pandit Sarma who published the inscription in the *Bhārati* is inclined to identify Ipaṟuṁkal with the present village of Vīpanagaṁḍla about 10 miles from the localities named Maṟṟūru.

## TEXT[2]

[Metres : verses 1, 3-5 *Anushṭubh ;* verse 2 *Āryā.*]

### *First Plate*

1 Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ ksh[ōbhit-ārṇṇa]vaṁ(vam | ) **dakshiṇ-ō-**
**nnata-daṁ-**

2 **shṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ** vapuḥ |[| 1*] śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamā-

3 na-Māna[vya]-sagōtrāṇā[ṁ*] Hāritīputrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mātṛibhis=sapta-

4 Mātṛibhir=abhiva[r*]ddhitānāṁ Kā[r]ttikēya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyā-

5 ṇa-[pa]raṁparāṇāṁ Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-

6 Varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āśēsha-mahībhṛitāṁ

7 **Chalikyānāṁ** kulam=alaṁkarishṇōr=Aśvamēdha-āvabhṛiṁ(bhṛi)tha-snāna-pa-

### *Second Plate, First Side*

8 vitrīkṛita-gātrasya śrī-**Pōlikēśi-**vallabha-mahārājasya

9 prapautraḥ=parāk[k]ram-ākrānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-

10 praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kīrttē[ḥ*] śrī-**Kī[r]ttivarmma-**pṛithiv[ī]vallabha-ma-

11 hārājasya pautras=samara-saṁsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpath-ēśva-

12 ra-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parājay-ōpalabdha-Paramēśvar-āpara-

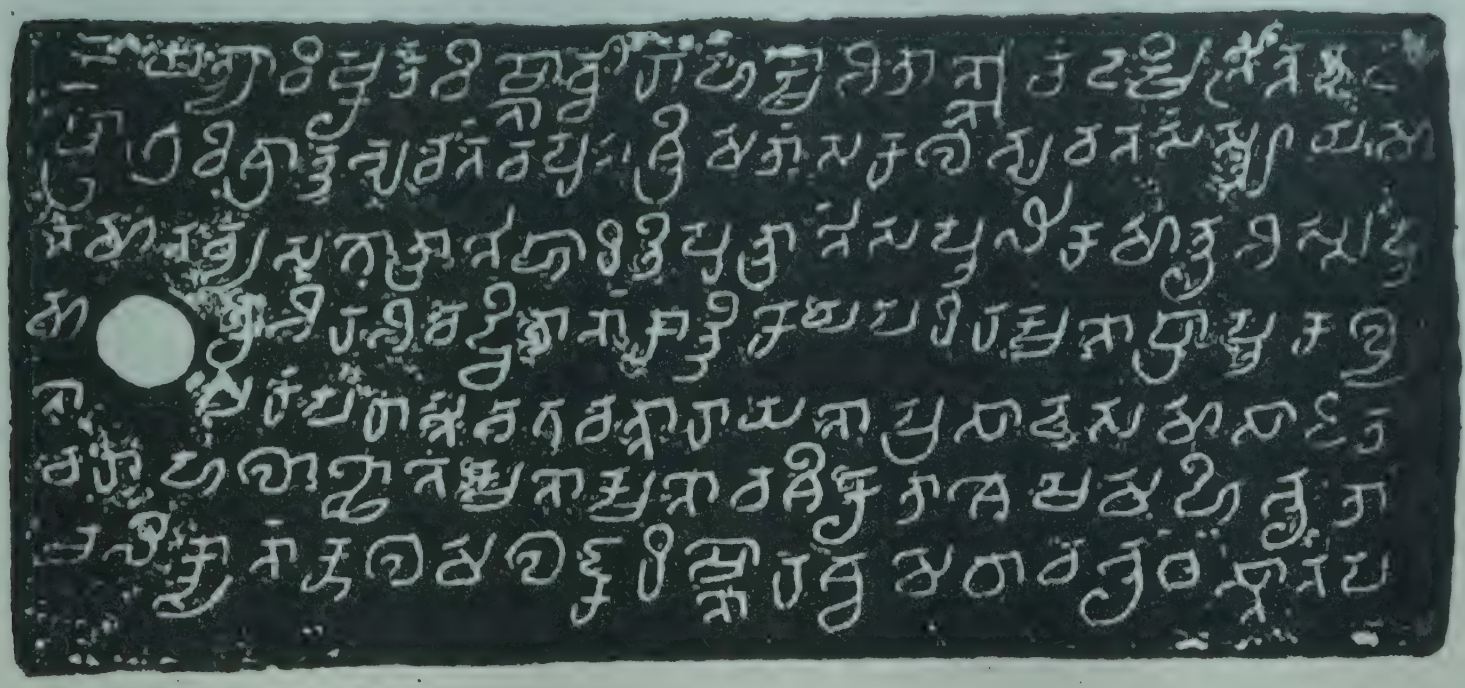
13 nāmadhēyasya **Satyāśraya-**Śrīpṛithiv[ī]vallabha-mahārājā-

14 dhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanaḥ[3] pratīt-ānēka-sama-

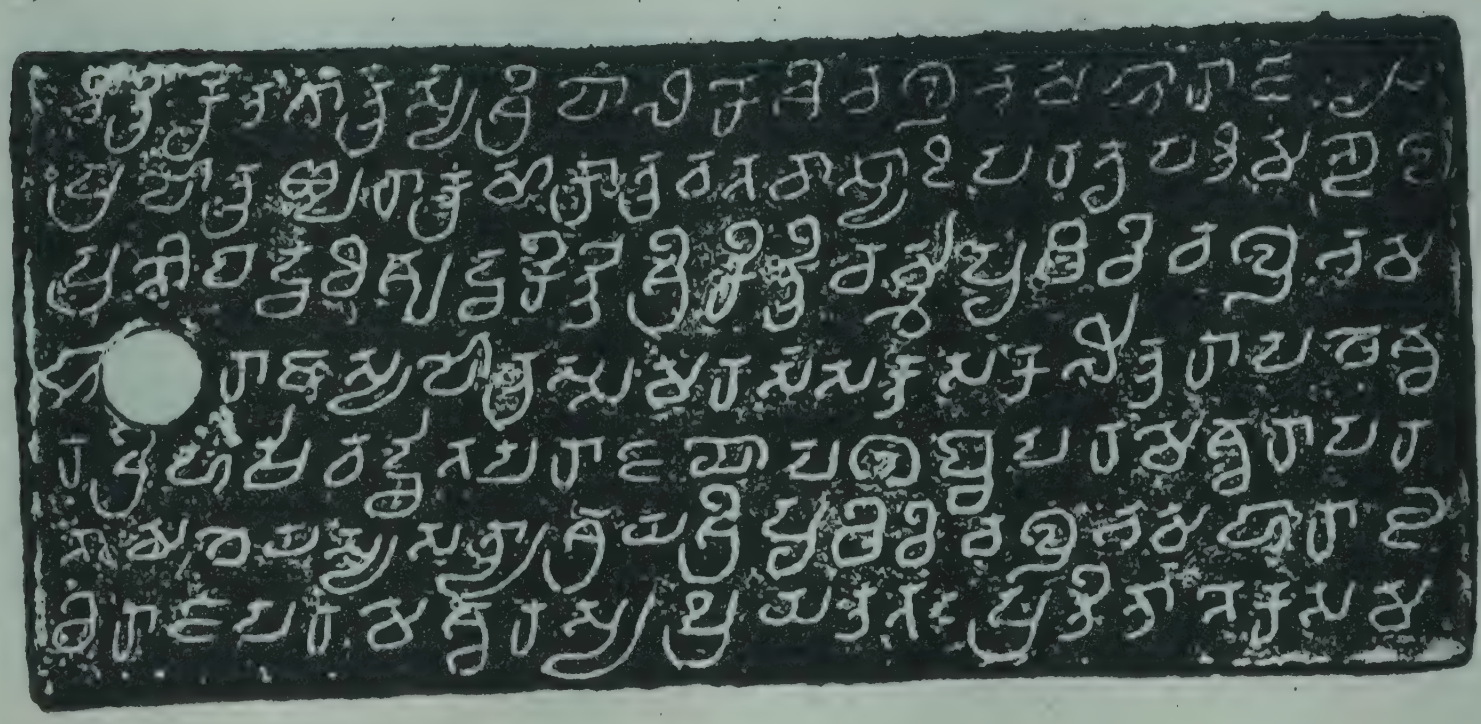
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[1] Op. cit., p. 171.
[2] From impressions.
[3] Read *anavaḥ*.

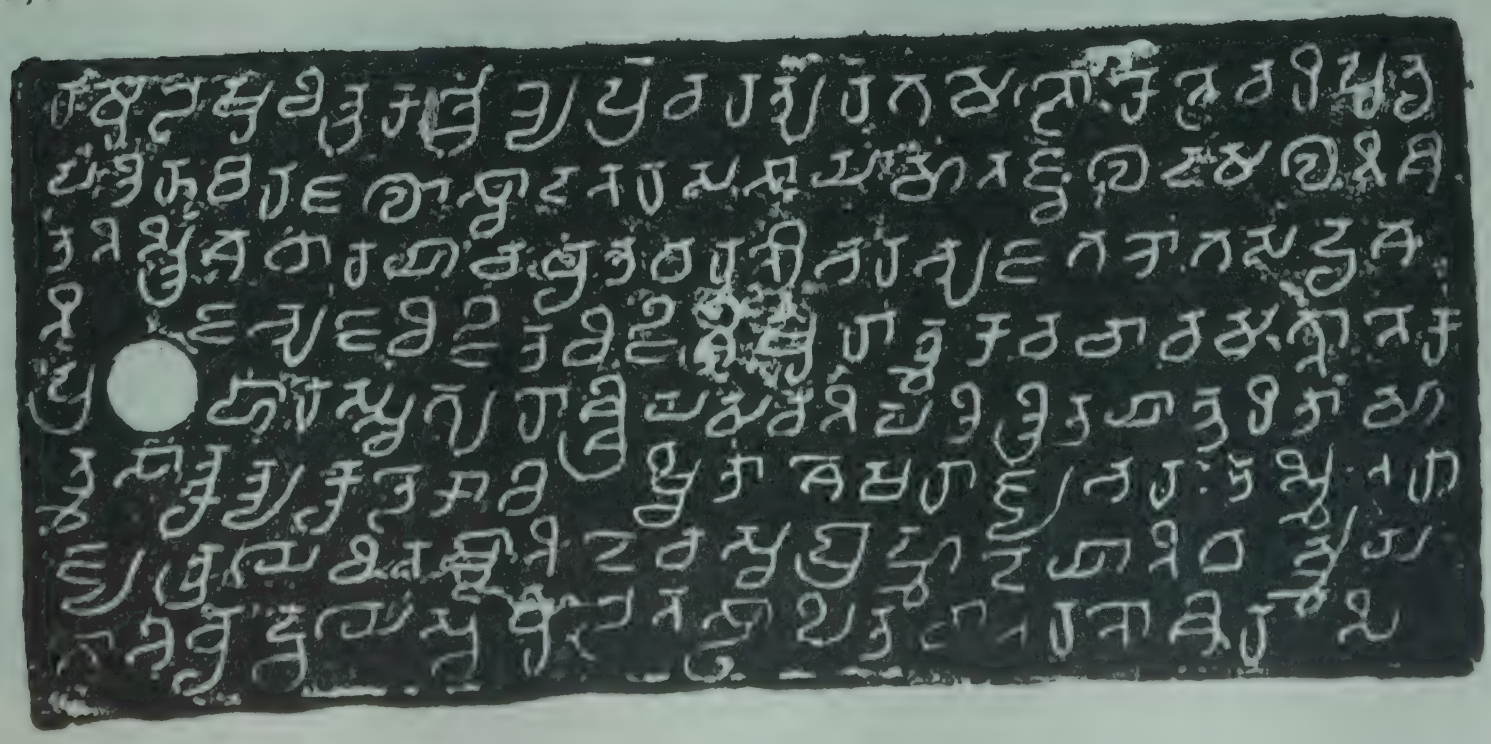
*i*



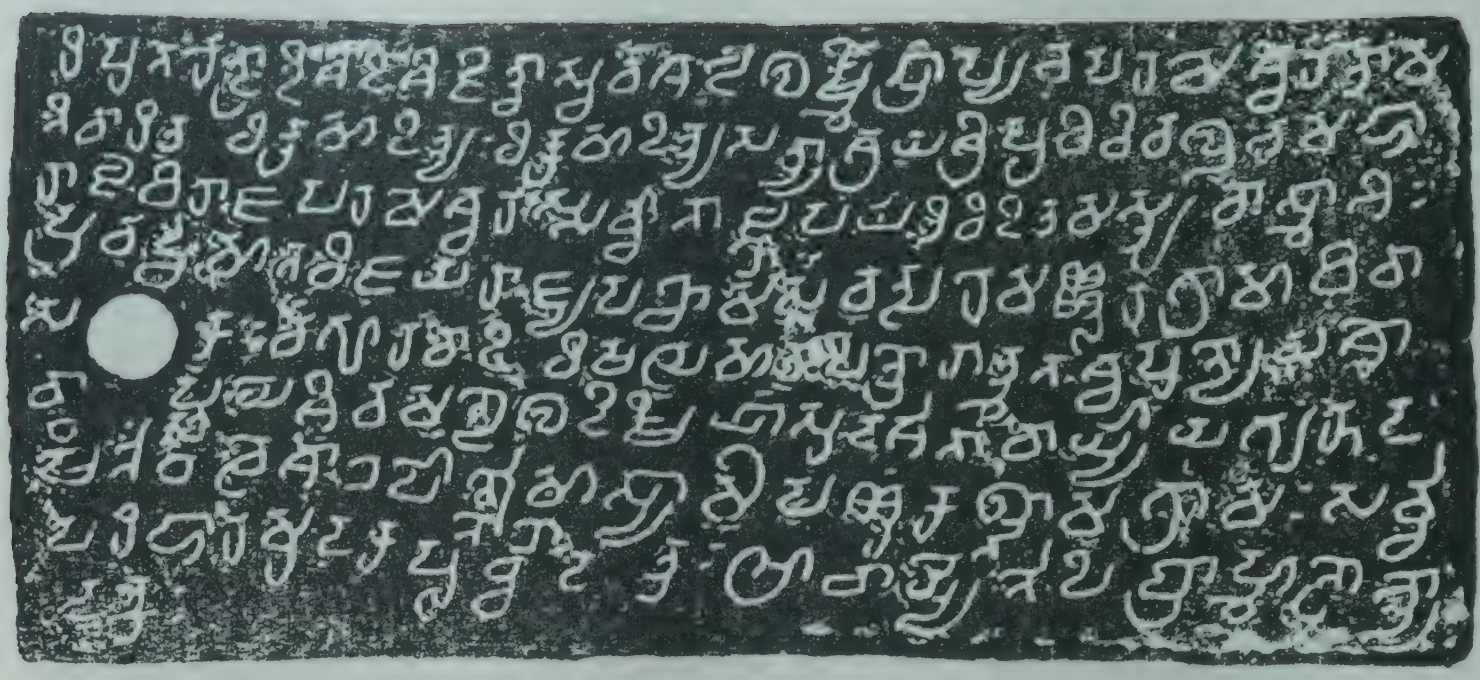
*ii, a*



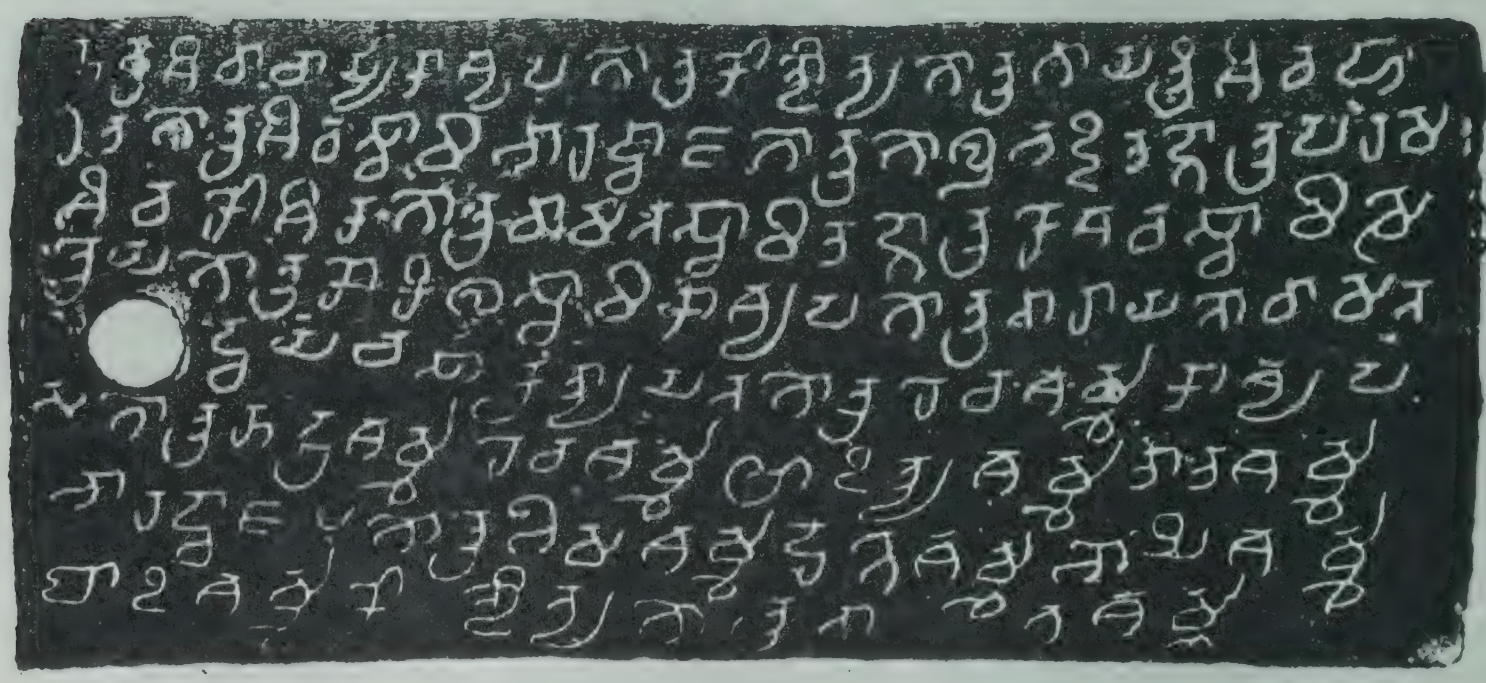
*ii, b*



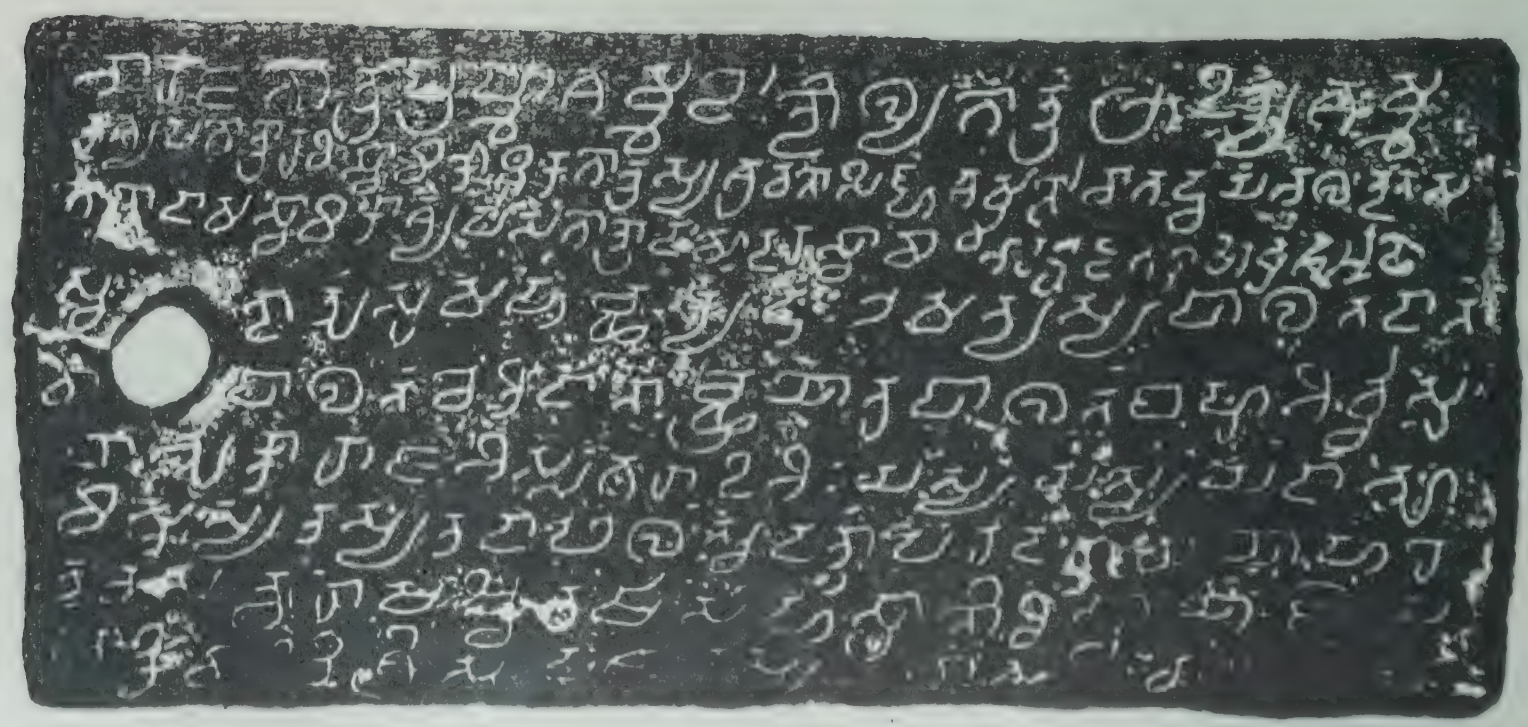
*iii, a*



*iii, b*



*iv*



*Second Plate, Second Side*

15 ra-mu[khē]shu Chitraka[ṇ]ṭh-ākhya-pravara-turaṁgamēṇ=aikēn=aiva ripu-nṛi-

16 pati-rudhira-jal-āsvādana-rasanāyamāna-jvalad-amala-niśi-

17 ta-nistriṁśa-dhāray=āvadhṛita-dharaṇi-bhara-bhujaga-bhōga-sadṛiśa-

18 nija-bhuja-vijita-vijiśī(gī)shur=ātma-kavach-āvamagn-ānēka-

19 prahāras=sva-gurōś=śriyam=avanipati-ttritay-āntaritām=ā-

20 tmasātkṛitya kṛit-aik-ādhishṭhit-āśēsha-rājya-bharaḥ tasmin rā-

21 jya-trayē vinashṭāni dēvasva-brahmadēyāni dharmma-ya-

22 śō-bhivṛiddhayē sva-mukhēna sthāpitavān [|*] Raṇa-śirasi

*Third Plate, First Side*

23 ripu-narēndrān=diśi diśi jitvā sva-vaṁśajā[ṁ] lakshm[īm] [|*] prāpya cha paramē-śvaratām=A-

24 nivārita-**Vikramādityaḥ** [|| 2*] **Vikkramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīpṛithivīvallabha-**mahā-

25 rājādhirāja-paramēśvaras=sarvvān=ājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu vā(vō)=smābhiḥ

26 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-**pañchama-saṁvatsarē Maṟṟūragrām-**ādhivā-

27 sakaḥ(kaiḥ) **Vaṁgūravāḍi-**vishayē mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-**yaśō-**

28 vāptayē Śiva-maṇḍala-dīkshi(kshā)yāṁ Sudarśan-āchāryyāya[1] guru-da-

29 kshi[ṇ-ārthaṁ] **Vaiśākha-paurṇṇamāsyām=Ipaṟuṁkal-**nāma-grāmaḥ sarvva-

30 parihāram=udaka-pūrvvō dattaḥ [|*] āchāryēṇ=āpi Brāhmaṇēbhyō

31 da[t]taḥ[2] [|*]

*Third Plate, Second Side*

32 [Rudra]śiv-āchāryya[3]-Kāśyapa-gōtra-Kauṇḍinya-gōtra-Gāyatri(trī)śiva-Hā-

33 r[ī]ta-gōtra-Śivasvā[mi]-Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Gōllabhaṭṭi-tad-gōtra-Parama-

34 śiva-Kauśika-gōtra-Vāmanasvāmi-tad-gōtra-Kēśavasvāmi-Mai-

35 trēya-gōtra-Kōkilasvāmi-Kāśyapa-gōtra-Nārāyaṇa-Vāmana-

36 dvayaṁ cha[4] Sāṁkṛityāyana-gōtra-Rēvaśarmma-Kāśyapa-

37 sagōtra-Rudraśarmma-Rēvaśarmma[5]-Ādī(di)tyaśarmma-Tātaśarmma-

38 Bhāradvāja[6]-gōtra-Bhīmaśarmma-Du[r*]ggaśarmma-Bhōyiśarmma-

39 Bādiśarmma-Kauṇḍiṇya-gōtra-Nāgaśarmma-

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[1] The *gōtra* of the Brāhmaṇa has not been quoted in the record probably through oversight of the scribe or the engraver.

[2] These letters are at the beginning of the line, the rest of which is left blank.

[3] Better read *Kāśyapa-gōtra-Rudraśivāchārya*.

[4] Read *Nārāyaṇa-Vāmana-Sāṁkṛityāyana-gōtra* as the expression forms part of a compound. The word *dvaya* may also refer to two shares each to be enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas concerned.

[5] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[6] There is an unnecessary mark here.

*Fourth Plate*

40 Bhāra[dvā*]ja-gōtra-Brahmaśarmma-Bhyō(Śā)ṇḍilya-gōtra[1]-[Ā]dityaśa[r*]mma-

41 [2][Kāśya]pa-gōtrō(tra)-Ravisvā[mi]-Kauśika-gōtrasya Śravaṇasiṁha(siṁha)śarmmaṇō bhāga-dvayaṁ[3] Bhalandana-sa-

42 gō[tr]ō(tra)-Dāmasvāmi-Kāśyapa-sagōtrō(tra)-Dāmōdarasvā[mi]-Bhārad[v]āja-gōtrō(tra)-Māduśa[rmma]dō(rmāṇaḥ |)

43 Svan=dātuṁ sumahach=chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pālana[m |*] dānaṁ

44 [vā] pālanaṁ v=ēti danāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam || 3) Bahubhir=vvasu-

45 [dhā] bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhū-

46 [mi]s=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam || 4) Sva-dattāṁ para-da[ttāṁ] vā yō harē-

47 ta vasundharāṁ(rām |) shashṭhi(shṭi)-[va]rsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāya-

48 tē kri[mir=iti][4] śrī-Sudarśanasya bhās[ya](ryā) cha[5] [|*]

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[1] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[2] This line is engraved in smaller letters.

[3] Read *Kauśika-gōtra-dvi-bhāga-bhōji-Śravaṇasiṁhaśarmma°*.

[4] Better read *krimiḥ ||5 iti ||*

[5] This passage seems to have been omitted from the list of donees in lines 32-42. Its proper place is at the end of line 42. The word intended here may possibly be *bhāga* also. In that case Sudarśana's wife is not mentioned in the record.

## No. 22—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF PARANTAKA, YEAR 9

(*1 Plate*)

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and T. N. Subramaniam, Madras

There are three Tamil inscriptions of Parāntakadēva, all dated in the 9th year of his reign, which 'pose one of the minor problems' in Chōḷa history.[1] Of these, the text of the one found at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the Chittoor District of the Andhra State has already been published.[2] The other two inscriptions, one from **Kōyil-Tēvarāyaṇ-pēṭṭai** in the Tanjavur District (referred to in the sequel as **A**)[3] and the other from **Tiruvaḍattuṟai** in the South Arcot District (marked **B** in the sequel),[4] both in the Madras State, are now published from the inked impressions kindly placed at our disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

Inscription **A** is found engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Matsyapurīśvara temple at Kōyil-Tēvarāyaṇ-pēṭṭai which is included in the present village of Paṇḍāravāḍai, a Railway station in the Papanasam Taluk, Tanjavur District. It is called Tiruchchēyalūr or Tiruchchēlūr in inscriptions and is said to be included in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* on the southern bank of the river Kāvēri.[5] This *Chaturvēdimaṅgalam* was evidently founded by the Chōḷa king Āditya I, after whom it was named and one of its hamlets was known as Paṇḍitavatsalachchēri after one of the surnames of his son Parāntaka I.[6]

The other record **B** is found on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Tīrthapurīśvara temple at Tiruvaḍattuṟai, a village about four miles from Peṇṇāgaḍam, on the north bank of the river Veḷḷāṟu. This place is connected with the life of the Śaivite saint Tirujñāṇasambandha. The story is that it was at this place that, when he, as a tender child, was no longer in a position to continue his journey either on foot or on the shoulders of his aged father, the god miraculously intervened to offer him a palanquin and an umbrella, both made of pearls.[7] This tradition finds support in the inscriptions wherein the god of this place is called Tirumuttiṉ śivigai kuḍuttaruḷiya Nāyaṇār.[8] In inscriptions as well as in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*, this village is known as Tiruvaṟatturai-Nelvāyil to differentiate it from other places bearing the name of Aṟatturai.

The two inscriptions are in the Tamil **language** and **script** with an admixture of Grantha letters here and there, and palaeographically they may be assigned to *circa* 1100 A.D.

The only orthographical peculiarity that deserves notice here is the use of double *chch* in *Tiruchchēlūr* in line 10. In the conjunct letter *chchē*, the doubled consonant is written after the vowel sign of *ē*. The letters *n* and *ṉ* are used quite indifferently. The rules of *sandhi* have not been properly observed.

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[1] K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 165, note.
[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1896, No. 16; *SII*, Vol. V, No. 879.
[3] *A. R. Ep.* 1923, No. 261.
[4] Ibid., 1928-29, No. 225.
[5] Ibid., 1923, No. 276.
[6] Ibid., No. 264.
[7] *Periyapurāṇam, Tirujñāṇasambandhamūrti svāmigaḷ purāṇam*, vv. 185-214.
[8] *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-29, No. 215.

The **object** of inscription **A** is to record the gift, by purchase, of a piece of land to meet the expenses of offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a village in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu, by Araiyaṇ Kaṇṇappaṇ *alias* Rājakēsari Pērayaṇ of Kāḷikuḍi, a village in Kiḷiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikulāśaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, in the 9th year of the reign of the king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin śrī-Parāntakadēva.

Inscription **B** is incomplete and stops after mentioning the date, i.e. the 9th year of the reign of the king who is styled here as Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Chakravartin śrī-Pirāntakadēva.

Both these inscriptions contain a new *praśasti* or *meykkīrtti* which commences with the words *Pūmaṅgai vaḷara* in **A** and *Puvi maṅgai vaḷara* in **B**. Even though there are some slight variations in the wording between them in the first two metrical lines of the *meykkīrtti*, yet we can safely take both of them as identical, as these variations do not make any difference and as such variations are found in the standard versions of similar *meykkīrttis* of other Chōḷa kings also.[1] We have already mentioned that the king is styled Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravartin in **A**, while he is named Rājakēsarivarman and Chakravartin in **B**. The third inscription of the king at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, the text of which has already been published,[2] does not contain any *meykkīrtti*, but mentions him as Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravartin as in **A**. Considering that the two complete records call him Parakēsarivarman and Tribhuvanachakravartin, we may not be wrong in assigning these titles to him, ignoring the title of Rājakēsarivarman of the incomplete record **B**.[3]

The **importance** of these records lies in the problem of the identity of the king in whose time they were issued.

We have so far known only of two kings, grandfather and grandson, having the name Parāntaka. The former, more famous, with the title *Madiraikoṇḍa*, was a Parakēsarivarman and the latter, otherwise known as Sundarachōḷa, was a Rājakēsarivarman. Neither of them had the title Tribhuvanachakravartin which came into vogue only during the time of Kulōttuṅga I. **Parāntakadēva** of the present records is quite different from the two Parāntakas mentioned above and lived at a much later period.[4]

The names of the territorial divisions mentioned in the record **A**, viz. Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu and Pāṇḍikulāśaṇi-vaḷanāḍu came into existence during the reign of Rājarāja I after whose titles *Nityavinōda* and *Pāṇḍyakulāśani* these divisions were named. Again the temple at Tiruvaḍattuṟai wherein the record **B** is found engraved does not contain any inscription earlier than the time

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[1] K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II, pp. 2, 61, 96.

[2] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 879.

[3] It was possibly due to some such mistakes having crept in, that the record was left incomplete.

[4] *The Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924 tries to identify the king of inscription **A** with Parāntaka I Madiraikoṇḍa and says: "The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the first stone record so far known of a Chōḷa king before the time of Rājarāja I containing an introduction or eulogy. This introduction is purely eulogistic without recounting any of the king's exploits. Generally in inscriptions commencing with historical introductions, the king is said to be seated on the throne with his consort whose title is also given. But in the present record which is dated in the 9th year, this fact is omitted. Perhaps we are to suppose that the king was not married till then" (p. 100). In the above review, the palaeography of the record does not appear to have been taken into consideration. Further, the mention of the king's consort occupying the throne along with the king is found to be made only in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I and his successors. In the *meykkīrttis* of the Chōḷa monarchs prior to the time of Kulōttuṅga I, with the exception of the *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Vīramē tuṇaiyāgavum* of Vīrarājēndra, which *meykkīrtti* was also later adopted by Kulōttuṅga I as his own, the queen's title is generally not mentioned.

of Vīrarājēndra-chōḷa. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu inscription[1] already referred to, in mentioning Kulōttuṅgaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Śōḷamaṇḍalam, makes it clear that the Parāntakadēva of this inscription must have ruled later than Kulōttuṅga I after whom the *vaḷanāḍu* was named. Thus the king Parāntakadēva in whose time these records were issued cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I, and the palaeography of these records supports this conclusion.

We have not so far known of any Chōḷa king with the name Parāntaka about this time. On the other hand, we have references to a prince of the royal blood of that name ruling one of the provinces of the Chōḷa empire. Several inscriptions in the Telugu script found in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ramachandrapuram Taluk of the Godavari District in Andhra Pradesh mention a certain Parāntakadēva as ruling over the Eastern Chālukya country of Vēṅgī in the early years of the 12th century A. D. One of them[2] dated in Śaka 1034, corresponding to 1112-13 A. D., mentions the gift of fifty *inpa eḍlu* for burning a lamp in front of the god Bhīmēśvara by Parāntaka Brahmādhirāya for the benefit of his mother. There the donor is described as the military commander of Parāntaka, the head-ornament of the Chālukya-vaṁśa (*Chāḷukya-vaṁśa-tilakasya Parāntakasya sēn-ādhipō dvijapatiḥ*). The official title of the commander indicates that he rose to prominence during the days of Parāntaka whose name the general obviously adopted. Another inscription[3] at the same place dated in Śaka 1038 (given by the chronogram *gaja-Rāma-viyach-chandra*) registers the grant of the village Sīlā to meet the expenses of offerings to the goddess Pārvatī set up in the temple by king Parāntakadēva. In some other inscriptions found there,[4] the king is introduced with the characteristic Eastern Chālukyan title Sarvalōkāśraya śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājulu, and is referred to as a *Chakravartin* ruling over the Chālukya kingdom (*Chāḷukya-kshiti*).[5] In addition, he has also the characteristically Tamil title Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ.[6] Another inscription[7] dated in the 45th year of Kulōttuṅga I at Bhīmavaram in the same Taluk registers the gift of a lamp and twenty she-buffaloes by Mādhava *alias* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyaṉ, a minister of Parāntaka, to the temple of Nārāyaṇa founded by Vaiśya Maṇḍayya. Parāntaka[8] under whom he was serving as a minister is described therein as *Śrīśa-samē Parāntaka-nṛipe Chāḷukya-rājya-śriyaṁ prāptāṁ rakshati*, i.e. 'while king Parāntaka who resembled the lord of Śrī (i.e. Vishṇu) was protecting the fortune, namely the Chālukya kingdom acquired [by him].' This officer is perhaps identical with the Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyaṉ who figures as the *sandhivigrahin* in the Smaller Leyden plates of Kulōttuṅga I issued in the 20th year of his reign.[9] There is also an inscription[10] of Parāntaka engraved on a pillar in the ruined Kanakadurgā-maṇḍapa at the foot of the Indrakīla hill at Vijayavāḍa, dated in the 5th year of his reign coupled with Śaka 1037 and the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to 1115-16 A.D. This record, though damaged, seems to confer the office of the headmanship (*reḍḍikam*) of Vijaya-

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[1] *SII*, Vol. V, No. 879.

[2] Ibid Vol. IV, No. 1324.

[3] Ibid, No. 1214.

[4] Ibid., Nos. 1271, 1272, etc.

[5] Ibid., No. 1226.

[6] Ibid., Nos. 1270 to 1274 etc. It is given there as *Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāru*.

[7] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 219-223.

[8] The editor of this inscription has taken Parāntaka mentioned in the Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the record as one of the surnames of Kulōttuṅga I referred to in the Telugu portion of the same record as *Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājulu* in whose 45th year of reign corresponding to Śaka 1037 the grant was made. But a careful reading of the record, as also of the Vijayavāḍa inscription referred to below, now reveals that they were different.

[9] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 276, text lines 11-12

[10] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 737.

vāḍa on a certain Bhīmana who is described as the Vēṅgī-Chāḷukya-aṅkakāra[1] and whose brother Boddana had originally obtained the same office from Kulōttuṅga I described therein as the son of king Rājamahēndra.[2] The record bears at its end a royal confirmatory order dated in the 47th year of a king who is described as *Samastabhuvanāśraya, Rājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Ravikulatilaka, Satyāśrayavaṁśya, Chālukyābharaṇa, Tribhuvanachakravarti, Permānaḍidēva.*[3] This king can be no other than Kulōttuṅga I as evidenced by the titles *Satyāśrayavaṁśya, Chāḷukyābharaṇa* and *Ravikulatilaka* applied to him, and by the date mentioned in the inscription which agrees with the king's corresponding regnal year. This record would yield c. Śaka 1033 or c. 1111-12 A.D. for the accession of Parāntaka. It will be clear from the above that Parāntaka was ruling over the Vēṅgī country in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I as a semi-independent ruler under the aegis of the Chōḷas and that he was a prince of the Chōḷa-Chāḷukya line, probably one of the seven sons of Kulōttuṅga. We may safely identify Parāntaka of the Telugu inscriptions cited above with king Parakēsarivarman Parāntakadēva in whose reign the Tamil records under review were issued. Then, these two records of the 9th year will have to be assigned to *c.* 1119-20 A.D., corresponding to the 50th or the last year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I.

We know that Kulōttuṅga I, on the death of his uncle Vijayāditya after a reign of 15 years, got possession of the Vēṅgī country in 1076-77 A.D. and appointed his sons in succession as viceroys there. The first to be so appointed, Rājarāja Mummaḍi-chōḷa, preferred living under the same roof as his parents to the enjoyment of a distant viceroyalty and at the end of a year relinquished his office. His younger brother Vīra-chōḍa was then chosen as the viceroy, and he continued to rule there for six years from the date of his anointment in Śaka 1001 (1078-79 A.D.). From 1084 to 1089 A.D. another son of Kulōttuṅga, by name Rājarāja Chōḍagaṅga, the eldest, was the viceroy when he was succeeded by Vīra-chōḍa again in his second term of viceroyalty. Vīra-chōḍa was there till at least 1092-93 A.D.[4] What became of the viceroyalty after that date is not clear. It is generally believed that Vikrama-chōḷa, another son of Kulōttuṅga I, who succeeded his father on the Chōḷa throne, became the viceroy of Vēṅgī and continued in that office till he was summoned to the south in 1118 A.D. by the aged Kulōttuṅga to become the co-regent (heir-apparent to the Chōḷa throne). No inscription of Vikrama-chōḷa issued during the time of his viceroyalty of Vēṅgī or directly referring to it has come to light so far. But that he was a viceroy for some time in Vēṅgī is borne out by his *meykkīrtti* itself.[5] The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva dated Śaka 1124 (1202-03 A.D.) states that Kulōttuṅga ruled for fifty years the five *Drāviḍas* together with the Andhra country and that, when Vikrama-chōḷa went to rule the Chōḷa country, the land of Vēṅgī became bereft of its lord (*Vēṅgī-bhūmir=nāyaka-rahitā jātā*), i.e. fell into a state of anarchy. The inscriptions found at Drākshārāma point out that Parāntaka was the viceroy of Vēṅgī during roughly the last ten years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, and from the Tamil inscriptions edited below we may surmise that he was probably chosen as heir-apparent by Kulōttuṅga I and crowned as such with the title Parakēsarivarman and continued in that capacity till the last year of the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, corresponding to 1119-20 A.D.

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[1] The *aṅkakāra* was an officer whose duty it was, when called upon to do so, to lead armies to battle on behalf of his master, to represent him on the battle-field and champion his cause. See N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 245, note 1.

[2] *Rājamahēndra* was a title of Rājarāja-narēndra, the Eastern Chāḷukya king and the father of Kulōttuṅga I.

[3] It is worth noting that many titles, characteristically Western Chāḷukyan, are borne by Kulōttuṅga I.

[4] Above, Vol. V, p. 70 ff.; Vol. VI, p. 334 ff.; *SII*, Vol. I, p. 49; *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, Part II, para. 6; K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II, pp. 30-32, 45.

[5] *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68.

[6] Above, Vol. IV, p. 235, vv. 22-24.

But Kulōttuṅga was succeeded on the Chōḷa throne by Vikrama-chōḷa and not by this Parāntaka. If the statement in the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapadēva that Vikrama-chōḷa was ruling over Vēṅgī up to the time of his departure for the south to ascend the Chōḷa throne is to be accepted, then we have to identify this Parāntaka with Vikrama-chōḷa. The *meykkīrtti* of Parāntaka contains identical expressions and appears more or less the same as the earlier portion of the *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words, *Pūmādu puṇara*, etc., of Vikrama-chōḷa.[1] This may also be cited in support of the above presumption.[2]

But there are difficulties in accepting this identification. The *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pūmādu puṇara* appears in the inscriptions of Vikrama-chōḷa even in the second year of his reign[3] (thus practically from its commencement) and it contains a reference to his Kaliṅga expedition which took place in the reign of his father Kulōttuṅga I, when he (Vikrama-chōḷa) was only a child.[4] But the *meykkīrtti* of Parāntaka of which we have the version brought up to the 9th year of his reign does not contain any reference to this Kaliṅga war. Moreover it is purely a eulogistic one of the more or less conventional type containing no reference to any event of importance. There is also no evidence, epigraphical or literary, that the title of *Parāntaka* was borne by Vikrama-chōḷa, though we know of his other titles like *Tyāgasamudra*.

Vikrama-chōḷa counts his regnal years from the date of his accession to the Chōḷa throne which took place on or about the 29th June, 1118 A.D.[5] But we have seen above that Parāntaka counted his regnal years from some date in Śaka 1033 or 1111-12 A.D. and that such a reckoning was continued by him up to 1119-20 A.D., the date of the two records now under publication, i.e even beyond the initial date of 1118 A.D. claimed for Vikrama-chōḷa.

Again, according to the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription[6] of Mallapadēva, Vikrama-chōḷa must have left his Vēṅgī viceroyalty and come over to the south before the date of his accession to the Chōḷa throne in 1118 A.D. But Parāntaka appears to have continued in Vēṅgī even after that date. An inscription[7] from Drākshārāma registers a gift to the temple of Parāntakēśvara built there, and perhaps also points to the presence of Parāntaka there in the 49th year, 333rd day of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, i.e. on or about the 7th May, 1119 A.D.

We have therefore to account for two persons, Vikrama-chōḷa and Parāntaka, both claiming to be Parakēsarivarmans and ruling as co-regents along with their father Kulōttuṅga I during the last two years of the latter's reign. This position is anomalous in Chōḷa history and has to be explained. It cannot be said that Kulōttuṅga I chose and anointed both of them as heirs-apparent. The Vijayavāḍa inscription[8] referred to above clearly points out that Parāntaka was chosen as heir-apparent and entrusted with the governance of the Vēṅgī country, nearly seven years prior to the date claimed for the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa to the Chōḷa throne. Parāntaka's position, not only as successor-designate but also as ruler *de facto* was recognised both in the Telugu country of Vēṅgī and in the Tamil area of the Chōḷa dominion proper. On the south wall of the Kōdaṇḍarāma temple at Madhurāntakam in the Chingleput District of the Madras State, there is a Tamil inscription[9] dated in the 7th regnal year of a Parānta[ka]dēva

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[1] *SII*, Vol. III, No. 80; Vol. VII, No. 832.

[2] Similar expressions are found in the *meykkīrtti* beginning with words *Pugaḻ māduviḷaṅga* of Kulōttuṅga I also.

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, No. 408; also Nos. 170 of 1908, 229 of 1929; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Sd. 9.

[4] The original has the word *aiṁ-baḍai-pparuvam*, i.e. the period of childhood when amulet shaped like the five weapons of Vishṇu are worn.

[5] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.

[6] Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 226-42

[7] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

[8] Ibid., No. 737.

[9] No. 126 of 1896; *SII*, Vol. V, No. 991.

without any distinguishing title and without any *meykkīrtti* but in characters of about the 12th century A.D., registering the grant of land as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to Tiruvayōttipperumāḷ of Śrī-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *taṇiyūr* in Kaḷattūr-kōṭṭam, a sub-division of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam.[1] This Parāntakadēva can be no other than the king Parāntakadēva of the two inscriptions now being edited.

It cannot also be said that Vikrama-chōḷa was chosen by his father Kulōttuṅga I to succeed him on the Chōḷa throne because of the demise of Parāntaka, for, we find from the Drākṣhārāma inscription referred to above[2] that Parāntaka was alive on or about the 7th May, 1119 A.D., i.e. more than ten months after the date of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa.

The only alternative therefore left for us is to presume that Vikrama-chōḷa did not recognise the selection of Parāntaka as co-regent and claimed that he alone was the rightful person for that position. If that be the case, Vikrama-chōḷa could not have asserted his right and achieved his object by peaceful means. There must have been a civil war between these two brothers for the Chōḷa throne.

The Tanjavur temple inscription of Vikrama-chōḷa dated in the 4th year of his reign contains a significant passage in his *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *Pūmālai miḍaindu*, which runs: 'He joyfully stayed [a while] in the Vēṅgai-maṇḍalam and put on the garland of victory over the northern region, and in the south he put on the sacred-jewelled crown by right so as to put an end to the commonness of the goddess of the sweet-smelling lotus-flower (i.e. Lakshmī) and the loneliness of the good earth-maiden who had the Ponṉi (i.e. the river Kāvēri) for her garment.'[3] It means in other words that Lakshmī, the wealth of the southern country, had become common (i.e., ownerless) and the land of the Kāvēri lonely (i.e. unaccompanied) and that both of them found a remedy for their situation in the coming of Vikrama-chōḷa. This very same passage, describing the state of the southern region at the time of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa to the throne is also found in the *meykkīrtti* of Kulōttuṅga I beginning with the words *Pugaḻ śūḻnda puṇari*,[4] thereby indicating that Vikrama-chōḷa had to face the same situation[5] as prevailed at the time when Kulōttuṅga I ascended the Chōḷa throne.[6]

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[1] A foot-note to the text of this record published in the *SII*, quoted above, states that 'the characters in which the inscription is engraved appear to be of a later date than that of Parāntaka' (evidently I or II). The mention of the name Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam in the record for Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam clearly points out that the record cannot be placed earlier than the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, after whose title *Jayaṅgoṇḍa* the territorial division was named.

[2] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1226.

[3] Ibid, Vol. II, No. 68. The relevant portion of the original text is given below arranged in the metrical form:

Vēṅgai-maṇḍala-ttāṅg=iṇid=irundu
vaḍa-ṭiśai vāgai śūḍi=tteṇ-ṭiśai-
ttē-maru-kamala-ppūmagaḷ podumaiyum
Ponṉiy-āḍai-naṉṉilap-pāvaiyiṉ
taṇimaiyum tavirap=puṉidat-tirumaṇi
makuḍam=urimaiyiṟ=chūḍi.

[4] Ibid., Vol. III, No. 68.

[5] The chief queen of Vikarma-chōḷa is mentioned in the *Vikrama-śōḷan-ulā* (*Kaṉṉi* 40) and the *Tamiḻ-Nāvalar Charitai* (verse 142) as *peṇ chakravartti* (i.e. a female *chakravartin*). This title is not applied to any other queen. We have already stated that the practice of mentioning in the *meykkīrtti* the queen seated along with the king on the throne came into use only in the time of Kulōttuṅga I. This was necessitated probably because, being a Chāḷukyan by birth, he claimed a right to the Chōḷa throne not only as the grandson of a Chōḷa emperor, but also as the consort of a Chōḷa princess. A similar situation possibly arose for Vikrama-chōḷa also, of which we do not have the details.

[6] Relying on this passage, Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly has suggested (*The Eastern Chāḷukyas*, pp. 129-30) that there was a civil war for the Chōḷa throne during the last days of Kulōttuṅga I and that Vikrama-chōḷa, one of the contestants came out successful.

The indifferent use of both the titles Rājakēsarivarman and Parakēsarivarman for Vikrama-chōḷa might also be construed as pointing to such a conclusion ; but it may also be merely the result of a mistake of the kind, of which other instances are also known. Kulōttuṅga, being a Rājakēsarivarman, his immediate successor on throne should have been a Parakēsarivarman. The occasional use of the title Rājakēsarivarman by Vikrama-chōḷa[1] presupposes the existence of another king with the title Parakēsarivarman between him and Kulōttuṅga even though Vikrama-chōḷa did not perhaps recognise such a position and, claiming himself as the direct successor of his father Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga I, used the title Parakēsarivarman which is generally found applied to him in his inscriptions.

There are about half a dozen undated inscriptions of Parāntakadēva at Drākshārāma registering the oaths of fealty taken by certain persons to serve Parāntakadēva faithfully.[2] The occasion which necessitated such a step is not clear. But it is significant to note that these oaths were taken to serve faithfully Parāntakadēva personally and not in respect of the throne or kingdom of the Chōḷa or Chāḷukya as the case may be, probably indicating that there was another person at that time claiming equal rights as Parāntakadēva and that the oath was meant to safeguard the interests of their liege-lord Parāntakadēva against the other person.

It may also be said that the political condition of the country at this period was favourable to Vikrama-chōḷa for embarking on a civil war.

We know that towards the end of his reign, Kulōttuṅga I lost some portions of his territory, both in the west and in the north. In the west, the province of Gaṅgavāḍi was lost to the Hoysalas. Biṭṭiga Vishṇuvardhana, the Hoysala ruler of the period claims the title *Taḷakāḍu-koṇḍa* which is applied to him for the first time in an inscription dated in 1117 A.D.,[3] and in the same year he is described as ruling in Taḷakāḍu and Kōlāḷa (Kolar) and over the whole of Gaṅgavāḍi Ninetysix Thousand as far as Koṅgu.[4] This province which was under the Chōḷas at the time and was regularly administered as a division of the Chōḷa empire was conquered for the Hoysala by *Daṇḍa-nāyaka* Gaṅgarāja. This event is graphically described in several of the Hoysala inscriptions.[5] The success of the Hoysalas was complete and this was followed by the expulsion of the Chōḷas from Gaṅgavāḍi. That this campaign was not in the nature of a mere raid and that the Hoysala was well-pleased with the result will be evident by his assuming the title *Taḷakāḍu-koṇḍa* and by the issue of gold coins bearing the legend *śrī-Taḷakāḍu-goṇḍa.*

The victory gained in Gaṅgavāḍi was pursued by the Hoysalas even in regions beyond its frontiers. Of Puṇīsa-rāja, another general of the Hoysalas, who also seems to have taken part in the expedition against Gaṅgavāḍi, it is said in an inscription dated 1117 A.D. that he 'frightened the Todas [of the Nilgiris], drove the Koṅgar underground (or to the low-country), slaughtered the Pōluvas, put to death the Maleyāḷas, trifled king Kala (Kalapāla) and offered the peak of the Nīlagiri to the goddess of victory.'[6] It also adds that on receiving the king's order, Puṇīsa ' seized Nīlādri, and pursuing the Maleyāḷas captured their forces and made himself master of Kērala before showing again in Poṅgal-nāḍu.' The Pōluvas slaughtered by him are evidently the Pūluvas, a community of the Koṅgu country,[7] round about Avināśi. The region also came to be

[1] E.g., *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, Nos. 426, 431; ibid, 1926, No. 144; ibid., 1909, Part II, para. 46 ; ibid., 1926, part II, para. 27.

[2] *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1270-75A.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 31 ; also Vol. IV, Yd. 6.

[4] Ibid., Vol IV., Ch. 83.

[5] Ibid.. Vol. II, (rev. ed.) Sb. 240. The same account is given in Vol. III, Ml. 31 also dated in 1117 A.D.

[6] Ibid., Vol. IV., Ch. 83.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, 1923, Part II, para. 59.

known as Pūluva-nāḍu and places like Śēvūr in the Avināśi Taluk and Perumānallūr in the Gopichettippalaiyam Taluk of the Coimbatore District are said to be in the Pūluva-nāḍu.[1] Similarly, Poṅgal-nāḍu captured by Puṇīsa in the course of the campaign seems to be the Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu of the Koṅgu inscriptions. The village of Kīraṇūr in the Paḷaṇi Taluk of the Madurai District was included in those days in the Poṅgalūrkkā-nāḍu.[2] The Hoysala inscriptions of this period mention Koṅgu, Chēram and Ānamale as forming the southern extremities of Vishṇuvardhana's kingdom. Vishṇuvardhana claims to have squeezed Madurai in the palm of his hand[3] and extended his victorious march even up to Rāmēśvaram.[4] One record states that, ' on the Pāṇḍya flourishing his sword', Hoysaḷēśa 'cut him down with his own sword, and left only half a man to look on in the Tiguḷa army.'[5]

This does not appear to be a mere hyperbole, as we find an echo of Vishṇuvardhana's invasion in the inscriptions of the Tiruchirappalli District. A record[6] from Āḍuturai in the Perambalur Taluk dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākrama Pāṇḍya renews with the additional privilege for some money collection, an old charter said to have been issued to certain *Paḷḷi* residents in the 4th regnal year of Vikrama-chōḷadēva under peculiar circumstances. It is stated that 'during the war of Periya-vaḍugaṉ, when the images of gods and Nāyaṇmārs were carried away to be deposited at Dōrasamudra (Haḷēbīḍ in Mysore), [the *Paḷḷis*] rescued them, reconsecrated them in the temple, and agreed to provide for the expense of maintaining the worship of these images, making it a part of their communal obligation, in return for which act of service, the members of the community were to enjoy ' the temple honours of silk *parivaṭṭam* and *aruḷappāḍu* '. It is also said that the above arrangement was approved and sanctioned by Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅga Chōḷadēva,[7] thereby indicating that the rescue of the idols was effected immediately after they were removed and within the life-time of Kulōttuṅga I. It is not clear from the inscription who the Periya-vaḍugaṉ waging war in the Tamil country was ; but the mention of Dōrasamudra makes it evident that the Hoysalas were among the invaders. Another damaged inscription[8] from Karūr, one of the capitals of the Koṅgu kingdom, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa, corresponding to 1120-21 A.D., states that the idol of Kūttaṉār (i.e. Naṭarāja) in the temple of Tiruvānilai-Āḷuḍaiya Nāyanār at Karuvūr in Veṅgāla-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vīraśōḷa-maṇḍalam which had been lost in the [days of the] revolt (*kalahattil śēman=tappiṇamaiyil*) was brought back after a search and set up by the Śiva-Brāhmaṇas of the temple who also made provision for worshipping the same. Evidently the country seems to have suffered very much in the hands of the Hoysalas who were probably unscrupulous in striking terror in the hearts of the people.[9]

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[1] Ibid., 1909, No. 184. See also Nos. 192, 211, 338 and 339 (pp. 185, 204, 308 and 309) of *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. I, published by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. This region is also referred to as Pūrva-nāḍu and possibly the Pūrva-rājar mentioned in the Velvikuḍi plates of the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291-308) are the rulers of the region.

[2] *SII*, Vol. V., Nos. 262 to 284.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 160.

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, Part II, para. 47.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Bl. 171. The mention of the *Tiguḷa* or Tamil army under the command of the Pāṇḍya precludes the possibility of identifying him with an Uchchaṅgi chief.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35.

[7] Ibid., Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

[8] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 387.

[9] There are inscriptions of the 47th and 49th years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (e.g. Nos. 620 and 647 of 1909 respectively at Tiruchchirai and Kōnērirājapuram in the Tanjavur District) stating that the lands of tenants who had deserted the villages unable to pay the taxes for over two years were confiscated and sold to the temples, and these are significant considering the time and the large number of such cases (see also Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, Tj. 74, 1219).

The Hoysaḷa incursions into the Chōḷa dominion were not restricted to the southern part. They appear to have carried on the expedition in the eastern direction also in the course of which Teṟeyūr and Kōyāttūr (modern Laddigam in the Chittoor District) became subject to Vishṇuvardhana who is also credited with the conquest of Kāñchī, on which he took the title of *Kāñchigoṇḍa* which is very often met with in his inscriptions.[1] That this was not again a mere boast will be clear from the statements found in his inscriptions that 'he made proclamations of his victories over numerous kings by sound of drum in Kāñchīpura',[2] that 'he was like a fierce forest-fire to the territory of the Toṇḍai chieftain'[3] and that 'after conquering Kāñchī and Madurai he burnt Jananāthapura'.[4] It is also said that he slew an Andhra king.[5]

It is significant to note that the capture of Kāñchī and the burning of the city of Jananāthapura are claimed not only by the generals of Vishṇuvardhana, but also by the generals of another monarch, viz. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, at about the same time. We know that the Hoysaḷas were from the very beginning the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and that they continued to be so even at that time. It is therefore quite possible that the Hoysaḷas were waging war in the northern front as the subordinates and under the banner of their suzerain power, the Western Chālukyas.

Viewed in this light, the Periya Vaḍugaṇ mentioned in the Āḍuttuṟai inscription[6] referred to above as waging war in the heart of the Tamil country would only mean the 'big (or elder) or great northerner', i.e. the Western Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI. Similarly, the exploits of 'displaying his valour before Māṇikyadēvī of the Chakrakūṭa throne', 'burning the city of Jananāthapura through his general' and the like in the north that the Hoysaḷa is credited with, should be deemed to have taken place when he was in the service of his overlord Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya was waiting long only for an opportunity of making reprisals for his earlier failure in his wars against Kulōttuṅga I. Such an opportunity presented itself now. His plan was evidently to take advantage of Kulōttuṅga's preoccupation with the affairs in the south and create a diversion in the north by proceeding against the kingdom of Vēṅgī and its vassal-states.

The exact course of the events of this campaign is not clear. But that at the end of this campaign, practically the whole of the Telugu country came under the sway of Vikramāditya VI is evident from the provenance of his inscriptions. A stone record[7] from Kollūru in the Tenāli Taluk of the Guntur District dated in the cyclic year Manmatha, the 40th year of the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), i.e. 1115-16 A.D., refers to his famous general Anantapālayya and mentions the officers such as the *mantrin*, *purōhita*, *sēnāpati*, etc., in whose presence, the king made a certain gift. There are inscriptions of the next year Durmukha, the Chālukya-Vikrama year 41, at Māgoḷa and Raṅgāpuram in the Hadagalli Taluk of the same District, in one of which Padmaladēvī, a queen of Vikramāditya VI, is referred to as ruling over the *agrahāra* of Māṅgola.[8] In Śaka 1039 (December, 1117 A.D.), the Kākatīya chief Prōla of Anumakoṇḍa acknowledges the supremacy of the Western Chālukya ruler and records that the Anumakoṇḍa territory was conferred on his father Bēta some time before by the same sovereign.[9] About a year later, in the cyclic year Viḷambin, corresponding to the Chālukya-Vikrama year 43 (December, 1118 A.D.), we find *Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahāprachaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka* Anantapālayya actually

[1] See, e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 160.
[2] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 331.
[3] *Inscriptions at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa*, No. 53 (old).
[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Cm. 160.
[5] *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 213.
[6] *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35.
[7] *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 193.
[8] Ibid., Nos. 194 and 195.
[9] Above, Vol. IX, p. 256.

ruling over Vēṅgī 14000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya when a certain Nāyaka made some gift to god Agastyēśvaradēva at Kommūru, in the Bapatla Taluk of the same District.[1] About 1120 A.D., Anantapāla's wife made a gift to the celebrated shrine of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma.[2] The gifts made by Velanāṇṭi Rājēndra in the same year and by Mayilamma, the wife of a Telugu-Chōḍa chief, in the year after that, at Drākshārāma are recorded in inscriptions dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama era.[3] Another inscription from Tripurāntakam[4] in the Markapuram Taluk of the Kurnool District, dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, Pārābhava (corresponding to Tuesday, June 22, 1126 A.D., a solar eclipse occurring on this date), states that Anantapālarasa, the *Daṇḍanāyaka*, was ruling over Vēṅgī 12,000 and Emmedale 6,000 as a subordinate of Vikramāditya. This record states that Anantapāla had the pleasure of seeing his nephew and son-in-law Gōvindarasa who was ruling over Koṇḍapalli 300, pursue the Chōḷa, conquer the Chōḷa country and carry away as booty a large number of elephants, soldiers, treasures and all the belongings of the Chōḷa king. Gōvindarasa also attacked Jananātharājapura, another name of Drākshārāma, then the provincial capital of Vēṅgī, and brought from it everything of Kumāra, captured Dōcheya and Goṅka (probably the *aṅkakāras* of the Chōḷa viceroy)—a feat which was considered as amounting to the capture of the person of the king himself, and burnt Vēṅgīpura.[5] Anantapāla is said to have earned, as a consequence, the title *Chōḷa-kaṭaka chūrakāra*. "The same victory is also claimed by Ēchapa, a subordinate of Anantapāla, who is said to have pursued the Chōḷa forces from the village Uppinakaṭṭe in Vēṅgī to Kāñchī and gained for himself the title *Chōḷa-rājya-nirmūlana*."[6] It will thus be seen that Vēṅgī was completely conquered by Vikramāditya VI who carried his arms even as far as Kāñchī. This eclipse of the Chōḷa-Chālukya power in Vēṅgī continued till the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya VI and his Hoysaḷa subordinate Vishṇuvardhana, together overran the entire Chōḷa empire in the west and north. It was at this time when the whole dominion of the Chōḷas was overrun by foreign invasion resulting in much loss of territory that Vikrama-chōḷa began to assert his right to the Chōḷa throne and wage the civil war with his brother or half-brother Parāntakadēva. It may even be supposed that these troubles started after he proclaimed himself as the rightful heir to the Chōḷa throne. An inscription on a pillar in front of the Chōḷēśvara temple at Niḍubrōlu in the Guntur District registering the gift of land and lamps to the temple of Goṅkēśvara at Chēṛakuṅballi or Ikshupalli by Māraya Paṇḍa, the general of Velanāṇṭi Goṅka, is dated in Śaka 1054 and the 17th regnal year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vikrama-chōḷa yielding Śaka 1038 (1115-16 A.D.) as the date of his accession, three years earlier than the date usually assigned to him.[7] And Kulōttuṅga I was alive when these two sons of his were fighting one another for the throne. We do not know what his attitude towards them was or whom he supported. But it is natural to presume that having already chosen Parāntaka as heir-apparent and associated him with the government, he would have espoused the cause of that son as against Vikrama-chōḷa unless it be that Parāntaka had in the meanwhile turned a traitor; there is indeed no ground to suppose such a situation. On the other hand, the inscriptions of Parāntaka show in unmistakble terms that his administration had the entire approval of his father and the reigning monarch, Kulōttuṅga I.

Then Vikrama-chōḷa would have had to contend against both his brother Parāntakadēva and his father Kulōttuṅga I to achieve his object. His ultimate success, even during the lifetime of his father, clearly implies that he must have had the active support not only of some strong

[1] *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 196.
[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1211.
[3] Ibid., Nos. 1216, 1228.
[4] Ibid., Vol. IX, No. 213.
[5] Ibid., No. 213.
[6] *JAHRS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 59; *Proc. AIOC*, Session X, p. 421.
[7] *SII*, Vol. VI, No 123.

and influential local faction, but also of some strong foreign power, mightier than that of the Chōḷa. We have pointed out elsewhere[1] that Vikrama-chōḷa was the son of Kulōttuṅga, not by Madhurāntakī, the Chōḷa princess, but by a Hoysaḷa princess. The invasion of the Chōḷa dominion by Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana with the support of his ally and overlord the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was the avowed enemy of the reigning Chōḷa monarch Kulōttuṅga I was perhaps partly motivated by the Hoysaḷa king's desire to install Vikrama-chōḷa, his nephew, on the Chōḷa throne. The Hoysaḷa bore the brunt of the war in the south as well as in the north, just before the formal proclamation of the accession of Vikrama-chōḷa.

It is also to be noted in this connection that the regions of Gaṅgavāḍi in the west and Vēṅgī in the north lost by the Chōḷas in the closing years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I were not recovered by Vikrama-chōḷa. So far as Gaṅgavāḍi was concerned, the bulk of it was lost for ever. And as for Vēṅgī, so long as Vikramāditya VI was alive, the Chōḷas do not appear to have set their foot in it and their erstwhile subordinates, the local rulers, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas. Towards the end of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, we find an Eastern Chālukya prince Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana entrusted with the administration of Vēṅgī. An inscription on a stone pillar now in the Rajahmundry Museum,[2] which once probably belonged to the temple of Vīrabhadrēśvara at Paṭṭēśam, registers the gift of 25 cows to the temple by a resident of Penugoṇḍa on a day in Śaka 1067 coupled with the 21st regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja, corresponding to the 25th December 1145 A.D. This would yield Śaka 1047 or 1125-26 A.D. as the date for his accession. We have records of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI dated in his 51st regnal year[3] which commenced in June 1126 A.D., and his son and successor, Sōmēśvara III ascended the throne some time between July 21 and October 5 of the same year. The Western Chālukyas were in complete occupation of Vēṅgī when this Eastern Chālukya prince commenced his rule there. An inscription[4] in Sanskrit incised on a pillar lying in front of the Kēśavasvāmin temple at Yenamalakuduru in the Gannavaram Taluk of the present Guntur District records the gift of the town of Vijayavāḍa to the temple of Mallēśvara by Bhīma, the son of Boddana. It is stated therein that Boddana obtained the town as a gift for the prosperity of his family from the Chōḷa king Tripurāntaka and the Karṇāṭa king (*Karṇāṭa-bhūbhujaḥ*), i.e. the Western Chālukya monarch. Another record,[5] a Telugu version of the same, incised on the same pillar gives some additional particulars. It states that Bhīma belonged to the Pallava family and gives his genealogy for three generations. But it is not known who this Chōḷa prince Tripurāntaka was. The fact that the grant made by him was confirmed by the Western Chālukya king would show that he was ruling over Vēṅgī as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya and this could have happened only after the conquest of that country by Vikramāditya VI. We have already noticed that Vijayavāḍa was originally granted by Kulōttuṅga I to a certain Boddana and that the gift was renewed by Parāntaka and confirmed by Kulōttuṅga I in 1115-16 A.D. in favour of Bhīmana who was the brother of the above Boddana and had been enjoying the property even during the life-time of his brother. The same was now conferred on Boddana by Tripurāntaka-chōḷa and confirmed by the Western Chālukya king, probably Vikramāditya VI. Tripurāntaka's name is not found elsewhere and he is a Chōḷa prince unknown hitherto. In an inscription[6] from the Telingana districts a general of Kumāra Sōmēśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI, states that he captured the Chōḷaga and his younger brother. Probably Tripurāntaka

[1] Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 227-28.
[2] *SII*, Vol. X, No. 116.
[3] Ibid., Vol. IX, No. 213.
[4] Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 91.
[5] Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 100.
[6] *Telengana Inscriptions*, No. 35; *JOR*, Vol. XXV, pp. 59-61.

was that brother whom subsequently Vikramāditya VI set up to rule over Vēṅgī. It is quite likely that this prince was set up to rule over Vēṅgī during the last days of Vikramāditya VI, presumably to continue the hold of the Western Chālukya rule over the area permanently and to prevent the return of the country to the Imperial Chōḷas.

Thus at the time of Vikrama-chōḷa's accession to the throne, the Chōḷa empire had lost Gaṅgavāḍi in the west and Vēṅgī in the north. Probably such cession of territory to the Chālukya was the price which Vikrama-chōḷa had agreed to pay for the help rendered to him by Vishṇuvardhana and Vikramāditya VI in securing the Chōḷa throne. It is true that evidences are not quite clear and that some of the foregoing statements may not be capable of individual proof at present ; but there is nothing implausible in the surmises made, the correctness of which will have to be confirmed by future discoveries.

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records referred to in the discussion above.

## TEXT[1]

### A

1 Svasti-Śrī [||*]Pūmaṅgai vaḷara Puvimaṅgai puṇara

2 Jayamaṅgai maguḷa[2] Pugaḷmaṅgai ka[3]malara=ttann-a-

3 ḍiy-iraṇḍu[n*]=taraṇipar śūṭṭa(ḍa) peṇ-muḍiyodu[m]=mu[4] puga-

4 ḷuḍan śūḍi=taṅ-gōn varavil[5] śeṅgōl na-

5 ḍātta(tti)[6] tiṅgaḷ-veṇ-kuḍai-kīḻ vijaiya-siṁ-

6 hāsaṇattu vīṟṟirundaruḷiya Kō-Pparakēsari-pa[n*]

7 marāṇa Tribhuvaṇachakkaravattigaḷ śrī-**Parāntakadē-**

8 **va[r*]kku yāṇḍu 9-dāvadu** Nittavinōda-vaḷanā-

9 ṭ[7] ṭṭu Nallūr-nāṭṭu Rājakēsari-charu[p*]pēdimaṅ-

10 galattu T[i]ruchchēlūr Mahādēva[r*]kku Pāṇḍi-

11 kulāśaṇi-vaḷaṇāṭṭu Kiḷiyūr-nāṭṭu [Kā]ḷi-

12 kuḍi=[k*] kuḍigaḷḷa(ḷā)ṇa Araiyaṇ [Ka*]ṇṇa[p*]pan[8][n=ā]-

13 ṇa Irājakēsari Pērayanēn[9] amudu-

14 paḍikku ṇāṇ koṇḍu-viṭṭa nilam=āvadu-[|*] Rā-

15 jakēsari-charu[p*]pēdimaṅgalattu Kalākala[ch*]-

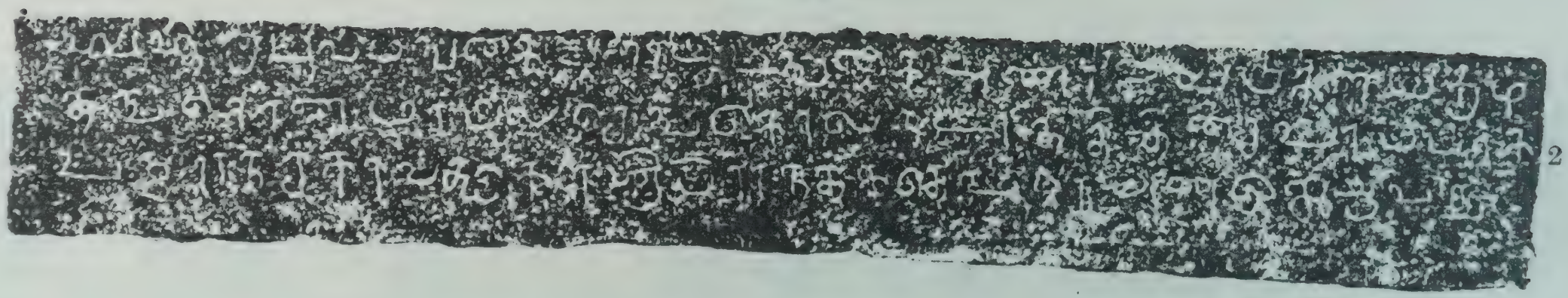
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[1] From the ink-impression.
[2] Read *maguḷa*.
[3] This *ka* is redundant.
[4] Read *poṇ-muḍi=yoḷiyiḍa*. It is written correctly in B.
[5] Read *marabil*.
[6] The phrase *tiśai varambāga* has been omitted here. See B, line 2.
[7] The first *ṭ* is superfluous.
[8] The *n* following *pa* is superfluous.
[9] [The reading appears to be *Pōyanēn* (i.e. *Bhōjanēn*) here as well as in line 28.—D.C.S.]

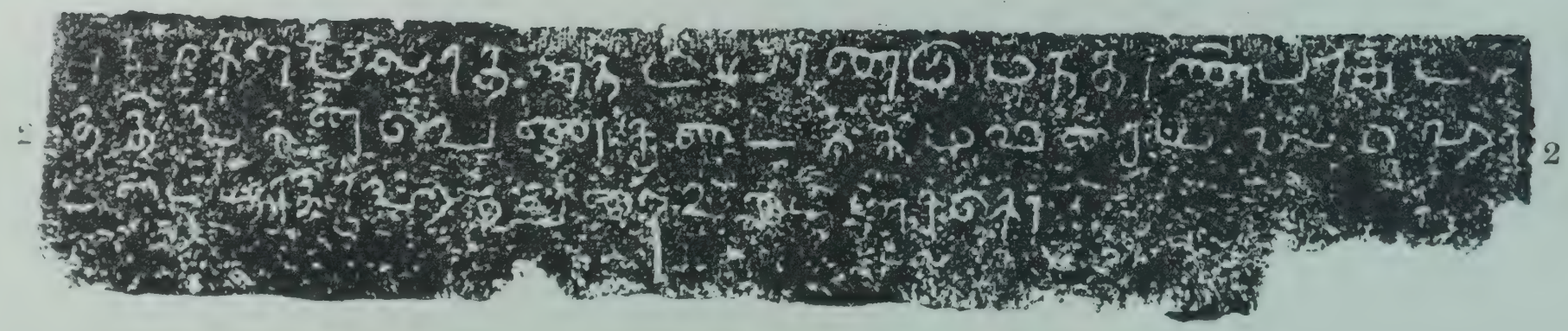



Scale : Nine-fortieths

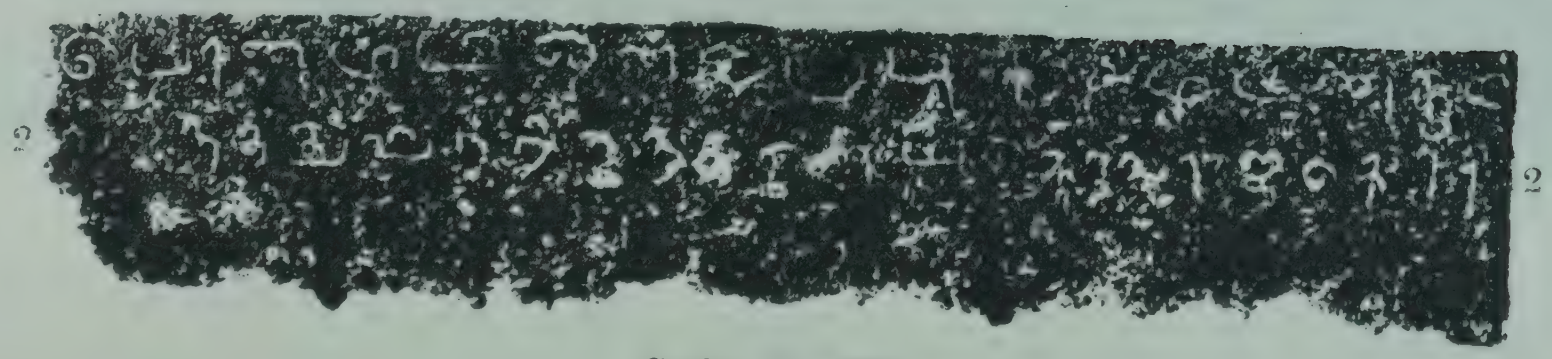
First Piece



Second Piece



Third Piece



Scale : One-fifth

16 ōhēri Kavuśiyaṉ Nārāyaṇan Nārayaṇanār-pakkal

17 ṉāṉ[1] vilai-koṇḍu-viṭṭa ṉilam=āvadu [|*] Ādi[t*]ta-

18 vadikku mēṟku Rājakēsari-vāy-

19 kkālu[k*]ku teṟku añj[ā]ṅgaṉṉā-

20 ṟṟu iraṇḍāñ=chadirattu= kreya-

21 m[pa]ḷambaḍi nilam kālēmukkāṇi[k*]

22 kī[ḷ][2]ḷ=eṭṭu mā [|*] i-ṉṉilam kālē-

23 mukkāṇi[k*]kīḷ eṭṭu māvu[k*]kum vi-

24 lai iṭṭu-[k*] koṇḍa kāśu āṟu [|*] i-k-

25 kāś=āṟum=iṭṭu-[k*]koṇḍu i-nnilam

26 chandr-ādi[t*]tavarai i-[d*]dēva[rk*]ku amudupaḍi śe-

27 lvadāga=[k*] koṇḍu viṭṭēṉ Araiya-

28 ṉ Kaṉṉa[3]ppaṉāṉa[4] Rājakēsari Pērayaṉēṉ[5][ ‖ *]

## TRANSLATION

### A

Hail ! Prosperity ! While the goddess with the (*lotus*) flower (i.e. Lakshmī) prospered ; while the goddess of Earth wedded (*the king*) ; while the goddess of victory beamed with joy ; while the goddess of Fame was resplendent ; while (*all other*) kings bore (*on their heads*) his two feet ; while he put on with fame the shining golden crown and wielded the sceptre in the tradition of (*his*) forebears ; while he was seated on the victorious throne under the white parasol extending up to the (*four*) quarters ; in **the 9th year** (*of the reign*) of (*this*) king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds (*Tribhuvanachakravartin*) the prosperous **Parāntakadēva :**

The following land was purchased and given away as gift by me, Araiyaṉ Kaṉṉappaṉ *alias* Rājakēsari Pērayaṉ, a resident of Kāḷikuḍi, a village in Kiḻiyūrnāḍu, a sub-division of Pāṇḍikulāśani-vaḷanāḍu for the (*daily*) offerings to the god Tiruchchēlūr-Mahādēva in Rājakēsari-charuppōdimaṅgalam(chaturvēdimaṅgalam) in Nallūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu. The (*piece of*) land purchased (*for being given away as gift*) by me from Kavuśiyan Nārāyaṇan *alias* Nārāyaṇan of Kalākalachchēri in Rājakēsari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam to the west of Ādittavadi, to the south of the channel (*vāykkāl*) Rājakēsari and comprised in the second square of the fifth *kaṉṉāṟu* and measuring 1/4, 3/80, 1/800 (or 231/800) (*kālēmukkāṇik-kīḻ-eṭṭu mā*). The price (*fixed and*) paid for this land of 231/800 (*measurement*) was six *kāśus*. This (*price of*) six *kāśu* was paid and the land given for offerings to the god till the sun and moon last, by me Araiyaṉ Kaṉṉappaṉ *alias* Rājakēsari Pērayaṉ.

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[1] The letter *ṉā* is written underneath *ṉ*.

[2] The first *ḷ* is superfluous.

[3] This *ṉṉa* is written like the Grantha letter, i.e. two *ṉ*'s one below the other.

[4] The letter *ṉā* is written below *ṇa*.

[5] The letter *ṉ* is written below *ṉē*. [See above, p. 196, note 0 —D.C.S.]

B

1 Svasti Śrī [ ‖ *] Puvimaṅgai vaḷara Pūmaṅgai puṇara Jayamagaḷ maguḷa[1] Pugaḷ [ma*]gaḷ malara taṉu aḍiy=iraṇḍumn[2]=taraṇipar śūḍa pon-muḍi oḷi[3]yiḍa puga(ḷ)[4]ḷ=udaṉ śūḍi

2 taṅ-gōṉ marabil śeṅgōl naḍātti-[t*]ṭiśai varambāga-ttiṅgaḷ[5]-veṇkuḍaik-kīḻ viśaiya-s[i]mhāsanattu vīṟṟirundaruḷiya[6] Kōv=[I*]rājakēsari-

3 panmarāna chak[ka*]ravatthi(tti)gaḷ śrī-**Pirāntakadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 9 āvadu** [‖* ] Udaiyār Tiruvaṟatturai Uḍaiyār Kō[6]

[1] Read *magiḷa*.
[2] This *m* is superfluous.
[3] The letters *ḷa* looks like *ṉa*.
[4] The first *ḷ* is superfluous.
[5] The letter *ḷa* looks like *ṉa*.
[6] The inscription stops abruptly here.

## No. 23—SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMEṢVARAVARMAN, YEAR 1

(*1 Plate*)

P. B. Desai, Dharwar

This inscription was found at **Sirṟambākkam** *alias* Teṇkāraṇai, a village in the Tiruvaḷḷūr Taluk, Chingleput District, Madras State. It was copied by a member of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in the course of the epigraphical survey of the Taluk in 1947-48. It is registered as No. 83 of Appendix B and noticed at page 1 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for that year. I edit the record here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab of stone used as a step at the entrance of the Chelliamman temple in the above village. The slab is almost square in dimensions measuring about 29 inches long and 28.5 inches broad. In the central part of the stone is carved a floral design consisting of melon-shaped petals arrayed within the space formed by two concentric circles. The diameter of the inner circle is about 8 inches and that of the outer one 15.5 inches. The space inside the inner circle is left blank. The margin on the four sides of this design contains the writing. The inscription is made up of six lines, two of which are incised in the upper space, followed by two more in the right. Next comes one line at the bottom and another towards the left. The record is partly damaged and a few letters in lines 3 to 5 are obliterated. As the inscription speaks of the erection of a temple, it seems likely that this inscribed slab was originally fixed into a wall of that temple.

With the exception of the four letters of the Grantha alphabet, viz., *ś*, *m*, *h* and *j* in the first line, the **characters** are archaic Tamil of the unornamental variety and belong to the 7th century. They may be compared with those employed in the cave inscription at Vallam[1] and some of the labels on the rocks near Pūñjēri.[2] Among the individual letters may be noted the initial *a* in line 5 and cursive *y* in line 6.

The **language** is Tamil. We may note the honorific plural °*varummar* of Sanskrit *varman* in line 1. The vowel-ending plural form *Sōmāśiyāru* in the compound *Sāmāśiyāru-marumagaṉ* is also noteworthy. Two similar forms are met with in the Vallam cave inscription, namely, *Mayēndirappōttareśaru-aḍiyāṉ* in line 3 and *Vayandappiriareśaru-magaṉ* in line 4. The full import of the expression *Tūṇaṅ-giḻavar* in line 2 is not known. The word *kiḻavar*, which, however, forms part of it, may stand for 'chiefs' or 'headmen.' The expression *taḍumā* in line 6 is difficult to explain.

The inscription refers itself to the first regnal year[3] of *Mahārāja* Paramēśvaravarman. Considering the palaeography of the epigraph and the historical facts known about the Pallavas of Kāñchī, who had risen to power at this time and were wielding authority in the region represented by the present record, we are justified in identifying this *Mahārāja* Paramēśvaravarman with the Pallava ruler Paramēśvara I (*circa* 670-700 A. D.). The **date** of our epigraph would thus be **about 670 A.D.**

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[1] *SII*, Vol. II, No. 72 and Plate X.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XII, No. 23 A and Plate II.

[3] The expression *talaittu* from *talai* is used adjectively in the sense of 'first'. The same usage may also be noted in the familiar phrase *talaittu kuḻandai* meaning 'first child'. For epigraphic usage of the word *talai* meanin 'first,' we may note the expression *Āṉi-ttalai-ppiṟaiyāl* in the Takkōlam inscription (above, Vol. XIX, p. 87).

The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a temple by the sister's son of Sōmāśiyār[1] who appears to claim some distinction. The name of this relative is partially preserved in the expression *Kumā[raṇ]*. This appears to be the **earliest known reference to the construction of a structural temple in the Tamil country.**

The epigraph is of importance on account of the fact that it is **one of the few early inscriptions on stone written in archaic Tamil.** Added to this is another fact that it is also one of the few inscriptions referring to the reigns of the early Pallava rulers and citing the regnal years. The epigraphs of the early Pallava kings of the Siṁhavishṇu line are characterised by the following notable features. They are incised generally on rocks and in caves ; their script is Pallava-Grantha of the ornamental variety and their language is Sanskrit. Most of them are of the nature of mere labels comprising royal titles and epithets. Even if we take into account a few more Tamil inscriptions of the early period belonging to private agencies,[2] purely Tamil epigraphical records as such containing specific allusions to the contemporary rulers are conspicuous by their paucity. Only two such instances have come to our notice so far. One is the Vallam cave inscription mentioning Pallava Mahēndravarman I and the other the Tirukkaḷikuṇṟam epigraph referring to his successor Narasiṁhavarman I.[3] The present record, therefore, makes a welcome addition to this meagre list.

There is probably only one **place-name** mentioned in the record and it is Ālavāy. This place is usually identified with Madura. But if we connect the word *Ālavāyil* with *eḍuppitta* occurring later, it will show that the temple was constructed at Ālavāy which may have been an early name of Teṇkāraṇai, the provenance of the record.[4]

## TEXT[5]

*Upper Side*

1 Śrī-Mahārāja-Paramēśvaravarummaṟkku yāṇḍu talaittā-

2 vadu Tūṇaṅ-giḻavaruḷ=Ālavāyil Sōmāśiyā-

*Right Side*

3 ru-marumagaṇ Kumā[raṇ] ....

4 ḍuppitta kō[yil]....

*Lower Side*

5 .....aḻi[vu]m śe-

*Left Side*

6 ydār taḍumāv=ēṟkka [|*]

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[1] Sōmāśiyār may be contracted either from Sōmayājiyār or Sōmājiyār.

[2] For instance, Tirumayyam inscription (*SII*, Vol. XII, p. 3, n. 1) ; Pūñjēri records (ibid., No. 23 A) ; *A.R.Ep.*, 1937-38, Nos. 133, 140, etc.

[3] *A.R.Ep.*, 1932-33, p. 55.

[4] [The language of the record seems to mean that Sōmāśiyār hailed from the locality called Ālavā il. —D.C.S.]

[5] From impressions.

SIRRAMBAKKAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN; YEAR 1



Scale: One-fourth

## No. 24—PATTALI GRANT OF YUVARAJA RAJENDRAVARMAN, GANGA YEAR 313

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

This inscription was published by Mr. Manda Narasimham in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, June 1954, pp. 574 ff. In April 1956, it was purchased from Mr. Narasimham for the Epigraphical Gallery in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Nothing is known to us about the findspot of the record and the story of its discovery. Mr. Narasimham's article in the *Bhārati* does not disclose any fact in these respects. But there is little doubt that the plates were discovered somewhere in the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh.

The inscription is written on **three** copper plates held together by a ring bearing the seal of the issuer of the charter. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 7½ inches in length and 3½ inches in height. They have slightly raised rims. There is a hole (about ⅖ inch in diameter) in the left side of the plates for the ring to pass through. The diameter of the ring is about 4½ inches while its thickness is about ⅖ inch. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a thick circular **seal** about 1 inch in diameter. On the countersunk surface of the seal, which is considerably corroded, there are traces of the figure of a standing animal which is no doubt a bull that was the emblem of the Eastern Gaṅga kings. The three plates together weigh about 94 *tolas* and the ring and the seal about 38 *tolas*.

There are altogether 37 lines of writing in the inscription. But line 30 containing only three *aksharas* written between the beginning of lines 29 and 31 is not a continuous line, while the last line contains only one *akshara* followed by a *daṇḍa*. The inscription is incised on the inner side of the first plate and both the sides of the second and third plates. It has, however, to be noticed that, through oversight, the engraver originally began to incise the concluding part of the record (lines 34 ff.) on the outer side of the first plate instead of on the corresponding side of the third plate, which is its proper place. But the mistake was detected when only one line and a half had been engraved on the reverse of the first plate.

The **characters** belong to the later Kaliṅga script and resemble those of many early medieval inscriptions discovered in the Srikakulam region. The letter *dh* has the form of *ddh* in some cases as noticed often in inscriptions in the later Kaliṅga alphabet. The **language** of the record is corrupt Sanskrit and it is written in prose with the exception of a few imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end. In point of **orthography**, the record resembles other epigraphs of the area and age in question. The grant was issued in the **year 313** of the Gaṅga era, which fell in the period between 809 and 811 A. D. The date is written both in words and in figures ; but there are no other details of the date.

The charter was issued from **Kaliṅganagara** by *Yuvarāja* **Rājēndravarman**, described as the son of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parambhaṭṭāraka* **Anantavarman** of the Eastern Gaṅga family. It records the grant firstly of the village of **Pāṭṭali** (elsewhere called **Pāḍali**) situated in the territorial unit called **Kṛishṇamaṭṭamba**, in favour of the goddess Kañchipōṭṭi-bhattārikā, in order to provide for her offerings, etc., by *Yuvarāja* Rājēndravarman himself and secondly of **Kuśasaṅkira-grāma** in **Dāpupañchālī** and **Arali-grāma** in **Jāmbōṭṭa-pañchālī** in favour of the same deity by Rājēndravarman's mother **Lōka-mahādēvī**. The primary object of the charter was to record the grant of Pāṭṭali-grāma since the order of the *Yuvarāja* was issued to the inhabitants of that village only. That Lōka-mahādēvī's grant of the villages of Kuśasaṅkira and

Arali was added to the main charter as a subsidiary issue is further suggested by the fact that the boundaries of the gift land quoted in lines 24 ff. refer to the village of Pāḍali (i.e. Pāṭṭali) only.

The village of Pāṭṭali or Pāḍali was bounded in the east by a *naidhāni-śilā* (probably meaning 'a boundary pillar') and a *bilva* tree ; in the south by a pit and another *naidhāni-śilā* ; in the west by a pit (called Bhuṭṭaka probably after the name of the locality or its owner) and a mango tree ; and in the north by a pit (called Kāśimbi probably after the name of the locality or its owner) and certain forests. The above section of the charter is followed in lines 26 ff. by some of the well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses. The date of the grant, viz. year 313, is quoted in lines 34-35 as the year of the victorious reign of the Gāṅgēya dynasty. The document was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (i.e. the officer in charge of war and peace) Sāmirāja and the plates were engraved by the *akshaśālin* (i.e. goldsmith) Dāmachandra.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is one of the few charters issued by a crown-prince, the most well-known instance of this class of documents being the Mayidavolu plates[1] of the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman who flourished in the first half of the fourth century A. D. The circumstances leading to the issue of a charter by the crown-prince instead of the king himself in these cases cannot be determined.

In order to determine the identity of the Gaṅga crown-prince Rājēndravarman, son of king Anantavarman, we have to take note of the following records of the family : (1) Alamanda plates[2] of Anantavarman son of *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman, dated year 304 ; (2) Indian Museum plates[3] of *Mahārāja* Dēvēndravarman, son of *Mahārāja* Rājēndravarman, dated year 308, (3) Tekkali plates[4] of the same king, dated year 310 ; (4) Nāmpali grant [5] of *Yuvarāja* Rājēndravarman, son of king Anantavarman, dated year 314 ; and (5) Mandasa plates[6] of Rājēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, dated year 342. These records show that the Gaṅga king Rājēndravarman was succeeded by his sons Anantavarman (year 304) and Dēvēndravarman (years 308 and 310) and that Dēvēndravarman was succeeded by Rājēndravarman, son of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman. The charter under study, issued by Anantavarman's son Rājēndravarman as *Yuvarāja* in the year 313, is therefore the third of his known records, the other two being his Nāmpali grant issued likewise as *Yuvarāja* in the year 314 and his imperfectly deciphered Mandasa plates of the year 342 probably issued as king. The present epigraph mentions Lōka-mahādēvī, mother of

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[1] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff. Another such instance is the Uruvupalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 5 ff.) of the Pallava *Dharma-Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa ; but the record is dated in the regnal year of the reigning monarch Siṁhavarman. If, however, the dating would have been in an era, as in the present case, Siṁhavarman's name could have been omitted since it is not mentioned in the formal part of the grant. Cf. the Halsi plates of the Kadamba *Yuvarāja* Kākusthavarman, probably dated in the Gupta year 80 (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 334). For a grant issued by a *Mahāyuvarāja*, see B. Ch. Chhabra, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part II, p. 64.

[2] Above., Vol. XXX, pp. 18 ff.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 312 ff. As the date is written in this record as *śata-mayē daś-ōttarē*, it was not quite certain that the intended reading is really *śata-trayē daś-ōttarē* (i.e. in the year 310). No doubt on this point can, however, be entertained after the publication of the Indian Museum plates issued in the year 308. That the two records belong to one and the same Gaṅga king is clear from the fact that the same scribe and engraver are mentioned in both the charters. The Indian Museum epigraph was written by *Rahasya* (i.e. *Rahasyādhikrita*) Sarvachandra and engraved by *Akshaśālin śrī-Sāmanta* Khaṇḍimala, while the writer of the Tekkali charter was *śrī-Sāmanta* Sarvachandra and its engraver *Akshaśālin śrī-Sāmanta* Khaṇḍimala. The undated Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates (*JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, pp. 17ff.) of the same king were also written and engraved by the said persons, viz., Sarvachandra-śrī-sāmanta and śrī-sāmanta-Khaṇḍimala. The official designation *Rahasya* also occurs in the Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 11-12 and Plate) of Satyavarman, the first son of Dēvēndravarman and successor of Rājēndravarman of our inscription. This record is dated in the Gaṅga year 351 which was at first wrongly read.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, 1923-24, pp. 97-98 ; *Journ. Or. Res.*, Vol. IX, 1935, pp. 59-63.

[6] *R. Ep.*, 1917-18, Appendix A, No. 13 (cf. p. 137).

Rājēndravarman and queen of Anantavarman, for the first time. The Nāmpali charter records the grant of Nāmpali-grāma situated in Nidijēru-vishaya in favour of Sāmirāja, son of Gulāmarāja (wrongly read as *Guṇamarāja*) of the Ayana-kula. It was written by *Mahāsāndhivigrahin Raho* (i.e. *Rahasya* or *Rahasyādhikṛita*) Śrī-Sāmanta[1] and engraved by *Akshaśālin* Dāmachandra. It will be seen that the same *Akshaśālin* Dāmachandra was also the engraver of the charter under study while Sāmirāja, donee of the Nāmpali grant, seems to be none other than *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Sāmirāja who was its writer. It is interesting to note that the Mandasa plates, issued by Rājēndravarman more than quarter of a century later, was written by *Sandhivigrahin* Raṇōmēya who was the son of the said Sāmirāja.[2]

An interesting feature of the records of Rājēndravarman, issued by him as *Yuvarāja* during the years 313 and 314, is that they do not refer to the rule of his uncle Dēvēndravarman who is known to have issued charters in the years 308 and 310. It should also be noticed that *Yuvarāja* Rājēndravarman's grants dated in the years 313 and 314 and Dēvēndravarman's charters dated in the years 308 and 310 were all issued from the city of Kaliṅganagara. In the present state of insufficient information on the point, it is difficult to suggest any hostility between Rājēndravarman and his uncle only on this ground. We know that the Early Eastern Gaṅga kings generally represented themselves each as the son of his father and not as the successor of his predecessor. As for instance, Dēvēndravarman's charters describe him as the son of Rājēndravarman and not as the successor of his elder brother and predecessor Anantavarman. But *Yuvarāja* Rājēndravarman's case is somewhat different since he issued the charters in question as a crown-prince when his uncle Dēvēndravarman may have been on the throne. As, however, the Mayidavolu plates were similarly issued by the Pallava *Yuvamahārāja* Śivaskandavarman without any reference to the reigning Pallava king who was probably his father, it is not easy to arrive at a conclusion from this fact.

Besides Kaliṅganagara, the capital of the Eastern Gaṅgas, identified generally with modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam, and the well-known Mahēndragiri peak on the borders between the Ganjam and Srikakulam Districts, the inscription mentions the following geographical names; the villages of Pāṭṭali or Pāḍali, Kuśasaṅkira and Arali as well as the districts of Kṛishṇamaṭṭamba, Dāpu-pañchālī and Jāmbōṭṭa-pañchālī. I am not sure about their location. There are other instances of the use of the word *pañchālī* to indicate a territorial unit in the inscriptions of the area in question.[3]

## TEXT[4]

### *First Plate*

1 Siddham[5] svasti [|] A*]marapur-āṇu(nu)kāriṇa[ḥ*] srarvartu[6]-sukha-ra[ma][7]ṇī-

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[1] In the records of Dēvēndravarman the expression *śrī-Sāmanta* is used as an epithet of both the scribe and the engraver. In this case, however, Sāmanta looks like the personal name of the scribe unless it is believed that the personal name was omitted after the epithet through oversight. An *Amātya* Śrī-Sāmanta seems to have been the scribe of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (second son of Dēvēndravarman, predecessor of Rājēndravarman of the inscription under study), dated year 358 (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 341).

[2] The engraver of the record is stated to have been the son of one Maüchandra who seems to have been related to Dāmachandra. *Maüchandra* may also be a wrong reading for *Dāmachandra*.

[3] Cf. Kōrāsōḍaka-pañchālī in the Koroshanda plates of Viśākhavarman (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.) and the Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates of Indravarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff.). Pushyagiri-pañchālī is called a *vishaya* in the Sudava plates of Dēvēndravarman (above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 62 ff.).

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Read *sarv-artu*. There is trace of a letter, originally incised and later erased, between *rva* and *rtu*.

[7] The sign meant for the letter *ma* has a peculiar form.

2 yād=vijayavata[ḥ*] **Kaliṅganagara**-vāsakā[t*] Mahēndra(ndr-ā)**chala(l-ā)ma-**

3 la-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurō[ḥ*] saka[1]la-bhuva-

4 na-nirmāṇ-aika-su(sū)traddhā(dhā)rasya sasākha-chuḍāmaṇair[2]=bhagava-

5 tō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaś=charaṇa-kamala[3]-yugala-praṇu(ṇā)-

6 ma(mā)dvī(d=vi)gata-Kali-kāla-kalaṅkō=nēk-āhavaḥ-saṅkshōbha[4]-janita-jaya-

7 savda[5] pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chuḍā-

8 maṇī[6]- prabhā-mañjari-puñja-rañjita-vara-cha[ra*]ṇō ni-

*Second Plate, First Side*

9 ja-nistṛisaddhār[7]-ōpārjita-sakala-Kaliṅg-āddhi(dhi)rājya[ḥ*]

10 pravitata-sita-kumuda-kund-ēndv-avadāta-vini[rga][8]-

11 ta-yaśō(śāḥ) dhvast-ārāti-kul-āchalō naya-vinaya-daya(yā)-da(dā)-

12 na-dākshinyasaudārya[9]-satya-tyāg-āddi(di)-guṇa-sa[ṁ*]pad-ā-

13 ddhā(dhā)ra-bh[ū]tō(taḥ) paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitra(tṛi)-pad-ānudhya(dhyā)-

14 tō **Gaṅg**-āmala-kul-ōdbhavō mahārājādhirāja-paramē-

15 śvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-śri[10]-**Anantavarmmadēva**-su(sū)nu-yu-

16 varāja-śri(śrī)-**Rājēndravarva(rmā)** kuśali(lī) **Kṛishṇamaṭṭamva**-a-[11]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

17 **nta**[ḥ*]pāti-**Pāṭṭali**-grāma-nivāsi-kuṭumvi(mbi)na[ḥ*] janapadā[ṁś=cha*] sa-

18 **ma**(mā)jñāpayati ch=ānya[d*]=viditam=astu vō bhatāṁ[12] grāmō=ya[ṁ*] śri(śrī)**ma-**

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[1] The original shows an unnecessary *ē-mātrā* with *ka*.

[2] Read *śaśāṅka-chūḍāmaṇēr°*. The *akshara sā* is engraved on an erasure.

[3] In this word *ka* has an unusual shape owing to the addition of an unnecessary stroke somewhat resembling an *ā-mātrā*, while *la* is incised on an erased *yu*.

[4] Read *°hava-saṅkshōbha* in which *s* and *ksh* have peculiar forms.

[5] Read *śabdaḥ*.

[6] Read *chūḍāmaṇi*.

[7] Read *nistriṁśa-dhār°*.

[8] The *akshara rga* is written on an erasure.

[9] Read *dākshiṇya-śaury-audārya*.

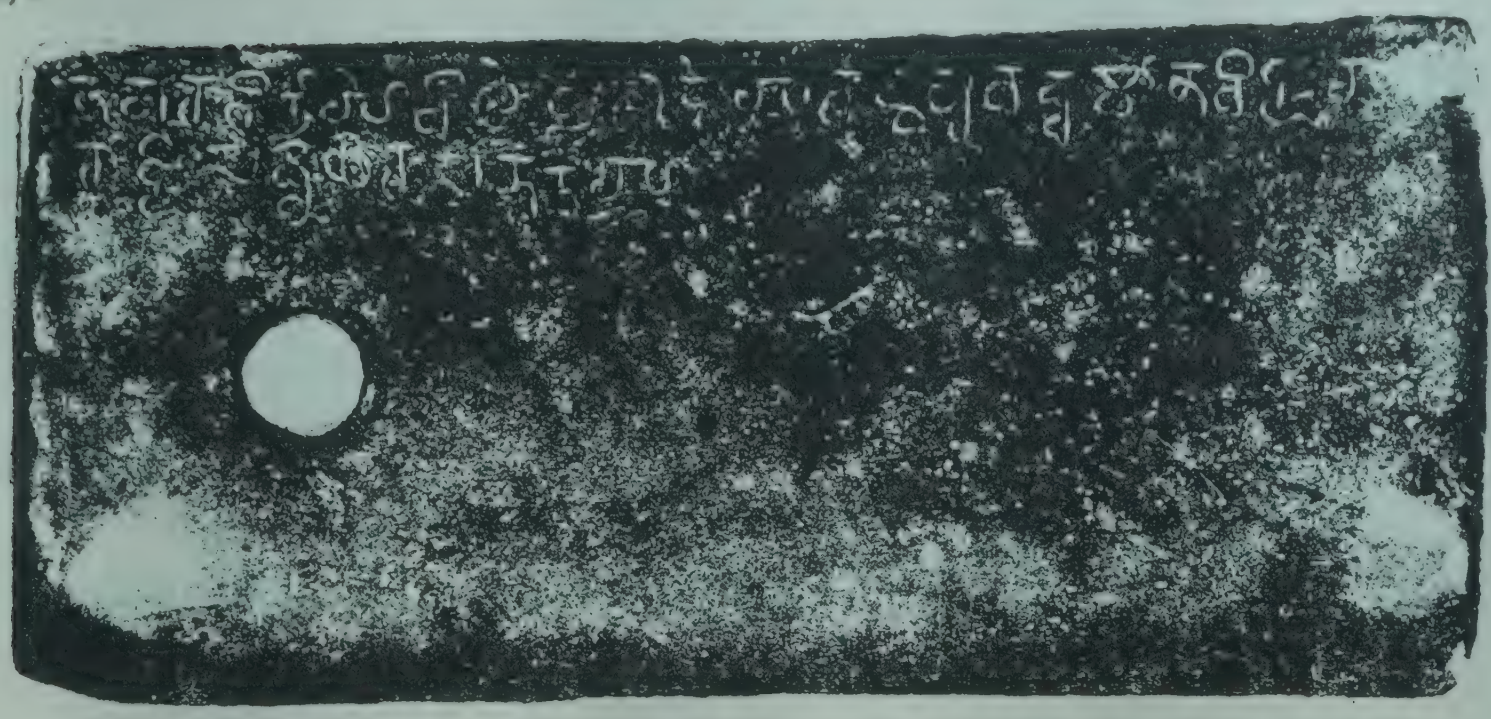
[10] Read *śrī* or correctly *śry-A°*.

[11] Read *°maṭṭamb-ā°*.

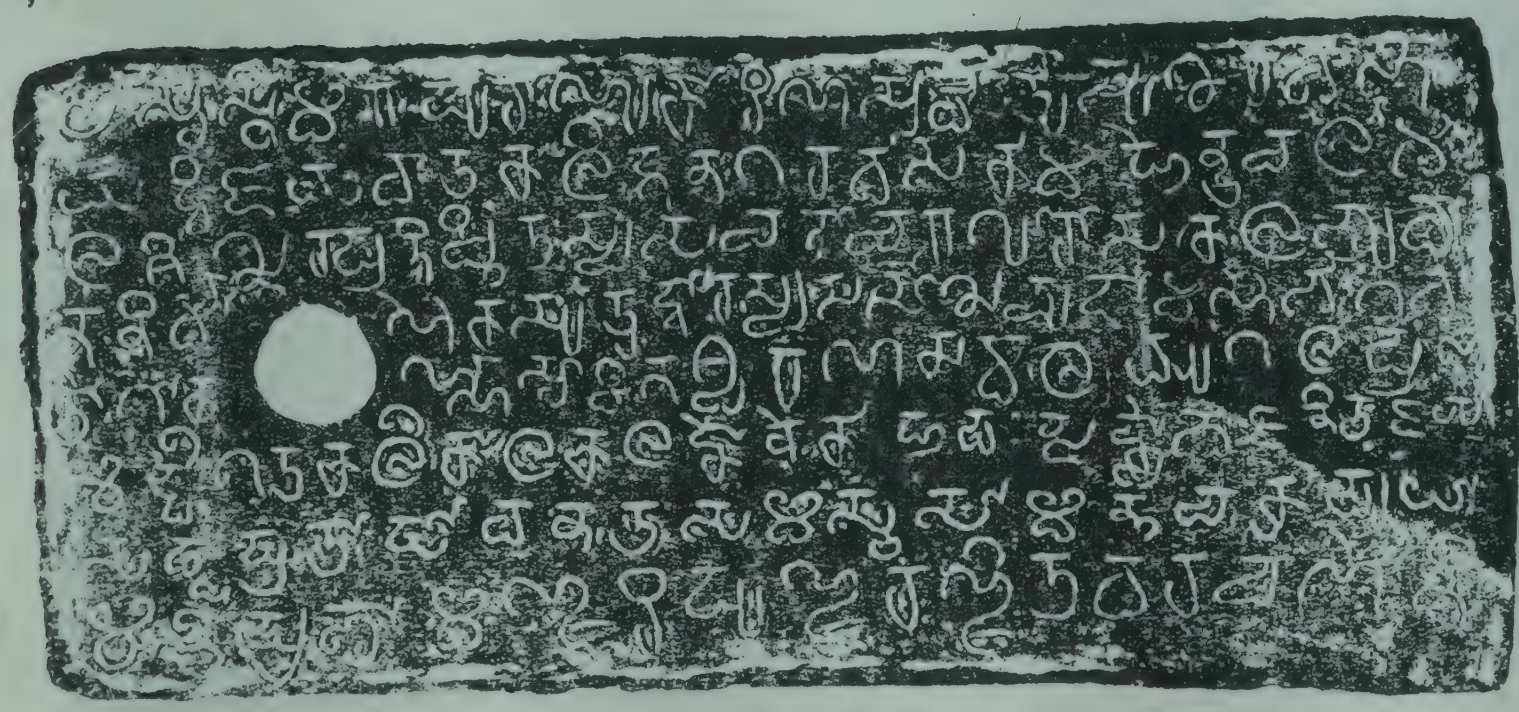
[12] The intended reading is *bhavatām* which is, however, redundant in view of the use of *vō*. Read instead *asmābhiḥ*

# PATTALI GRANT OF YUVARAJA RAJENDRAVARMAN, GANGA YEAR 313

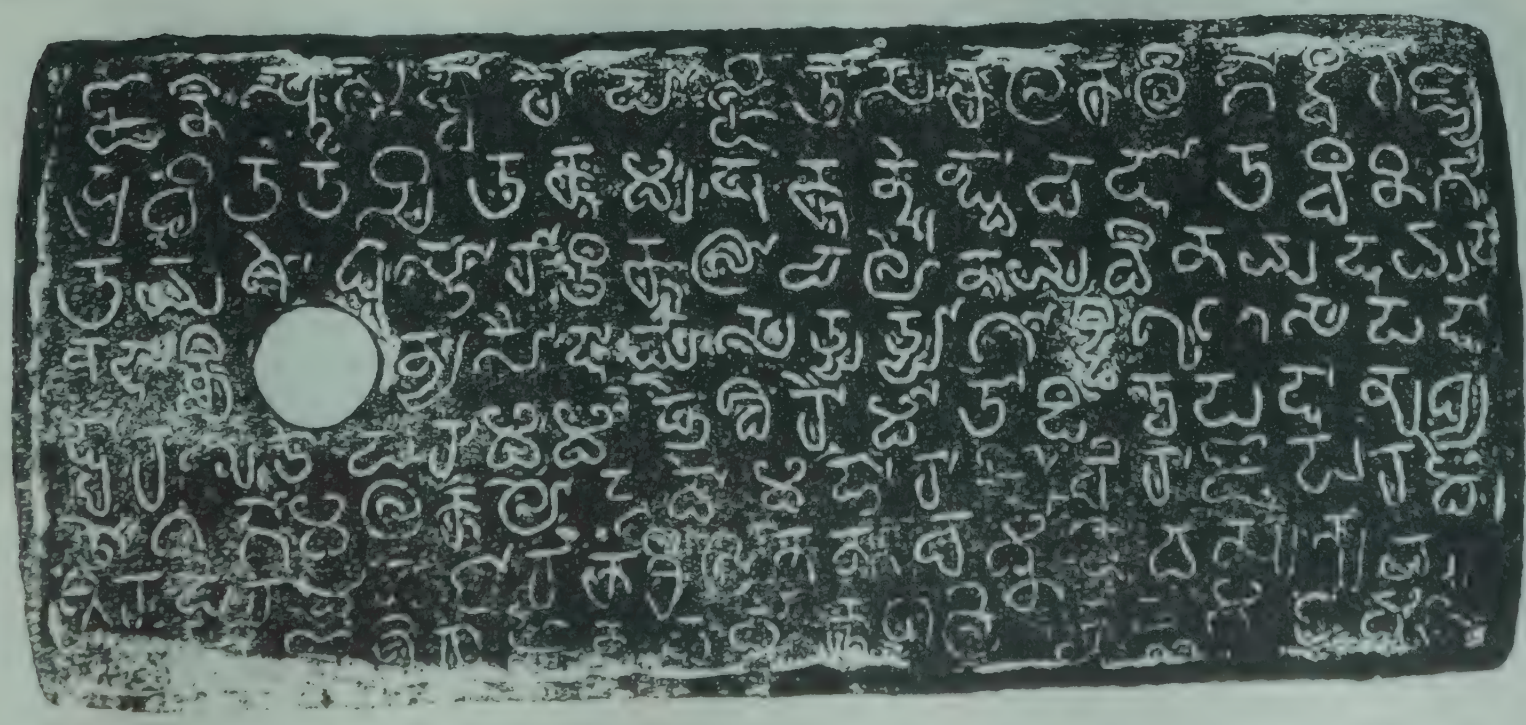
*i, a*



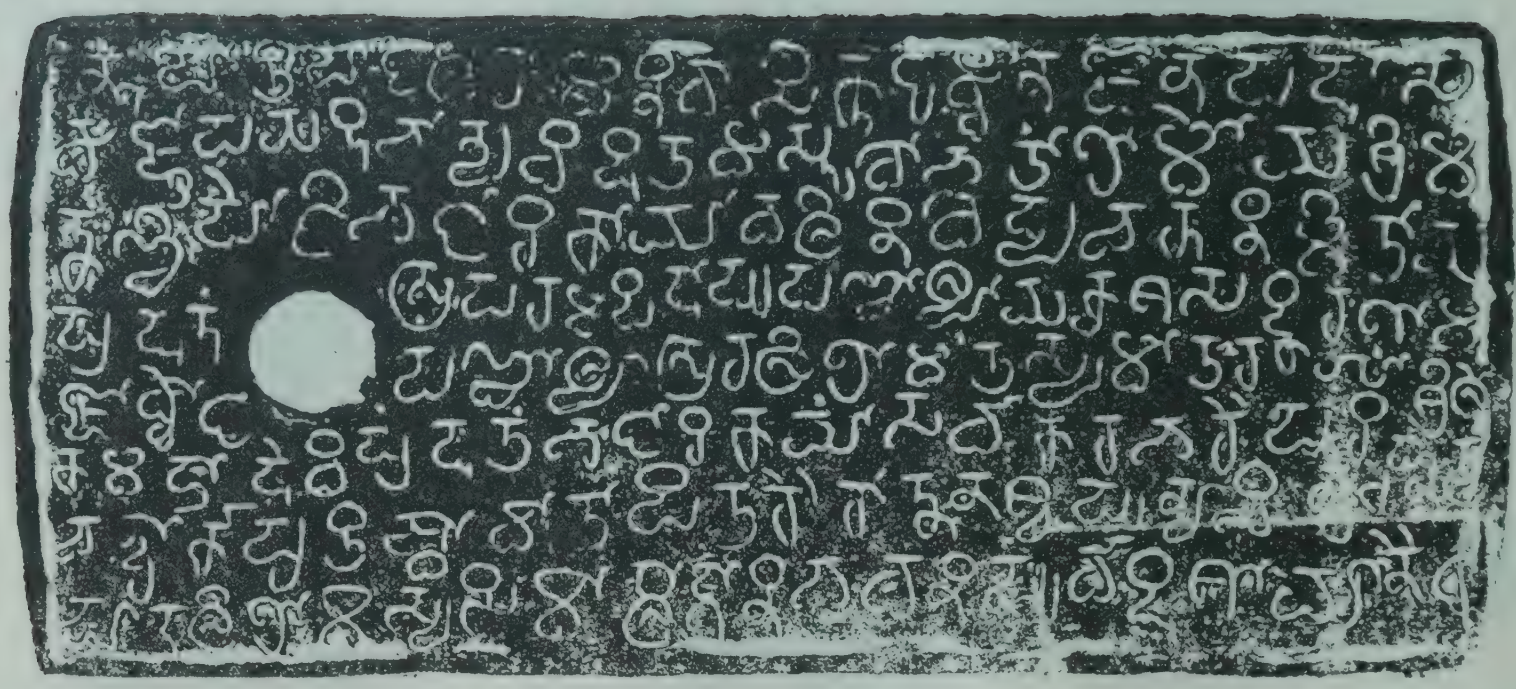
*i, b*



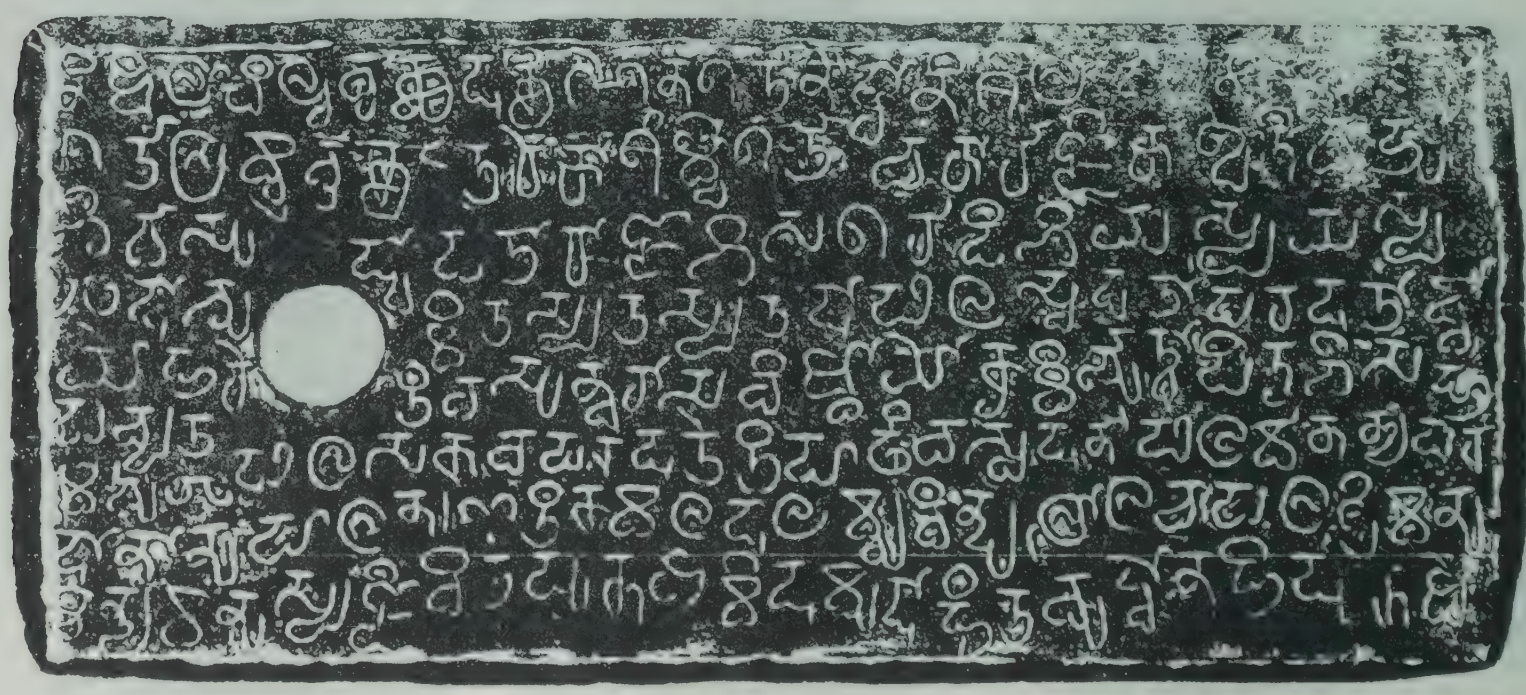
*ii, a*



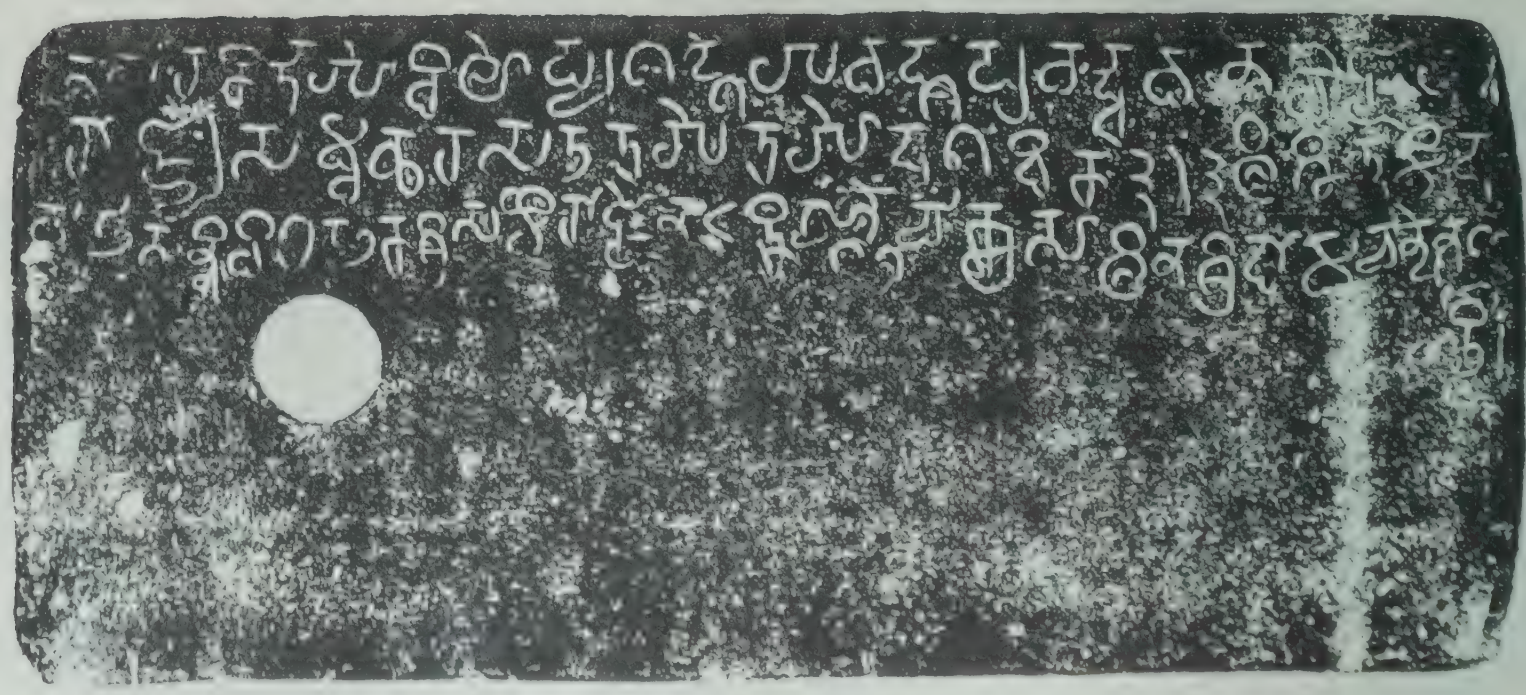
*ii, b*



*iii, a*



*iii, b*



19 t-Kañchipōṭṭi-bhaṭṭārikāyā va(ba)li-nivēdya-charu-nimitā(ttā)ya

20 pradataṁ(ttaḥ | ) aparam=api **Dāpu-pañchālyāya**[1] **Kuśasaṅkira-gā**(grā)ma[ḥ*]

21 **Jāmvō**(mbō)**ṭṭa-pañchālyā**[m*] **Arali-grāmaṁ**(maś=cha) tasya mātarayāṁ[2] śri(śrī)-**Lō-**

22 **kamahādēvi**(vyā) pradataṁ[3] bhaṭṭārikayāṁ[4] sarva-kara-bharaiḥ parihṛitya

23 chandr-ārka-pratishṭhā[5] mātā-pitaraurātnanaś=cha[6] punyā(ṇy-ā)bhivṛidha(ddha)-

24 [yē |*] Pāḍali-grāmasya si(sī)mā-li[ṅ]gā[7]ni bhavanti pu(pū)rva-diśāyā[ṁ*] naidhā-

*Third Plate, First Side*[8]

25 ni[8]-shi(śi)lā vi(bi)lva-vṛiksha[ś=cha |*] dakshiṇēna garta(rtā) naiddhā(dhā)ni-śilā [cha |*] paśch[i]m[ē]na Bhuṭṭaka-

26 garta(rtā) a(ā)mvra(mra)-vṛiksha[ś=cha |*] uta(tta)rē[ṇa*] Kāśimvi(mbi)-garta(rtā) vanā(na)-rāji[kā]ś=ch=ēti [||*] Va(Ba)hu-

27 **bhir=**vasuddhā(dhā) datā(ttā) rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya

28 yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[m ||*] Sva-datā(ttāṁ) para-datāmvā[9]

29 yō harēti(ta) vasundharā[m |*] sa vishṭhāyō(yāṁ) kṛimirbhu(r=bhū)tvā pitṛibhi[ḥ*] saha

30 pachyata(tē ||)[10]

31 Ma bhuya phalasaka[11] va[ḥ*] para-datē(tt=ē)ti pārthiva(vāḥ | ) sva-da(dā)nā[t*] phalam=ānantya[ṁ*] para-

32 dān-ānupālana(nē) |[|*] Iti kamala-dala(l-ā)mvu(mbu)-vindu-lōla(lāṁ) chapala[12] śri[ya*]m=anu-

33 chintya manusya(shya)-jī(jī)vitaṁ [cha|*] purusha[13]m=idam=udāhita vuddhā[14] na hi purushē-

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[1] Read *pañchālyāṁ*.

[2] Read *mātrā*.

[3] Read *pradattaḥ* or *pradattau*.

[4] Read *bhaṭṭārikāyai*.

[5] Better read *ā-chandr-ārka-pratishṭhaṁ* (or *pratishṭhān*) *kritvā*.

[6] Read *pitrōr=ātmana°*.

[7] The superscript of the conjunct is written on an erasure.

[8] The word *naidhāni* seems to be derived from Sanskrit *nidhāna* and to have been used to indicate 'a boundary pillar'. Better read *nidhana°* for *naidhāni* here and below. [The correct form would be *naidhānī*.—Ed.]

[9] Read *dattāṁ vā*.

[10] These letters, engraved between the beginning of the previous and following lines are not in a regular line of writing.

[11] Read *Mā bhūd=ī-phala-śaṅkā*.

[12] This word is redundant.

[13] Read *sakala°*.

[14] Read *°udāhṛitañ=cha buddhvā*.

*Third Plate, Second Side*

34 na[1] para-ki(kī)rtayō vilōpya(pyāḥ ||) **Gaṅgēya-vaṅśa[2]-pravarddhava(mā)na-vijaya-**

35 **rājya-samvachhara-śata[3]-trayē trayōdaga(ś-ā)dhika(kē) 313** likhitam=ida[ṁ*]

36 mahāsandhivigrahaka-śri[4]-Samirājēna[5] [|*] utki(tkī)rṇṇa[ṁ*] ch=ākshasālina[6] śri(śrī)-
Dāmachandēna(ndrēṇa) i-

37 ti |[7]

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[1] The intended reading is *purushēṇa*; but read *purushaiḥ* for the sake of the metre.

[2] Read *Gāṅgēya-vaṁśa*.

[3] Read *saṁvatsara-śata*.

[4] Read °*sāndhivigrahika-śrī*.

[5] Read *Svāmi*°. Instead of the *ā-mātrā* of *Sā*, the engraver seems to have incised what looks like a second *i-mātrā* of *mi*.

[6] Read °*śālinā*.

[7] This letter and the punctuation mark are incised below the end of the previous line.

## No. 25—FRAGMENTARY MAURYA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

A fragment of an inscribed stone slab was discovered in 1954 at Katra Keshavdev within Mathurā city, headquarters of the District of that name in Uttar Pradesh. It was presented by the Shri Krishna Janmabhumi Trust, Mathurā, to the local Archaeological Museum. In April 1955, I received two impressions of the fragmentary inscription from Mr. K. D. Bajpai, Curator of the said Museum. I am thankful to Mr. Bajpai for giving me an opportunity to study the inscription which was found on examination to be of considerable historical importance.

The inscribed fragment measures $22\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, with a small piece of stone broken away both from the top and from the bottom. The width of the stone is not uniform since it is mutilated at both the sides. The breadth of the upper part is 11 inches while that of the lower portion is only about 8 inches. There are altogether 15 lines of writing in the inscription. But a few letters are noticed in the upper left corner of the stone, although they appear to be scribblings of a slightly later date, having little to do with the original record under study. The letters of the epigraph are carefully engraved but they are not uniform in shape. As for instance, letters in line 1 are considerably smaller in size than those in lines 2-10. The letters in lines 11-15 are also somewhat smaller. The space between the lines is likewise not uniform, that between lines 1 and 2 being more than in any other case. Some letters are broken away from the beginning and end of all these lines. The major part of the record is written in verse and so the number of the lost syllables can be easily determined.

The characters resemble those of such inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries belonging to the western parts of Northern India as the Banskhera plate[1] of Harsha (606-47 A.D.), the Kundesvar inscription[2] (V.S. 718=661 A.D.) of Aparājita, the Jhalrapatan inscription[3] (V.S. 746=689 A.D.) of Durgagaṇa, the Kudarkot inscription[4] of about the second half of the seventh century, the Nagar inscription[5] (V.S. 741=684 A.D.) of Dhanika, and the Kanaswa inscription[6] (V.S. 795=738 A.D.) of Śivagaṇa. Some of the vowel-marks and subscripts are often of the ornamental type. For the ordinary and ornamental types of the medial signs of *i*, *ī* and *ē*, see respectively *śirō* and *vēshṭituṁ* in line 9, *śrī* in lines 3 and 4, and °*ānvayē* in line 3 and *mūlyēna* in line 8, while, for subscript *r*, see *śrī-Chandra*° in line 4. The difference between the ornamental forms of medial *i* and medial *ē* is that the former is extended towards the left after a sharp curve in the middle. The form of *rū* in line 2 is interesting. In many cases, the letter *d* has a marked protrusion at the back as in the modern Śāradā and Gurumukhī alphabets (cf. *dyutayē* in line 1, °*d*=*Ārya*° and *Chandra*° in line 4, *dinaṁ* in line 13). In some cases, the globular limb of *n* is not joined with the vertical hanging from the top *mātrā* (e.g. in *nṛipatiḥ* in line 4). The letter *k* shows

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff. and Plate.
[2] Ibid., pp. 20 ff. and Plate.
[3] Ibid., Vol. V, p. 181 and Plate.
[4] Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 180 ff. and Plate.
[5] *Bhārata Kaumudī*, Part I, pp. 267 ff. and Plate.
[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57 and Plate.

the older type only when it is the superscript in a conjunct or a vowel-mark is added to its bottom (cf. *Kṛishṇa*° in line 3, *Karkkaḥ* in line 4). The letter *b* is indicated by the sign for *v*. On palaeographical consideration, the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the seventh century or the first half of the eighth, preferably to the former period.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the invocatory passage at the beginning and the sentence mentioning the engraver in line 15, the whole epigraph is written in verse. As regards orthography, the inscription resembles contemporary records of Northern India. Final *m* is changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of stanzas. The extant part of the inscription bears no date.

The inscription contains a *praśasti* in five stanzas in all. The composer offers his adoration to a god in verse 1. Verse 2 introduces the royal personage, the recording of one of whose pious activities was the object of the inscription, while verse 3 speaks of the particular meritorious deed performed by him. Verse 4 prays for the permanency of the object made and verse 5 mentions the author of the *praśasti*. A passage in prose at the end of the record mentions the engraver. It is not possible to determine whether the date in figures was incised at the end of the line and is now broken away.

The first *akshara* in the extant part of line 1 seems to be a damaged *jyē* which is followed by a double *daṇḍa* and a symbol for *Siddham*. It is not possible to restore the word ending in *jyē* unless it is believed that the scribblings above the beginning of the line were meant to write the same. These scribbled letters appear to read *Yadu-ra(rā)jyē* which follow what looks like a damaged *Siddham* symbol. But it has to be admitted that such a passage at the beginning of an inscription is rather unusual. The *Siddham* symbol in line 1 is followed by a passage which appears to read *namaḥ* | and what follows in lines 1-2 is a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre in adoration of a god whose epithets *kāl-āñjana-rajaḥ-puñja-dyuti*, [*ma*]*hāvarāha-rūpa* and *jaṅgama* have only been preserved. There is no doubt that the reference is to the god Vishṇu since the expression *mahāvarāha-rūpa* certainly speaks of the Boar incarnation of that deity.

Verse 2 in lines 3 ff., while introducing the hero of the *praśasti*, speaks, in the first foot, of a king named **Kṛishṇarāja** who is stated to have belonged to the royal family of the **Mauryas**. The second foot of the stanza mentions another king, apparently named **Āryarāja**, who is described as the son of **Chandragupta**. The words indicating the relationship between Kṛishṇarāja and Āryarāja are lost ; but the intention of the *praśastikāra* appears to have been to represent Chandragupta's son Āryarāja as born in the family of Kṛishṇarāja of the Maurya lineage. The second half of the stanza speaks of a person known by two names, viz. **Ḍiṇḍirāja** and **Karka**, one of which was given to him [by the people] in recognition of what he did with reference to the invincible Kānyakubja. This Ḍiṇḍirāja *alias* Karka was no doubt a ruler who was probably the son or successor of Āryarāja, although the words indicating their relationship cannot be traced in the extant part of the verse. The verb indicating the nature of the achievement of Karka Ḍiṇḍirāja with reference to the city of Kānyakubja is also imperfectly preserved ; but the idea may have been to represent him as one who burnt the city. This seems to be suggested by the preserved last *akshara* of the verb (viz. *hya* which may be the remnant of *nirdahya*) as well as the fact that the word *karka* has ' fire ' as one of its meanings. Ḍiṇḍirāja may thus have well been called Karka or ' the Fire ' because of his success in burning the city of Kānyakubja.

Verse 3 describing the meritorious deed performed apparently by Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka, which was the subject of the *praśasti*, is damaged and its purport is not quite clear. The first half of the stanza has, however, the expression *puṇy-āvyavachchhitti* and the passage *mahatā mūlyēna yat=kāritaṁ(tam)* and the latter half the letters [*Śau*]*rēḥ śirō vēshṭituṁ mālākā....lavdha(bdha)-vyam=avyāhataṁ(tam)*. It therefore seems that the king performed the deed in question in the

chain of many other pious works and at the cost of a large sum of money. The purpose seems to have been to put garlands around the head of a deity whose name seems to read *Śauri* (i.e. Vishṇu ; cf. the Vaishnavite adoration in verse 1). The *aksharas mālākā* may suggest *mālākāra-nikāya*, i.e. a guild of florists. In that case, it is possible to think that the king deposited a good sum of money with a guild of florists as a permanent endowment for the supply of garlands regularly for adorning the head of the deity he worshipped. The next stanza (verse 4) contains the prayer [*pra*]*tidinaṁ tāvat=samārō*[*hatu*] which, together with the preserved parts of certain other passages, suggests that the garlands were meant to be placed on the deity's head every day so long as the sun and the moon would shine. In this context, the passage *va*(*ba*)[*ndha*]*naṁ mahad=idaṁ sva-śrēyasē* would show that the pious work of Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka related to *bandhana* (possibly *mastaka-bandhana* of the deity) and that it was done for his own merit.

According to verse 5, the eulogy (a word of this import is lost) was composed by a person whose name seems to be Bālasēna and whose father's name ended in the *aksharas llaka* (cf. names like *Mallaka*, *Gōllaka*, etc.). The prose passage following this stanza was meant for mentioning the name of the engraver of the record ; but the name is lost. The word *karaṇika* qualifying the lost name is, however, clear on the impressions.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions certain hitherto unknown rulers of the Maurya family, who flourished in the early medieval period. The genealogical information supplied by the present record may be tentatively tabulated as follows :

Kṛishṇarāja
(of the family of the Maurya kings)
⋮
Chandragupta
|
Āryarāja
|
Ḍiṇḍirāja *alias* Karka
(who burnt the city of Kānyakubja)

None of these rulers is known from any other source. The name of Chandragupta seems to suggest that the tradition of the mighty Chandragupta (c. 324-300 B.C.), the great founder of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha, was not totally forgotten in the family as late as the early medieval period. The reference to Kānyakubja, which is modern Kanoj in the Farrukhabad District of Uttar Pradesh, probably suggests that the territory over which these early medieval Mauryas held sway included, as is also indicated by the findspot of the record, some of the south-western areas of Uttar Pradesh.

It is interesting to note in this connection that three early medieval branches of the Maurya dynasty are so far known.[1] The first of these are the Mauryas of the Konkan, who are represented in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas as having been subdued by the Early Chālukya king Kīrti-varman I (566-98 A.D.) and Pulakēśin II (610-42 A.D.) of Bādāmi.[2] An inscription[3] from Kanaswa in the old Kotah State of Rajasthan, dated in the Mālava year (i.e. V.S.) 795=738 A.D., belongs to the Brāhmaṇa prince Śivagaṇa who was a feudatory of king Dhavala or Dhavalātman

[1] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, pp. 282-84.
[2] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 4-5 (text line 4, verse 9) ; p. 6 (text lines 10-11, verses 20-21).
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 56 ff.

of the Maurya lineage. Another inscription[1] from Waghli near Chalisgaon in West Khandesh mentions the Maurya chief Gōvindarāja who was the twenty-first descendant of the chief Kīkaṭa of the Maurya dynasty of Valabhī (i.e. modern Wala in Kathiawar) and ruled in Śaka 991=1069 A.D. as a subordinate of the Yādava *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Sēuṇachandra II of the Sēuṇa country (i.e. modern Khandesh). But the facts that the palaeography of the inscription under study closely resembles that of the Kanaswa inscription and that the Malwa-Rajasthan region is much closer to Mathurā than the Koṅkan and Khandesh appear to connect the Mauryas mentioned in our epigraph with the Maurya king Dhavala of the Kanaswa inscription. It was probably these Mauryas who are referred to in the Nausari plates[2] of the Gujarat Chālukya chief Pulakēśin Avanījanāśraya, dated in the Kalachuri year 490=738 A.D. It is stated in that record that the Chālukya chief repulsed a Tājika (i.e. Arab) army which, after destroying the Saindhava, Kachchhēlla, Surāshṭra, Chāvōṭaka (i.e. Chāpōtkaṭa), Maurya and Gurjara kings and wishing to penetrate the Dakshiṇāpatha country, came to reduce the Navasārikā territory under his rule. It was probably the Maurya king Dhavala who was defeated by the Arabs then in occupation of Sind.

D. R. Bhandarkar[3] was inclined to identify Maurya Dhavala of the Kanaswa inscription with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Dhavalappa, overlord of Guhilaputra Dhanika of Dhavagartā, mentioned in the Dhod inscription probably dated in the Gupta year 407[4]=726 A.D. Dhavalappa, however, appears to be a South Indian (probably Kannaḍa) name and the king may have been related to Rāshṭrakūṭa Naṇṇappa, bearing a similar *appa*-ending name, of the Indragarh (Mandasaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription[5] of the Mālava year (i.e. V.S.) 767=710 A.D. It has, however, to be admitted that the Maurya king's name is given in the Kanaswa inscription as *Dhavalātman* which may be a Sanskritisation of *Dhavalappa*. If Bhandarkar's identification is accepted, the southern name of a Maurya king of the Malwa-Rajasthan region may be explained by supposing that these Mauryas were related to the Mauryas of the Konkan in the south.

As already indicated above, it is very probable that Maurya Dhavala of the Kanaswa inscription belonged to the family referred to in the inscription under study. It also seems that the Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan region were descendants of one of the Kumāra viceroys of the western province of the ancient Maurya empire, which had its headquarters at the city of Ujjayinī. Since the Kanaswa inscription of V.S. 795 (738 A.D.) appears to be slightly later than the present record, king Dhavala may be tentatively regarded as one of the successors of Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka of our epigraph. The genealogy of these Mauryas would thus stand as follows :

*Mauryas of the Malwa-Rajasthan Region*

Kṛishṇarāja
⋮
Chandragupta
|
Āryarāja
|
Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka
|
Dhavala, V.S. 795 (738 A.D.)

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[1] Above, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.

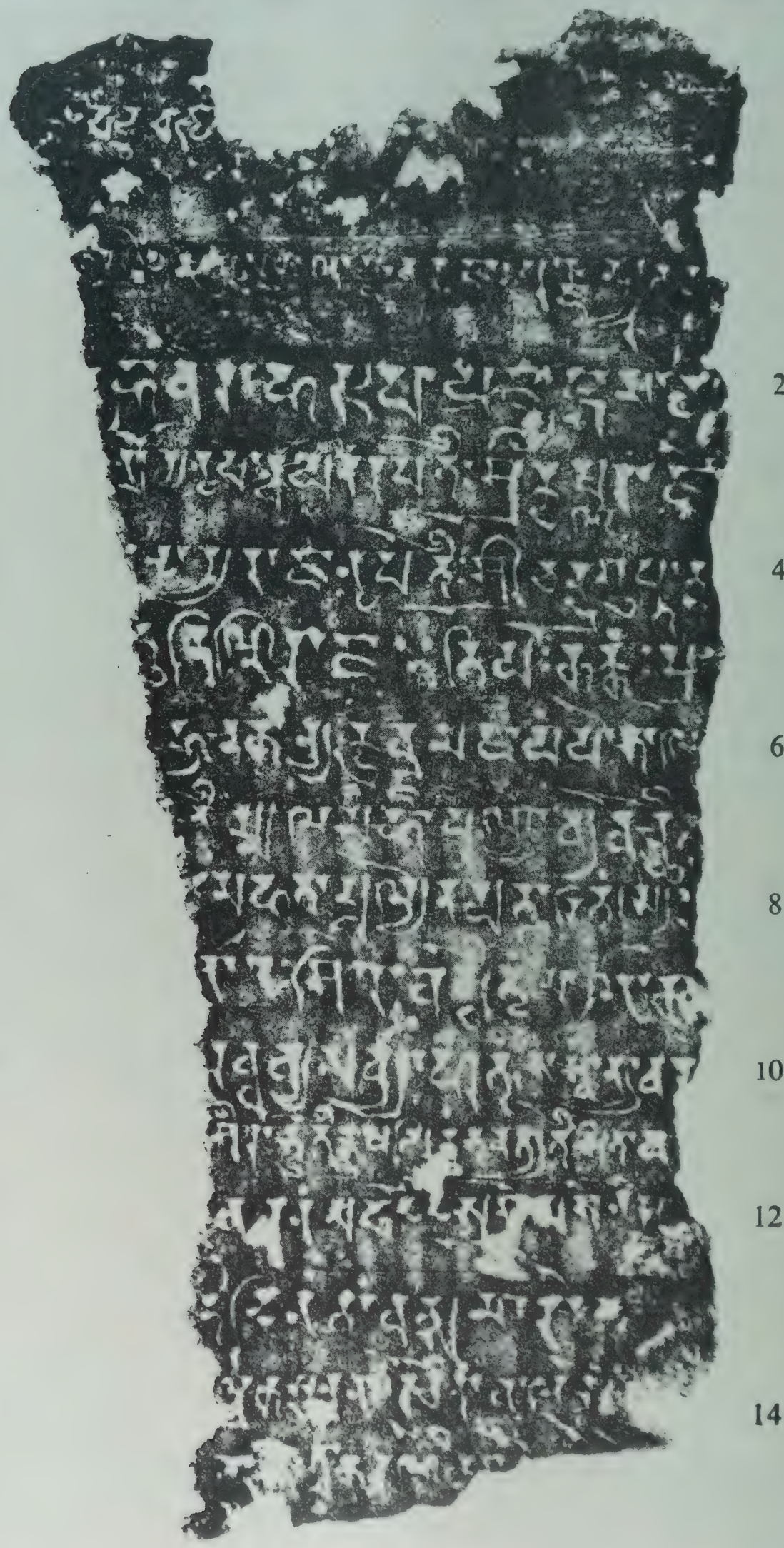
[2] Bhandarkar's List, No. 1220.

[3] Cf. ibid., No. 1371 and note.

[4] The inscription has been published (under the name 'Dabok inscription') above, Vol. XX, pp. 122 ff. where the date has been read as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, No. 188 of App. B ; above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.

# FRAGMENTARY MAURYA INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA



Scale : Four-tenths

The only **geographical** name mentioned in the inscription is **Kānyakubja, modern Kanoj** in the Farrukhabad District, Uttar Pradesh. In the present state of our knowledge, it is **not** possible to determine who the Kānyakubja contemporary of Ḍiṇḍirāja Karka was. But he may have been an ancestor of the great Yaśōvarman who ruled from Kanoj in the first half of the eighth century A.D.

## TEXT[1]

[**Metres** : verses 1, 5 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2-4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 ..... [2]‖ Siddham[3] na[maḥ |] Kāl-āñjana-rajaḥ-puñja-dyuta[yē] ..

2 ..: [4] [|*] [Ma*]hāvarāha-rūpāya jaṅgamā[ya] ..

3 .. [5][‖ l*] [Ās*][ī[6]]n=**Maurya**-nṛip-ānvayē **narapatiḥ** śrī-**Kṛishṇarāj**[ō] —[7]

4 — — — ⏑ ⏑[8] d-**Āryarāja**-nṛipatiḥ śrī-Chandragupt-āt[m]a—[9] [|*]

5 — — — ⏑[10] [tu **Ḍ**]**iṇḍirāja** iti yâḥ **Karkkaḥ** pra — —

6 ⏑ —[11] — — — hya[12] [cha] **Kānyakuvja**(**bja**)m=ajayaṁ yō=bhāṇi — —

7 ⏑ — [‖ 2*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ nirmmala-mahāpuṇy-āvyavachchhi[tta] —[13] —

8 — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — [**tta**] **mahatā** mūlyēna yat-kāritaṁ(tam) | syā[d=a] — ⏑ ⏑

9 — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — [**Śau**]rēḥ[14] śirō vēshṭituṁ mālākā[15] ⏑ ⏑ —

10 ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — [la]vdha(bdha)vyam avyāhataṁ(tam) |[| 3*] **Bhāsvān=yāva**[d=a]—[16]⏑ —

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[1] From impressions. I am indebted for a few suggestions to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra. At the left upper end of the inscribed stone, there are four *aksharas* which appear to be preceded by a damaged *Siddham* symbol and to read *Ya*[*du*]-*ra*(*rā*)*jy*[*ē*]. As already noted above, these characters are slightly later than those of the record under study and are probably not a part of it.

[2] There are traces here of an *akshara* which may be *jyē*. It is difficult to determine its significance and to say whether the passage incised above this part and referred to in note 1 above was written at a later date in imitation of the one that had been engraved here.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The lost syllables may be conjecturally restored as *Vishṇavē namaḥ*.

[5] An expression like *mahātmanē* would suit the context.

[6] The remnant of this vowel-mark suggests that it was of the ornamental type found in *śrī* in line 3.

[7] We may suggest the restoration of a word like *balī* or *jayī* here.

[8] The lost *aksharas* may be conjecturally restored as *Tad-vaṁśē=bhavaṁ°*. The letter read as *dā* should not be confused with *ndā*. Cf. *ndra* in line 4 and *dinaṁ* in line 13.

[9] The intended word is no doubt *°ātmajaḥ*.

[10] The lost syllables may be conjecturally restored as *sūnus=tasya*.

[11] The expression may be conjecturally restored as *pratāp-āśrayaḥ*.

[12] The words may be conjecturally restored as *tan=nirdahya*.

[13] The intended word is most probably *°chchhittayē*.

[14] The *akshara* before *rēḥ* looks like *śau* ; but the lower part of the right limb of *ś* is not ornamental as found elsewhere in the epigraph.

[15] The intended expression may be *mālākāra-nikāya*, i.e. a guild of the florists.

[16] The word intended here may have been *asau*.

11 ∪ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — —[1] śirō bhūtir=bhūshayituṁ bhavaty=ati-sitā y[ā] — ∪ — — ∪

12 —[2] [|*] — — — ∪ ∪ va(ba)[ndha][3]naṁ mahad=ida[ṁ] sva-[śrēya]sē ni ∪[4] — — —

13 — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ [ti]dinaṁ[5] tāvat=samārō ∪ —[6] [|| 4*]....

14 . . . . . llaka[7]-s[ū]n[u]nā [|*] rachitā Vā(Bā)la[sē][8]...

15 . . . . . [|| 5*] [utkīrṇṇā] karaṇika . . . . .[9] [|| *]

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[1] These two *aksharas* may be conjecturally restored as *Śaṁbhōḥ*.

[2] We may suggest the restoration *yāvat=sudhāṁśōr=iyam*.

[3] The superscript in this conjunct appears to be *n* ; but the subscript is doubtful. Can the reference be to *mastaka-bandhanaṁ* ?

[4] This is a conjunct. The superscript seems to be *s* ; but the subscript is doubtful. Can the intended reading of the expression be *niśchalam* or *nistulam* ?

[5] The expression is no doubt *pratidinaṁ*.

[6] The intended word is apparently *samārōhatu*.

[7] The name was something like *Mallaka*, *Gōllaka*, etc.

[8] The name seems to have been Bā|asēna and the expression *Vā(Bā)lasēnēna*.

[9] The name seems to have been written in three *aksharas* with an *ē-mātrā* attached to the second of them. The traces suggest *amukēn=ēti*.

## No. 26—NELKUNDA GRANT OF CHALUKYA ABHINAVADITYA

*(1 Plate)*

P. B. Desai, Dharwar

As a contributor of an article on the antiquity of Bellary, I received a complimentary copy of the September (1953) issue of the Kannaḍa journal *Śaraṇa Sāhitya*, Bangalore, in October 1953. This issue also contained an article on a copper-plate record of Chālukya Abhinavāditya[1] by the late Shri Hullūru Shrinivasa Joyis of Chitradurg,[2] Mysore State. The importance of the charter at once arrested my attention and I requested the Government Epigraphist for India to secure the original plates for examination and study. The plates were received in January 1954 through the Director of Archaeology, Mysore, and returned soon after. I edit the inscription on these plates here with the kind permission of the above authority from the set of impressions preserved in his office[3] at Ootacamund.

According to the information contained in the above-mentioned article of Shri Joyis, the plates were the ancestral property in the possession of the family of Pūjāri Bhīmaṇṇa, a resident of the village of **Gañjagaṭṭi** in the Holalkere Taluk, Chitradurg District, Mysore State. They were obtained by S. Kesavayya, a relative of the owner, and handed over to Shri Joyis for decipherment and study. The plates appear to have been later deposited in the local archaeological museum at Chitradurg.

This is a set of **three** copper-plates held together by a circular ring. The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second contains writing on both the sides. There is a ring-hole about $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in diameter, in the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates measure almost uniformly $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $3\frac{3}{16}$ inches in breadth. The thickness of each plate is about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch. The ring is fastened to the bottom of a circular seal. The diameter of the ring is 3 inches and its thickness $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The **seal** is about one inch in diameter. In the counter-sunk surface of the seal is the emblem of what looks like a boar facing left. The plates along with the ring and seal weigh 70 *tolas*, while the ring and seal weigh $18\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*.

The charter comprises 28 lines of writing, which are distributed evenly on all the four sides of the plates. The **characters** are Telugu-Kannaḍa of the 7th century, being normal for the period. They may be compared with those of the Karnul plates[4] of Ādityavarman and, allowing some margin of difference, with other cognate records such as the Talamañchi plates[5] of Vikramāditya I.

Some of the letters exhibit cursive forms; for instance, *ṇa* in *Nārāyaṇa* (line 7), and *l* in *lāñchhana* (line 8) and *vallabha* (line 13). Initial *u* occurs twice, in *udita* in line 2 and *uchchaśṛiṁga* in line 25. Medial *i* and *ī* are distinguished, the former being indicated by a circle and the latter by a spiral at the top of the letter, e.g., *Hāritī* in line 4. Except in one or two cases, *anusvāra* is generally retained. In *uditam=mā°* in line 2, it is turned into nasal in *sandhi* with the following letter.

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[1] The facsimiles of the plates are not reproduced along with the article, although it gives the text of the record, which needs improvement in certain places.

[2] This name was formerly spelt as Chitaldroog.

[3] The inscription is registered as C. P. No. 22 of 1953-54 and noticed briefly in the Report for the year.

[4] *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 233.

[5] Above, Vol IX, plate facing p. 100.

In regard to **orthography**, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct is doubled. This rule which is optional is wrongly applied even in the case of an exceptional letter *sh*, e.g., in *Harshsha* (line 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two verses, one at the beginning and another at the end, the composition is in prose throughout. The text is accurate excepting a few scribal errors.

The inscription commences with the expression *svasti*. This is followed by a verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre in praise of a foot of the god Hari, described as lustrous like the rising sun, and stated to have been raised to measure the earth and to crush the darkness in the form of the demon (Bali). The composer of the record has deliberately used the expression *abhinav-āditya* meaning the 'new sun' in the above description to convey through *double entendre* an allusion to the ruling king Abhinavāditya who issued the charter. Next are recounted the usual *praśasti* of the Chalukya or Chālukya house and the genealogy of the rulers belonging to it. In the genealogy are mentioned only three kings, viz., *Paramēśvara* Satyāśraya-pṛithivīvallabha who vanquished Harshavardhana, i.e. Pulakēśin II, his son Ādityavarman, and the latter's son **Satyāśraya-pṛithivīvallabha** *alias* **Abhinavāditya** who issued the present charter. As in the case of Pulakēśin II, both Ādityavarman and Abhinavāditya are endowed with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

King Abhinavāditya is stated to have issued an order to the concerned persons announcing the gift of the village Nelkunda, situated in the Uchchaśṛiṅga *vishaya*, free of all imposts to the Brāhmaṇa Kuppaśarman of the Dēvarāta-Kauśika *gōtra*, who was well-versed in the Vēdas along with the Vēdāṅgas and engaged in performing the six-fold *karman*. The grant was made on the full-moon day of Bhādrapada in the increasingly victorious reign of the king, the specific year of the reign, however, not being mentioned. The epigraph concludes with the usual imprecatory verses.

The inscription is of **great historical importance**, as it not only reveals for the first time the existence of a **hitherto unknown prince of the early Chālukya house of Bādāmi**, but seems also to let in some new light on the dark period of its history following the defeat of Pulakēśin II at the hands of his adversary, Pallava Narasiṁha I. Pulakēśin II vanishes from the political scene in 642 A.D. and his son Vikramāditya I emerges as a victor who re-established Chālukya supremacy in 655 A.D. About 13 years that intervened between these two events are characterised by paucity of historical information. It has been surmised that during this period a part of the Chālukya kingdom was under the occupation of the Pallavas and that although several sons of Pulakēśin II aspiring for the Chālukya throne were ruling in different areas, none of them was powerful enough to drive away the enemy and assert his authority over the feudatories.[1]

An elder son of Pulakēśin II, who seems to have claimed sovereignty over the Chālukya empire during this period of anarchy, although, in fact, his sway was apparently confined to the region of the Kurnool District, was Ādityavarman.[2] That the area under his authority might have also included parts of the adjacent Districts of Bellary and Chitradurg is indicated by the present plates.[3] This Ādityavarman[4] must no doubt be identical with his namesake whose

[1] *The Classical Age* (The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. III), p. 241.

[2] Ibid., p. 242.

[3] See the discussion on the geographical names below.

[4] A tradition, apparently wrong, seems to have grown after a lapse of centuries that Ādityavarman was father of Vikramāditya, being himself not the son but grandson of Pulakēśin II. According to the Kauthem grant of 1009 A.D., e.g., Ādityavarman was the son of Neḍamari and grandson of Pulakēśin II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17). A Dāvaṇagere inscription of 1123 A.D. substitutes the name Tiḍamari for Neḍamari (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 1), showing thereby the unreliable nature of the tradition (cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 361, n. 2). It may, however, be noted that no such name intervenes between Pulakēśin II and Ādityavarman in the account given by the Kannaḍa poet Ranna (982 A.D.) in his *Gadāyuddha* (II, 8).

son Abhinavāditya issued the charter under study. **Abhinavāditya who was also called Satyāśraya-pṛithivīvallabha, evidently after his grandfather Pulakēśin II, is known for the first time through our record.** It is noteworthy that like his father Ādityavarman, Abhinavāditya also claimed the imperial titles, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, which imply his right over the Chālukya empire. As it is reasonable to assume that no other prince of the Chālukya house claiming sovereign status was permitted to rule in any part of the kingdom after the accession of Vikramāditya I in 655 A.D., we may assign the rules both of Ādityavarman and his son Abhinavāditya within the span of 13 years, 642 to 655 A.D. With the ascendancy of Vikramāditya I, Abhinavāditya, a rival as he was, might have been dislodged from his position and reduced to a state of nonentity.

Only two **geographical** names are mentioned in the record. **Uchchaśṛiṅga-vishaya** wherein the gift village was situated, must evidently have taken the name after its chief town Uchchaśṛiṅga. This place is identical with the present village of **Uchchaṅgidurga** in the Harapanhalli Taluk, Bellary District. On account of its well-fortified and strategic situation, it played a conspicuous role in the history of the region during the early and medieval period. A copper-plate charter of the Early Kadamba king Harivarman was issued in the fourth year of his reign from Uchchaśṛiṅgī.[1] This place appears to have been made their headquarters by a few more members of the Early Kadamba line.[2] It was one of the capitals of the Noḷamba-Pallava rulers.[3] A later line of the Kadamba feudatories[4] and chiefs of Pāṇḍya extraction also ruled here.[5] It was one of the strongholds subjugated by Hoysaḷa Vishṇuvardhana in the course of his northern expedition.[6]

An inscription at Uchchaṅgidurga itself,[7] dated 1064 A.D., describes the place as having been situated in the district of Kadambavāḍi. Indulging in a legendary account of its different names, it further states that it was known as Mēghanāda, Vīra-Kanakagiri, Uttuṅga-parvata and Uchchaṅgi-parvata, respectively in the Kṛita, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali ages. The gift village **Neḷkunda** has to be identified with the modern village of **Naḷkunda** situated in the Dāvaṇagere Taluk, Chitradurg District. It thus appears that Uchchaśṛiṅga-vishaya embraced areas in the adjacent Districts of Bellary and Chitradurg.

## TEXT[8]

### *First Plate*

1 Svasti || [9]Jayaty=abhinav-ādi[10]tya-ruchi pāda-tala[ṁ] Harēḥ [|*]

2 uditam=mātum=avanī[ṁ*] sur-ārāti-tamō-paha[m*] ||[11] [1*] Śrīma-

3 tā[ṁ][12] sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagō-

4 trāṇāṁ Hāritī-putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-

5 mātṛibhiḥ Sapta-mātṛibhir=abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārttikē-

6 ya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparā-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 30.
[2] Cf. *Kadamba Kula*, p. 36.
[3] *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 371.
[4] Cf. *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 232 ff.
[5] *Hist. Ins., S. Ind.* op. cit., p. 373.
[6] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, Part ii, p. 496.
[7] *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, Ins. No. 126.
[8] From impressions.
[9] Metre : *Anushṭubh.*
[10] On account of defect in the engraving, the medial *i* sign on the top of this letter is detached.
[11] This punctuation mark is shown by two curves, one above the other, the upper one looking like the top *mātrā*.
[12] This *anusvāra* is shifted to the top of the following *sa*.

*Second Plate, First Side*

7 [ṇā][1][ṁ*] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa[2]-prasāda-samā-

8 samā[3]sādita-Varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśī-

9 [kṛit-ā[4]]śra(śē)sha-mahībhṛitāṁ **Chalukyānām**=anvayam=alaṁ-

10 kari[shṇu[5]]ḥ sakal-Ōttarāpa[thē][6]ś[v][7]ara-śrī-Harshsha(rsha)-

11 va[rddha[8]]na-parājay-ōpalabdha-Paramēśvar-āpa-

12 ra-nāmadhēyasya śrī-Satyāśraya-pṛithivī-

13 vallabha-ma[9]hārājādhirāja-paramēśva-

14 rasya pautraḥ śrīmad-Ādityavarma-[10]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

15 pṛithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-

16 rasya tanaya(yaḥ) | naya-vinay-ādi-sāprajya[11]-gu-

17 ṇa-saṁpannaḥ Pannagapati-bhōga-sadṛiśa-bhuja-

18 parigha-yugalaḥ śrīmad-**Abhinavādity-**āpara-

19 nāmadhēyaḥ śrī-**Satyāśraya-prithivīvallabha(bha)-**

20 mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ sarvvān=ēva-

21 m=ājñā[12]payati viditam=astu vō=smā[12]bhiḥ satata-

*Third Plate*

22 pravarddhamāna-rājya-sa[ṁ]vatsarē **Bhādrapada-**[pau]rṇṇam **a-**

23 **syāṁ** Dēvarāta-Kauśika-sagōtrāya Vēda-Vēdāṁga-

24 pāragāya shaṭ-karma-niratāya Kuppaśarmmaṇē

25 Uchchaśṛiṁga-vishayē **Nelkunda-**nāma-grāmam(maḥ) sarvva-

26 parihāraṁ dattaḥ ||[13] [14]Sva-dattā[ṁ*] para-dattāṁ vā yō

27 harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*] shashṭi-varshsha(rsha)-sahasrāṇi

28 vishṭā(shṭhā)yā[15][ṁ*] jāyatē tri(kri)miḥ ||[16] [2*]

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[1] The shape of this letter is peculiar, the nail-like mark above, possibly indicating its length.

[2] This *ṇa* and the following *pra* are not properly shaped.

[3] Omit these two letters as they are unnecessarily repeated.

[4] The letters °*kṛit-ā*° are engraved cursively and do not bear the usual form.

[5] The superscript *sh* looks more like *ma*.

[6] The right curve of this letter being omitted it looks like *ṭē*.

[7] As the bottom of the subscript *v* is left open it looks like *g*.

[8] This letter is partially cut off on account of the incision of the ring-hole.

[9] This *ma* is not properly engraved.

[10] There is some narrow space after this, sufficient for engraving about three letters ; but it is left blank.

[11] This wrong word may be restored possibly as *sāmrājya* or *samrāḍ*°.

[12] The cursive form of this letter is noteworthy.

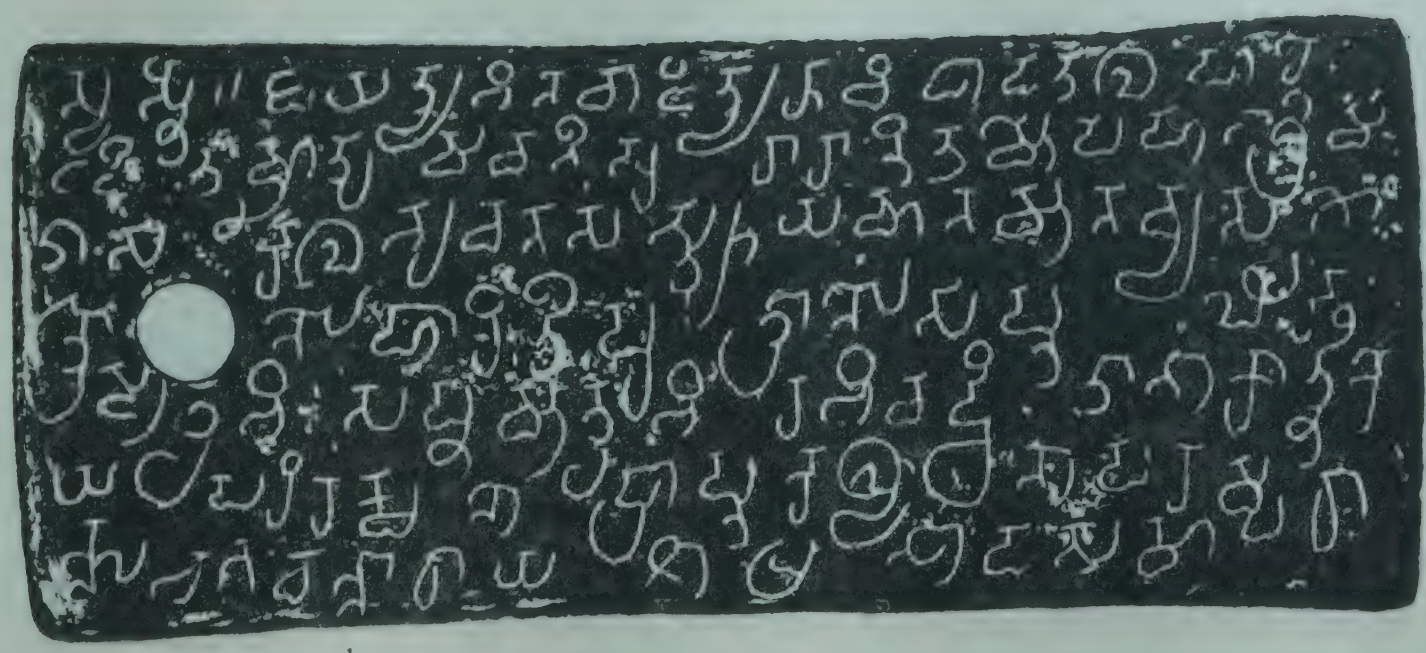
[13] This punctuation mark is indicated by a sign looking like the letter *ya*.

[14] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

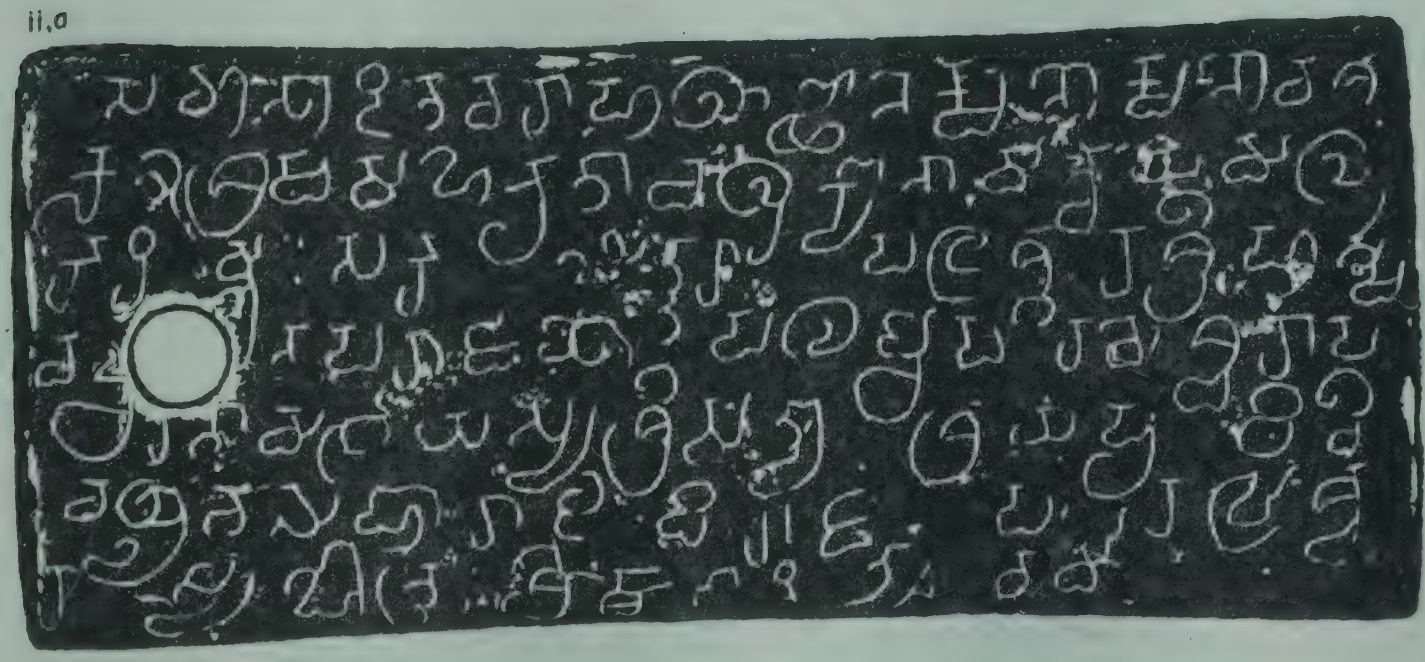
[15] There is a hook-like mark above this letter.

[16] This punctuation mark engraved after some blank space, is indicated by a sign looking like the letter *l* followed by a small curve.

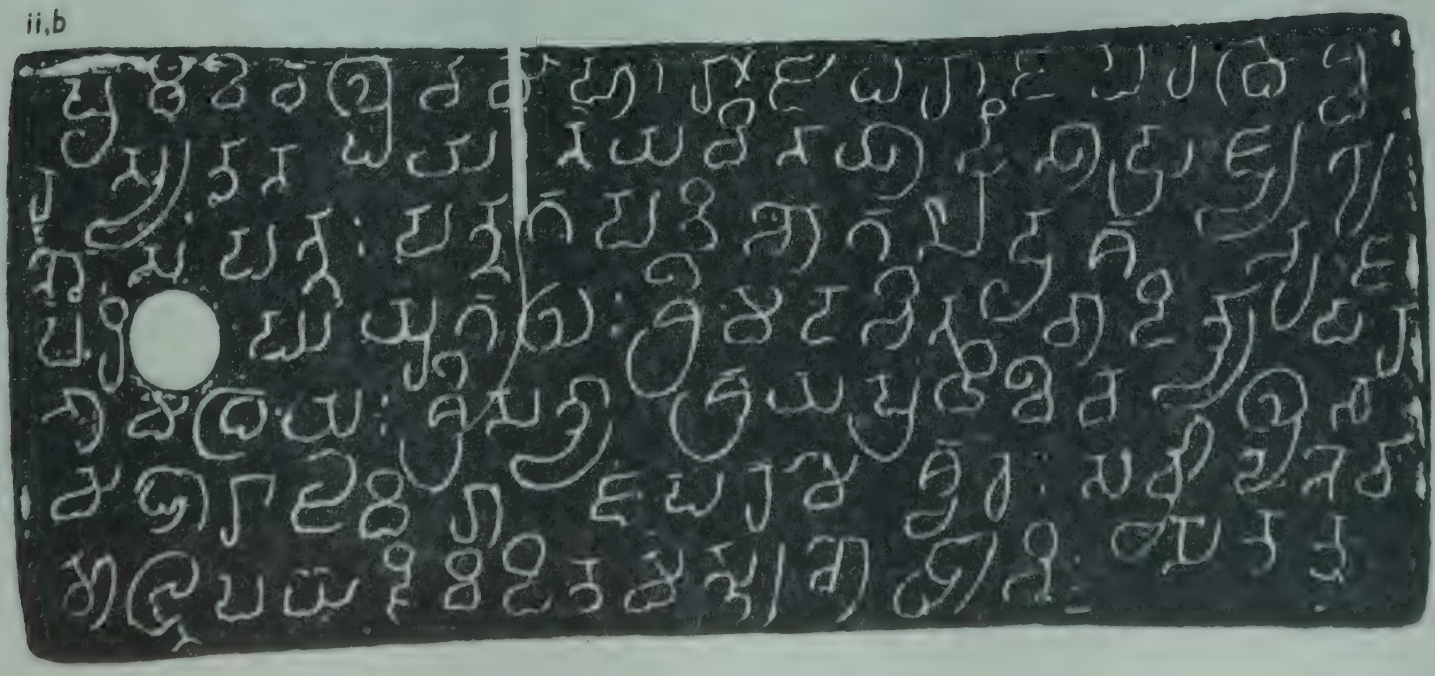
# NELKUNDA GRANT OF CHALUKYA ABHINAVADITYA



ii,a

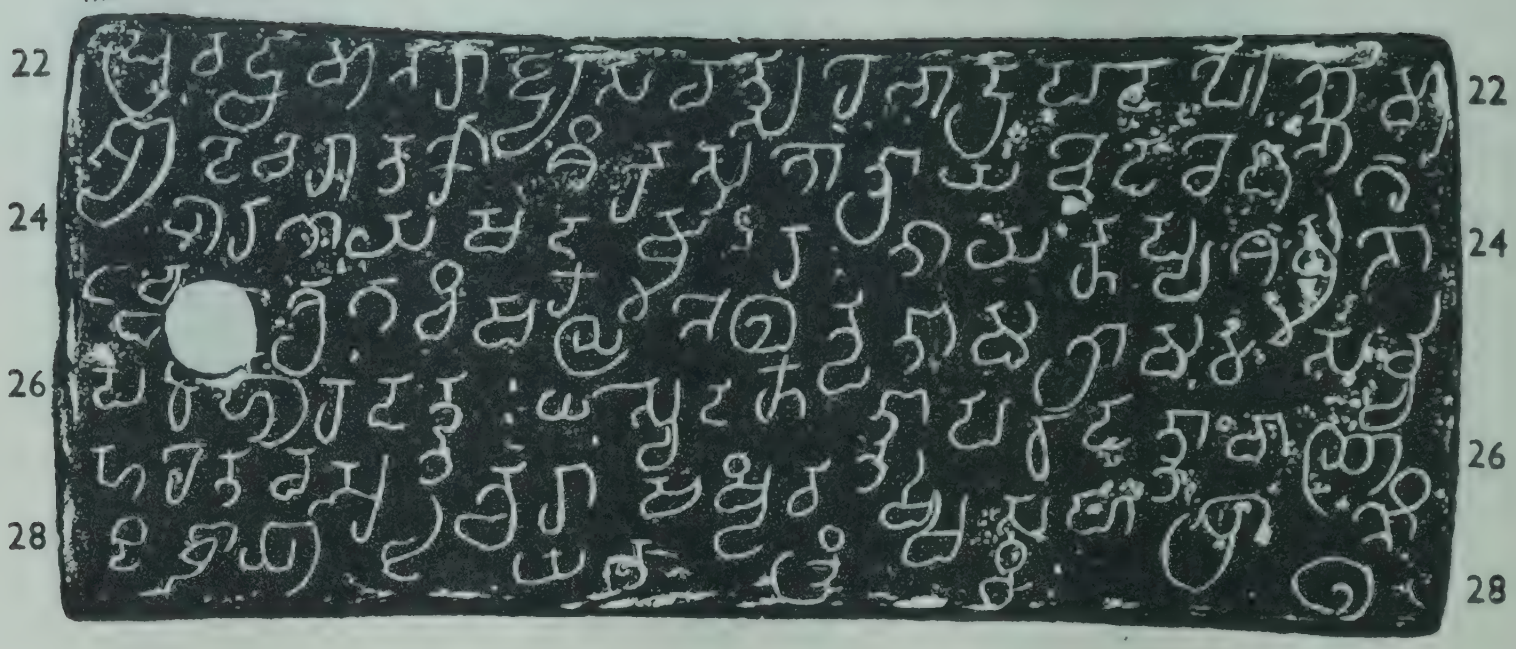


ii,b

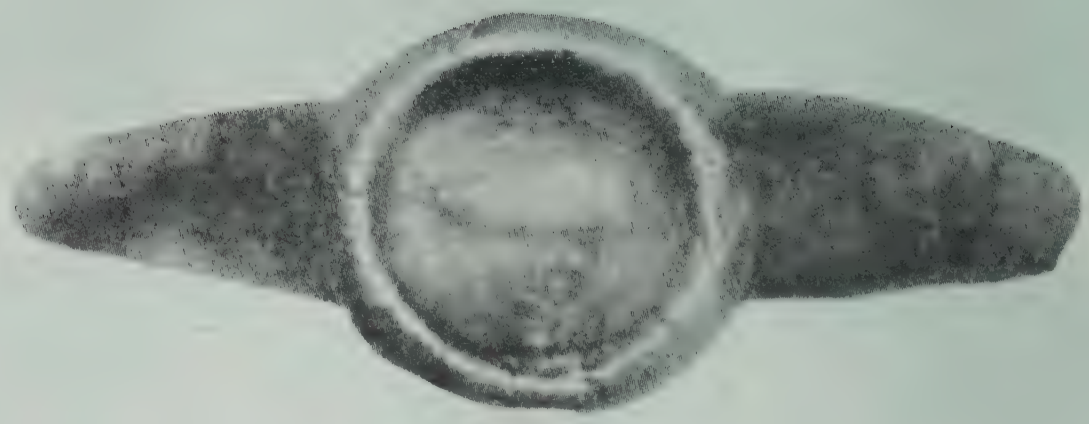


Scale: Three-fourths

iii




SEAL



(from a Photograph)

## No. 27—KUNTAGANI PLATES OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN , YEAR 12

*(1 Plate)*

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

These plates were published about fifteen years ago by Dr. H. D. Sankalia in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV (1941-42), pp. 178-81 (Plate opposite page 220). As I felt that the reading of the text and its interpretation could be improved, I requested Dr. Sankalia to send me the original plates which were in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona. Dr. Sankalia very kindly arranged to send the plates to me and also permitted me to re-edit them. Accordingly, the inscription[1] is edited in the pages of this journal with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are known to have been found at Kuṇṭagaṇī, a village about 50 miles north-west of Banavasi in the Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara District in the present Mysore State.[2] This village is included in the Ankola Taluk of the same District. The **set** consists of **three** copper-plates, each measuring 6.4 inches by 1.9 inches. There is a hole, about .5 inch in diameter, on the left side of each plate, through which passes the ring with the seal. The ring is about 2 inches in diameter, while the seal which is oval in shape, measures 1.2 inches by 1 inch. In the counter-sunk surface of the seal is a figure which is rather difficult to make out. Possibly it represents the standing figure of an animal. The first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first and the second plates contain 3 lines of writing each and the third plate has 4 lines. Each line contains about 20 *aksharās*, except the last line of the third plate which has about 12 *aksharas*. As some portions of the plates have flaked off, the letters are damaged in these portions. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 45 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. They resemble the alphabet of the Sirsi[3] and Halsi[4] plates of the same king. As regards individual letters, *t* is written throughout without the loop, whether used as single or in conjunction. The closed or box-type of *b* is found in lines 3, 4, and 11. Attention may be drawn to the form of *ḷ* in line 5, the sign for *ph* is found in lines 9 and 12 and that for *upadhmānīya* in line 2. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated[5] while the sibilant *sh* is correctly not so reduplicated.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, except the two imprecatory verses at the end, the text is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Kadamba *Mahārāja* Ravivarman of the Early Kadamba dynasty. It records that, on the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the twelfth year of his reign, the king granted 24 *nivartanas* of land situated on either side of a tank-bund which he caused to be constructed in the village of Variyakā. The donee of the grant was one Bhavasvāmin of the Dhaumya *gōtra*, who was well-versed in the Vēdas.

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[1] It is registered as No. 25 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1955-56, App. A.

[2] *N. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 178.

[3] Above, Vol. XVI, Plate opposite p. 270.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, Plates between pp. 26-29.

[5] For a discussion on this feature, see above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-47.

The inscription does not supply any new historical information either with regard to the king or to his date. As many as seven inscriptions belonging to his time have been discovered so far and the present record will be the eighth. Two of his copper-plate grants have been already published in the pages of this journal.[1] His Sirsi plates are dated in his 35th year showing that he ruled at least for 35 years. According to the revised chronology of the Kadamba dynasty, Ravivarman has been assigned to the period *circa* 484-519 A. D.[2]

The grant was issued from Vijaya-Paṅktipura. The other known grants of this king have been issued either from Vaijayantī or Palāśikā.[3] So the present inscription is the only one known so far, which is issued from Paṅktipura. I have shown elsewhere[4] that this Paṅktipura should be identified with modern Hangal in the Dharwar District of Mysore State and that it is not another name of Vaijayantī as supposed by Dr. Sankalia. Paṅktipura is also mentioned as Pāṁktipura in the Kiṛukuppaṭūr grant of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman II.[5] Here it occurs as Pāṁktipura-vishaya which is evidently the region round about Hangal. In later records the place-name appears as Pāntipura or Pānthipura[6] and is subsequently replaced by Pānuṁgal which is the earlier name of modern Hangal.

In connection with the gift of the land the following expression occurs in the record : *Kārppaṭēśvara*[*m=iti chaturvviṁ*]*śati-nivarttanaṁ pukkōḷi kshētraṁ*....

The portion given in brackets is damaged as a chip of the copper has peeled off there. However the traces of the letters can be seen and the reading *chaturvviṁśati* can be restored without difficulty. But it is difficult to make out the two *aksharas* after Kārppaṭēśvara which I have proposed to read as °*m=iti*. If this reading is accepted, then Kārppaṭēśvara may be the name of the land granted. Probably the land belonged originally to a person or god called Kārppaṭēśvara. The meaning of *pukkōḷi* is also not clear to me. It might suggest the variety or kind of land granted. This expression occurs also in the Sirsi plates referred to above and in a copperplate grant of the Bhōja king Kāpālivarman.[7] At the end of the record, there is an endorsement referring to a house-site and some land in the village. The purport of this endorsement is not clear.

The village Variyakā may be modern Bargi about 14 miles to the south-west of Kuṇṭagaṇī.

## TEXT[8]

### *First Plate*

1 Svasti [|*] Vijaya-Paṅktipurē Svāmi-Mah[āsēna-mā][9]ṭṛigaṇ-ānu-

2 [ddh][9]yāt-ābhishiktō Mānavya-[sagō][9]trō Hāritī-[putra][9]ḥ=pratikṛita-svā-

3 ddhyāya-charchchim[10]=Kadambānām=mahārāja-śrī-Ravi[va]rmmā Variyakā-

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[1] Nilambūr plates, above, Vol.VIII, pp. 146 ff ; Sirsi plates, ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 264 ff.

[2] *JOR*, Vol. XVII, p. 42.

[3] Vaijayantī was the capital of this Kadamba dynasty and is identified with modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District while Palāśikā is identical with modern Halsi in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District.

[4] *JOR*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 188-89.

[5] *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1 ; for the correct reading of the place-name, see *JOR*, Vol., XVIII, p. 189.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 251.

[7] Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 233 and note 7. The actual forms in these records are *pukkōli* and *pukkōlli*.

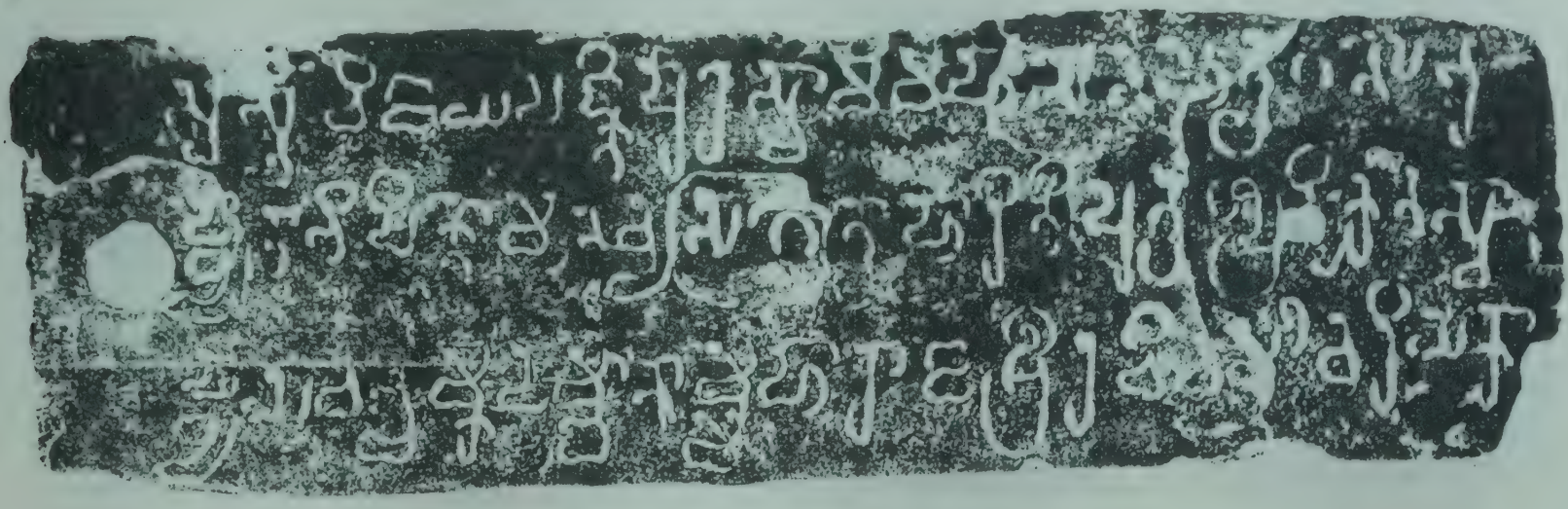
[8] From the original plates and impressions.

[9] The portion covering letters given in the brackets has peeled off ; but still traces of the letters are seen on the Plates, since the engraving is fairly deep.

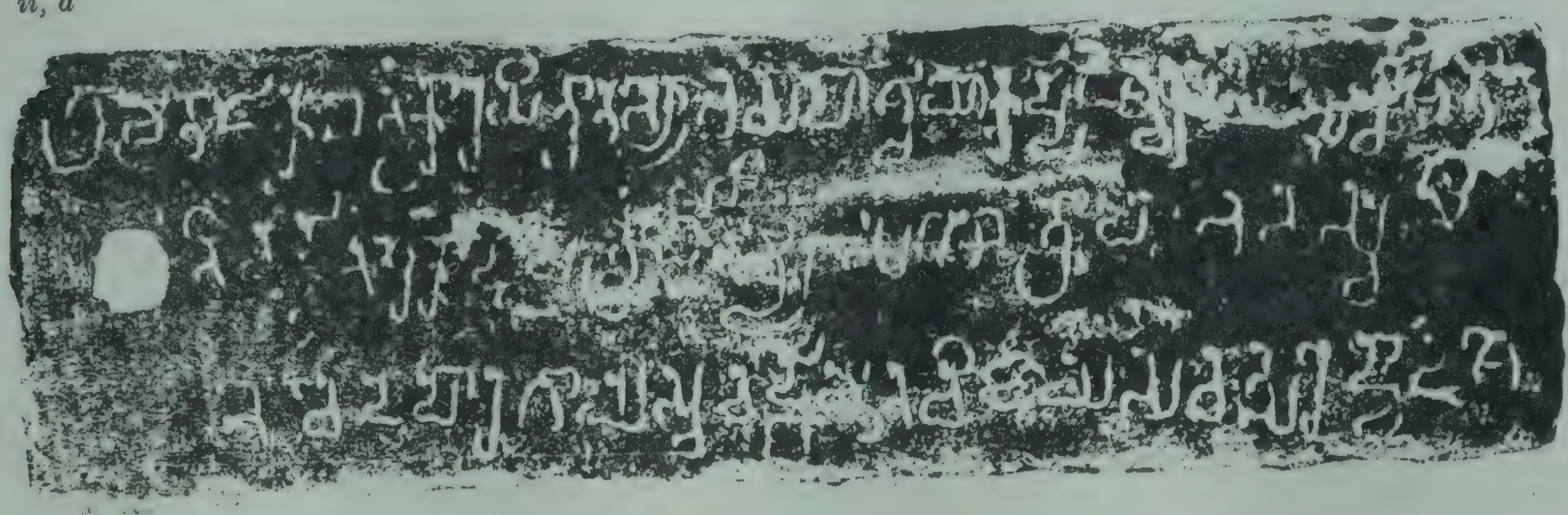
[10] Read *charchchā-parāṇāṁ=*.

# KUNTAGANI PLATES OF KADAMBA RAVIVARMAN, YEAR 12

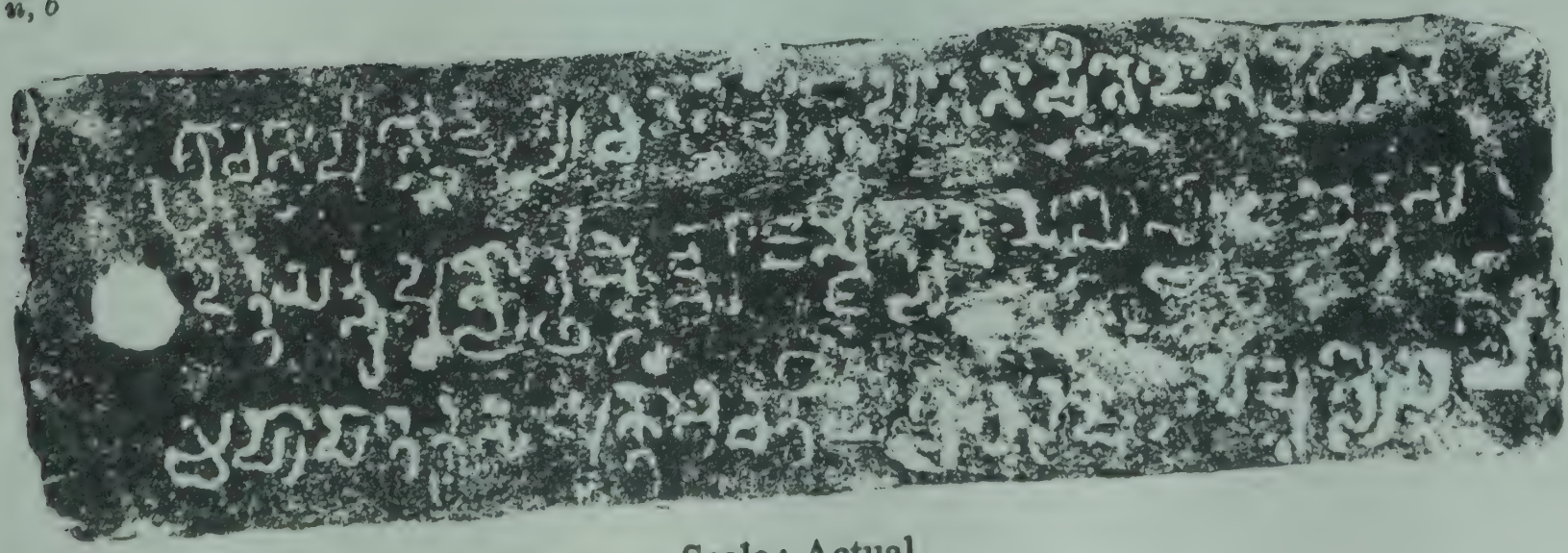
*i*



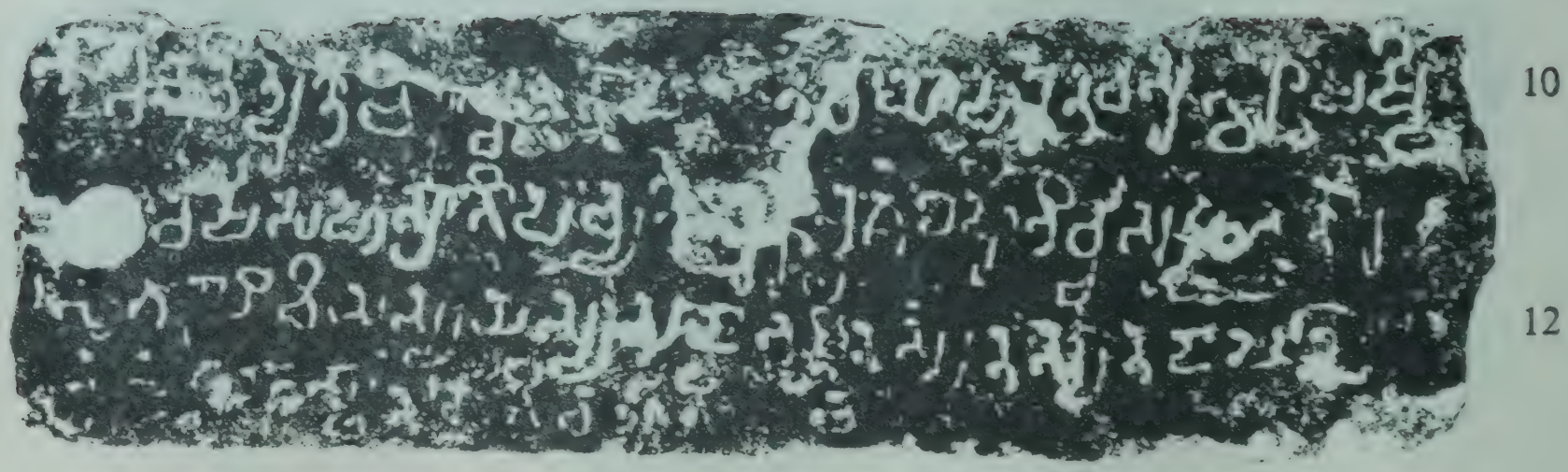
*ii, a*



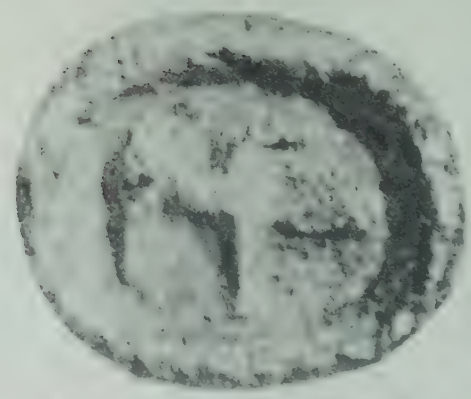
*ii, b*



Scale : Actual




SEAL



( from a Photograph )

*Second Plate, First Side*

4 grāmē tāṭāka-bandhaṁ kārayitvā tasy=ōbhaya-pārśvayō[ḥ*] Kārppaṭēśva[ram=iti chaturvviṁ][1]śati-

5 nivarttanaṁ pukkōḷi-kshētraṁ Dhaumya-sagōtrāya Bhavasvāmi-

6 nē vēda-pāragāya sva-varddhamāna-vijaya-sa(saṁ)vatsarē dvādaśē

*Second Plate, Second Side*

7 Śrāvaṇa-paurṇṇamāsyā[m=anēka][2]-vijñāpanēn=āshī(kshī)ṇa-dāna-vidhinā

8 dattayan=su[3]-puṇy-ārtham=pūrvva-rāja-sthity=ānaya(yā) yō=sy=āpahartt[ā] sa

9 mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [|*] yaś=ch=ābhirakshitā sa puṇya-phala-

*Third Plate*

10 [bhāg]=bhavat=īty=uktañ=cha [||*] [Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā] yō harēta vasundharāṁ (rām) [|*] shashṭi--

11 varsha-sahasrāṇi pachyatē [nara]kē bhṛiśaṁ(śaṁ) [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rāja-

12 [bhi]s=Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [||*]

13 grām[ē gṛi]hasthāna[ṁ] nivarttana[ṁ cha]

---

[1] In this portion which has also peeled off, the lower part of *ra* is preserved and the trace of its upper part can be seen on the plate. The next two letters which are read as °*m=iti* are not clear. In the next word, the vowel *u* of *tu* and the subscript *v* of °*rvviṁ*° are preserved and the letters can be read as *chaturvviṁ*°.

[2] This portion is very much defaced.

[3] Read *dattavān=sva*°.

## No. 28—GRANT OF MAHARAJAKULA JAITRASIMHADEVA, V. S. 1347

*(2 Plates)*

Sadhu Ram, New Delhi

The present inscription[1] is engraved on a set of two copper plates measuring 18.5″ × 12″ each and weighing both together 497 *tolas*. They are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. The first plate is engraved on one side only, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are two holes, $\frac{5}{8}$″ in diameter, along the longer side on both the plates, evidently meant for the rings to keep them together. The rings seem to have been lost.

The record is composed in Sanskrit verse and prose, of which the panegyrical portion is in verse and the documentary part in prose. The poetry is laboured and highly artificial, and abounds in alliterations. The record is written in the Nāgarī script of the 13th century A. D. The execution of engraving on the first plate is better and contains fewer errors than that on the two sides of the second plate, which appears to have been done by an apprentice. As regards orthography, there is *v* for *b* except in some words. The medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are formed with a *pṛishṭha-mātrā* stroke. There is a good deal of confusion between the execution of the letters *n* and *t*, *y* and *p*, *m* and *s*, etc. I have avoided to make the transcribed text cumbersome by inserting too many such corrections within brackets, and have often given the correct readings as they should have been.

The record is dated in the year 1347 of the Vikrama era, which corresponds to 1290 A. D. It records of the grant of the village of Ṭakārī by Mahārājakula Jaitrasiṁhadēva to twenty-six Brāhmaṇas of the Śrīmālī caste,[2] whose names, along with the *gōtra* and the name of each one's father, are given from line 33 to 44. Ṭakārī is described as situated in the jurisdiction of Nandapadra, which is probably identical with Nandapura on the bank of the Rēvā (v. 10), and was the capital of the kingdom during the reign of Vīsaladēva, the elder brother of Jaitrasiṁhadēva. The genealogy of this ruling family (*rāja-vaṁśa*), called Vaijavāpāyana in v. 2 and merely Vijapāyana in line 31, is given as follows :

Mahārājakula Chāchigadēva
|
Mahārāṇaka Sōḍhaladēva
|
Mahārāṇaka Jēsaladēva

Vīsaladēva — Mahārājakula Jaitrasiṁhadēva

It is rather difficult to identify this Vaijavāpāyana family. We have a reference to a Vaijavāpa *gōtra* in the *Rasikapriyā*, a commentary on Jayadēva's *Gītagōvinda* by Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, in which Bappa (V. S. 1342), the founder of Gōhila-vaṁśa is referred to as *dvija-puṁgava* and belonging to the Vaijavāpa *gōtra*. In view of this, all that we can hazard is that this Vaijavāpāyana family may have been a branch of the same Gōhila stock.

The problem of identification is also complicated by the fact that the names occurring in this genealogy were very common among the Rājput families of that period. For instance, one

[1] The inscription was published by Shri Amrit V. Pandya in his *New Dynasties of Gujarat History*, 1950. pp. 15 ff. and Plates.

[2] The caste derives its name from the district of Śrīmāla and the town situated in it.

Jaitrasiṁha is mentioned in the Balvān (Kotah District) inscription of the Chāhamāna Hammīra of Raṇastambhapura, dated V. S. 1345, almost contemporaneous with the present grant which is dated V. S. 1347. Similarly, there are a number of Chāchigadēvas and Vīsaladēvas, but none of them belonged to the Vaijavāpāyana or Vijapāyana family.

We shall, therefore, try to locate the family from whatever historical information we can glean from the text of the inscription. We know that Mahārājakula and Mahārāṇaka are not royal titles, but only feudatory epithets, notwithstanding the extravagant praise the panegyrist has lavished on their owners. Mahārājakula Chāchigadēva, the founder of the family, is called *nṛipa*. Being the great grandfather of Jaitrasiṁhadēva, the donor of the present grant, dated V. S. 1347, he must have lived somewhere about V. S. 1270, and was most probably a feudatory of the Chaulukya king Bhīma of Gujarāt. In the inscription he is described as the extirpator of the Mālavas. The possible explanation of this feat of his valour that we can offer is that he might have helped Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Vīradhavala, the faithful Vāghēlā adherents of Bhīma, in defeating Dēvapāla, the Paramāra king of Mālava in a battle fought at Ābu in V. S. 1288. The panegyrist may have made a big boast of it in order to please his patron.

Chāchigadēva's son Sōḍhala is said to have been described as *Maṇḍalēśa yaja-kēsarin* by the minstrel tribes in their songs (v.5). He may have put down some *Maṇḍalēśvaras*, the feudatory chiefs or provincial governors, who had often rebelled against the kingdom of Gujarāt during the reign of Bhīma or even later during the reign of the Vāghēlās who supplanted the Chaulukyas in Gujarāt. Among the offsprings of Sōḍhala, was one Jēsala who proved himself to be the jewel of a ruler by bringing happiness and prosperity to his subjects. Unfortunately, he lost his life in a fierce battle against certain enemies whose names are not mentioned. Both Sōḍhala and Jēsala bore the title of Mahārāṇaka, and were, therefore, the feudatories of the king of Gujarāt like their ancestor.

The name of Jēsaladēva's son Vīsaladēva is omitted altogether from the genealogy repeated in the documentary prose portion of the record. While still a youngster, he is said to have pleased Arjuna, the king of the Gūrjaras by his courage in the battles. This Arjuna was probably no other than the Chaulukya Vāghelā king of Gujarāt of that name who fought against the Yādavas in order to foil their repeated attacks to capture Bhṛigukachchha. He might have entrusted the sole command of these military expeditions to Vīsaladēva, his faithful feudatory, and, being pleased with his valorous achievements, given him the territory of Nandapadra as a reward for his services (verse 10). This would justify the encomium bestowed on Vīsaladēva by the panegyrist in verse 14. Vīsaladēva ruled over Nandapura (his capital) very benevolently as a semi-independent ruler. This Nandapura was near Bhṛigukachchha (modern Broach) in the Narmadā-taṭa *maṇḍala*. Later on, Vīsaladēva dared an attack on a Muhammadan ruler who had a very powerful army, and was killed in action. No clue is given as to the identity of this Muhammadan ruler. It is interesting to note that the names of more than one Vīsaladēvas are associated with the extirpation of the Mlēchchhas or Turushkas (both terms indiscriminately applied to Muhammadans or even other foreigners). On the Aśōka pillar at Koṭla Fīroz Shāh, Delhi, we have an inscription of the Śākambharī king Vīsaladēva, also called Vigraharāja (V. S. 1220), who is described as the exterminator of the Mlēchchhas.[1] Again, in the Pattanārāyaṇa inscription[2] of Paramāra Pratāpasiṁha (V. S. 1344), we find Vīsala, the son of Bhādadēva and the ruler of Mālava, extolled as the sole conqueror of the Turushka hosts (cf. verse 12).

This Vīsaladēva was, however, alive in 1344 V. S., and may have been a representative of Śāraṅgadēva, the son and successor of Arjuna on the throne of Gujarāt. Evidently, he was a

[1] *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 215 ff. The verse is quoted in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 79.

different person from Vīsaladēva of this grant, though he appears to have been his contemporary. Vīsaladēva of our grant does not seem to have ruled for a long time. After his premature death, he was succeeded by his younger brother Jaitrasiṁhadēva, the donor of this grant, who, we learn from verse 25, was a feudatory chief, owing allegiance to the king of Gujarāt like his elder brother.

Unless the vague allusions in the record, such as (i) the extirpation of the Mālavas (v. 3) by Chāchigadēva, (ii) the fierce battle of Jēsaladēva with unnamed enemies (v. 8), and (iii) the unnamed powerful Muhammadan ruler (Mlēchchhēśvara) who was attacked by Vīsaladēva (v. 10), are understood with some sort of certainty, it is difficult to identify the family under question and fix its place in history. Let us hope more literary or inscriptional evidence might be discovered to shed some light on the problem.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, Nandapadra or Nandapura is modern Rājpiplā which name was introduced in the place of Nāndōd about 1920 in order to avoid its confusion with Nāndōd and Nāndōl (near Ahmedabad) and Nāṇḍōl (in Marwar). It is still popularly called Nāndōd and people remember its ancient names Nandapura and Nandapadra. It is mentioned in early epigraphs as Nāndīpurī and Nāndīpura and in medieval inscriptions as Nandapadra. The village Ṭakārī (modern Taṅkārī) is situated about 8 miles to the west of Sahirāvi (modern Sēhrāv opposite Tilakvāḍā) and about 25 miles to the east of the village of Rūṇḍha. The word *shaḍḍa* (line 49) corresponds to Prakrit *khaḍḍa*, meaning 'a nullah'. Āṁkulī and Dhāmaṇī were the local names of the nullahs. The second of the two nullahs is still extant under the name of Dhāmnī Khāḍī.[1]

In line 48, we have *trivaṭīyāṁ* (for *trivaṭīyāyāṁ* or *trivaṭyāṁ*) which appears to be derived from Sanskrit *tri-vartman* and may mean 'near a place where three roads meet'. Or, like Pañchavaṭī, Trivaṭī may be the name of a place where there was a group of three banyan trees. *Ēkahala-halaikasya*(*°hālikasya?*) probably means 'of the farmer possessing only one plough'. In *Bhāṁbhibūṭīyā* (line 50), *būṭīyā* is a Gujarātī word meaning 'a knoll or small mound'. Bhāṁbhī may have been its local name.[2]

## TEXT[3]

[Metres : Verses 1-4,9,11-12,22 *Upajāti* ; verses 5-8,17-21 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 10 *Indravajrā* ; verses 13-14 *Āryā* ; verses 15-16,25-27 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 23-24 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

*First Plate*

1 ॥[4] ८०[5] ॥ विधेर्विधेयात्क[रभ्र]संगी सुखं पयःपात्रमयो मरालः । यत्कंठनाला-
ध्ध(द्ध)वला लुलंती गंगा जगाहे वि(बि)-

2 ॥ सतंतुहेलां ॥[॥*]१[॥*] श्रीवैजवापायनराजवंशे कवींद्रवृंदैर्विहितप्रशंसे । आसीन्नृप-
श्चाचिगदेवनामा नामाद्यशो य[स्य ज]गत्त्र-

3 ॥ येऽपि ॥२[॥*] उत्पातरूपो रिपुभूपतीनां यो मालवोन्मूलनधूमकेतुः । [कांतः]
पुनर्भूतलभानुभर्त्ता विभाति त[न्वाथ महा]म- ।[6]

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[1] For the location of these places, I am indebted to Shri A. V. Pandya, Director, Institute of Archæology, Vallabh Vidyānagar, Bombay State, who originally discovered the copper plates from the palace stores at Rājpiplā.

[2] For these suggestions, I am indebted to Prof. H. C. Bhayani of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay.

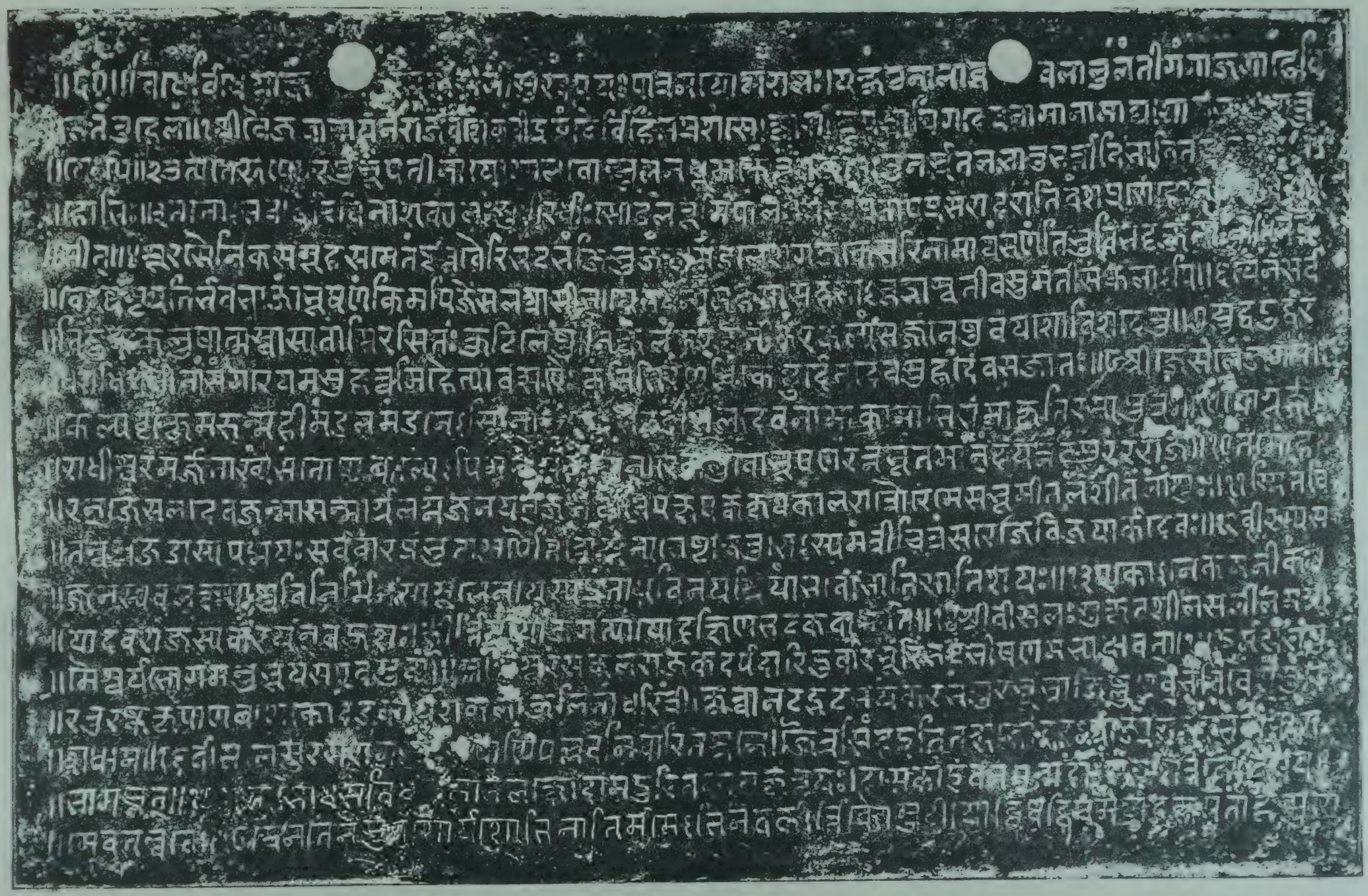
[3] From impressions.

[4] Every line begins with two such vertical strokes.

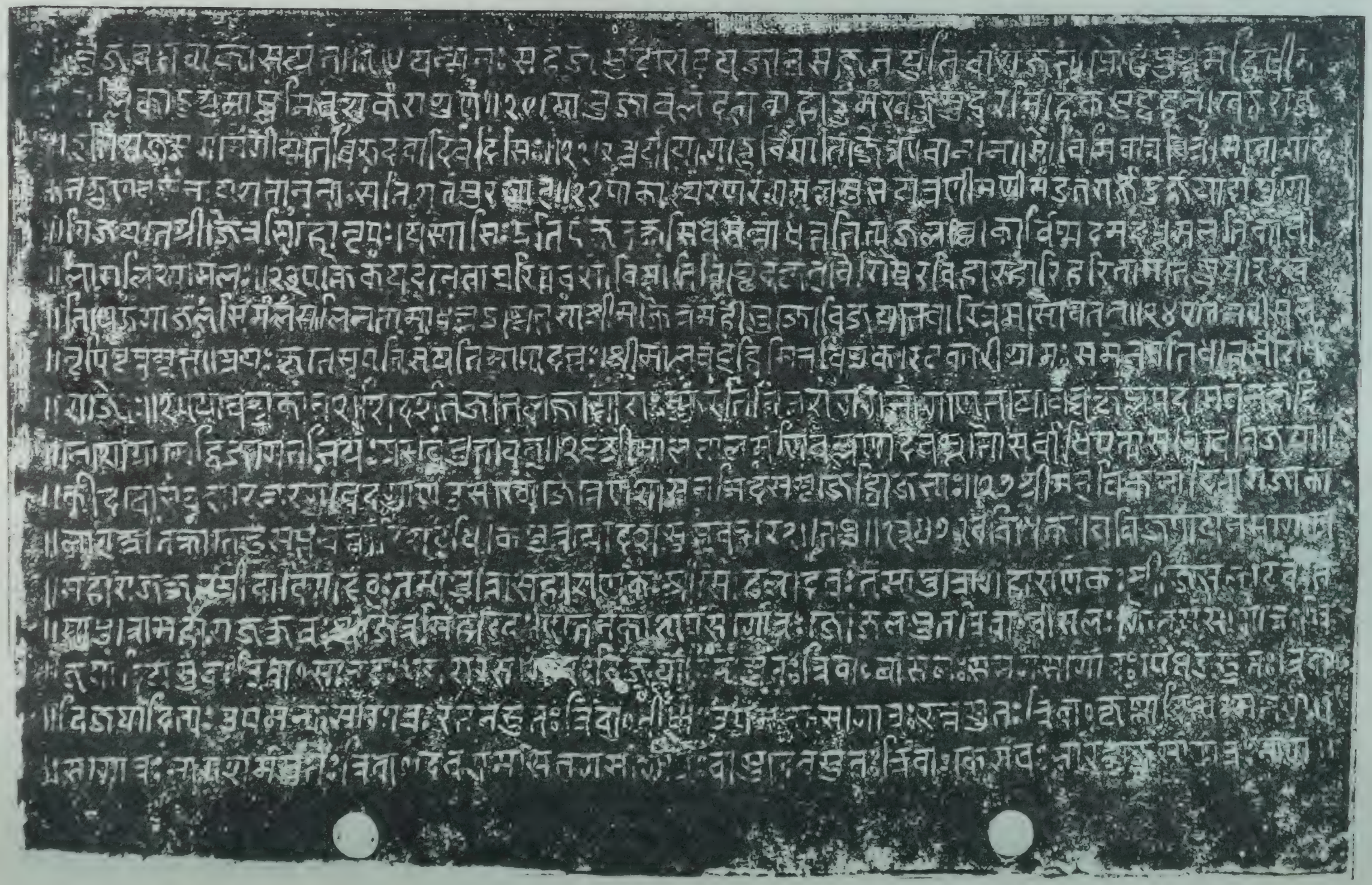
[5] This may be intended for a symbol for *Om*.

[6] This stroke is redundant.

# GRANT OF MAHARAJAKULA JAITRASIMHADEVA, V. S. 1347—PLATE I



Scale : One-half



4 ॥ होभिः ॥३[॥*] ततोऽभवद्वैरिविनाशकालः सुधीरधीः सोढलभूमिपालः । यस्य प्रताप-
प्रसरादरातिवंशप्ररोहो न [कदाचिदा-]

5 ॥ सीत् ॥४[॥*] शूरसैनिकसमूहसमेतं दृप्तवैरिभटभंजिभुजंग(गं) [।*] मंडलेशगजकेसरि-
नामा(म्ना) यं भणंति भुवि भट्टकुलानि ॥५[॥*] [तद्भ्र]-

6 ॥ वे(वो)ऽथ नृपतिर्भवभाजां भूषणं किमपि जेसल आसीत् । येन धन्य-
महसा सहसाऽभूद्भास्वती वसुमती सकलापि ॥६[॥*] येन सर्व-

7 ॥ विभुना कलुषात्मस्वास्थ्यतासिरसितः कुटिलेषु । निष्कलंकरजनीकरकल्पं
सज्जनेषु च यशो विशदेषु ॥७[॥*] युद्धदुर्द्धर-

8 ॥ धराधिपतीनां संगरे यमसुहृत्व(त्त्व)मिहैत्य । वत्सरैः कतिभिरप्यधिकेच्छुर्देव-
देवसुहृदेव स जातः ॥८[॥*] श्रीजेसले जंगम- ।[1]

9 ॥ कल्पवृक्षे मरुन्महीमंडलमंडनेऽस्मिन् । [नृपो]ऽभवद्वीसलदेवनामा कामाभिरामाकृति-
रस्य पुत्रः ॥९[॥*] यो गूर्ज्ज- ॥[1]

10 ॥ राधीश्वरमर्ज्जता(र्ज्जुना)ख्यं संतोष्य बाल्येऽपि मृ[धेषु भास्वा]न् । रेवा-
लु(भु)वो भूषणरत्नभूतमानंदयत्नं(न्नं)दपुरं रराज ॥१०[॥*] तमो ह- ॥[1]

11 ॥ रन् जेसलदेवजन्मा सन्मार्गलग्नं जनयत्(न्) जनं च । विपक्षपक्षक्षयकालरात्रौ
रेमे स भूमीतलशीतलांशुः ॥११[॥*] स्मितं वि-

12 ॥ तन्वन्नजडास्यपद्मं यः सर्ववा(वी)रप्रभुतामुपैति । अशून्यचेष्टाचतुरोऽस्य
मंत्री चित्रं स रेजे विजयार्कदेवः ॥१२[॥*] वीरस्य स-

13 ॥ ज्जनस्य च लक्ष्म्याश्च विनिर्मितस्य मूलेन । यस्य प्रतापविनयश्रियां भवो
भाति सातिशयः ॥१३[॥*] एकोऽनेकमनीकं

14 ॥ यादवराजस्य वारयन् बहुशः । कीर्त्तिं स(च) यां जगत्या(त्यां) यो दक्षिण-
भटकवा[ट][य*]ति ॥१४[॥*] श्रीवीसलः सुकृतशील[2] सलीलमग्र्य-

15 ॥ मैश्वर्यभोगमनुभूय स एवमुर्व्यां । म्ले[च्छे]श्वरं सकलराजकदर्पदारिदुर्वार-
भूरिभटभीषणमभ्यधावत् ॥१५[॥*] दुर्मत्सरा[तु]-

16 ॥ रतुर(रु)ष्ककृपाणबाणकोदंडकायशकलाकुलितां धरित्रीं । कृत्वा नटद्भटभयंकरभंगुर-
भ्रूभ्राजिष्णुरेव च विवेश सुरे-

17 ॥ शधाम ॥१६[॥*] वीसले सुरसराग[सुंदरी]पाणिपल्लवनिवारितश्रमे । जैत्रसिंह इति
तत्सहोदरः प्राज्य[राज्यभवभो]ग-

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[1] This stroke as well as two such strokes occurring at the end of lines 9-10, are redundant.

[2] It should be *sukṛita-śīlaḥ*. The *visarga* is dropped either for the exigency of metre or by an uncommon *sandhi*.

18 ॥ भागभूत् ॥१७[॥*] [यस्य] सौधसविध[क्ष]मातलक्षोदमेदुरितकायद्वतयः । दासका
इव नमन्मदाः [सदा शत्रवो विन]य-

19 ॥ मेव तन्वते ॥१८[॥*] येन तेन सुर(?)र्यशोभिना निर्ममेऽभिनवकीर्त्तिकौमुदी ।
या द्विषद्विषमदा[हकृत्सं]तां हृन्मुखां-

*Second Plate, First Side*

20 ॥ वु(बु)जदलं व्यकानयत् ॥१९[॥*] यन्मनः सहजसुंदरोदयं जातसज्जत(न)युति
व्यराजत । प्रौढपुत्रमहिषीम-

21 ॥ तल्लिका उग्रमाप्ल(प्त)मिव शर्करागुणं ॥२०[॥*] यो भुजाव(ब)लदलन्महाद्रुमं
खड्गमुद्धुरमिहैकमुद्वहन् । ख[ड्ग]राज

22 ॥ इति राजसंगमे गीयते बिरुदवादिवंदिमिः(भिः)॥२१[॥*] ऐश्वर्ययोगाद्भुवि सा(भा)-
ति जैत्रपंचाननो[ऽ]सौ वि(कि)मिवात्रचित्रं । स(सं)तो यदे-

23 ॥ तद्गुणवर्ण(र्ण)नाय शतानना: संति शतं पुरस्तात् ॥२२[॥*] एकोऽयं रणरंगमल्ल-
सुभटत्रे(श्रे)णीमणीमंडतं(लं) गर्ज्जदु(द्दु)र्ज्जयदोर्युगो

24 ॥ विजयते श्रीजैत्रसिंहो नृपः । यस्यासिः प्रतिपक्षवक्षसि वसन्नाधत्त ति(नि)त्यज(ज्ज)-
लच्छोकाविप्मदमद(विष्कृतमंद)धूमलतिकाली-

25 ॥ लामलिश्यामलः ॥२३[॥*] एकैकं यदने[क]सूरिवचसां विभ्रांतिविच्छेदकृत्(द्)
वैरिस्वैरविहारहारि हरितामंतेषु यत्खेल-

26 ॥ ति । यद्गंगाजलसि(नि)र्मलं स(म)लिनतामाधत्त दुश्चेतसां श्रीम[ज्जै]त्रमही-
भुजो विजयते चारित्रमस्यैव तत् ॥२४[॥*] एतेन वीसल-

27 ॥ [क*मा]तृपितृ[1] प्रमूतां(भूत)श्रेयःकृते स्वपतिसंय(म)तिमाप्य दत्तः । श्रीमालवट्-
(षड्)द्विमितविप्रकरे टकारी ग्रामः समं नवति(नि)धानसरोव-

28 ॥ राज्यैः(द्यैः) ॥२५[॥*] यावच्च कांतशशिदर्शनजातलज्जास्तारा: स्फुरंति नितरां
गगनांगणे ता[:*] । यावच्च कृष्णपद[2] सेवनकृद्वि-

29 ॥ नेशो ग्रामे द्विजा गतभयः प्रसवं(वसं)तु तावत् ॥२६[॥*] श्रीमालभालमणिवल्लणदेव-
सूतौ(नौ) सर्वाधिपत्यसचिवे विजया- ॥[3]

30 ॥ कीद(र्कदे)वे । संवत्सरे तुरगवेदगुणेंदुसंख्ये जैत्रेण शासनमिदं ससृजे द्विजेभ्यः
॥२७[॥*] श्रीमत्(द्)विक्रमादित्यराज्यका-

31 ॥ लात्(द्) अतिक्रांतेषु सप्तचत्वारिंशदधिकेषु त्रयोदशसु संवत्सरशतेषु ॥ १३४७ एवंविधे
काते(ले) वि(वै)ज[वा*]पायनसगोत्रे

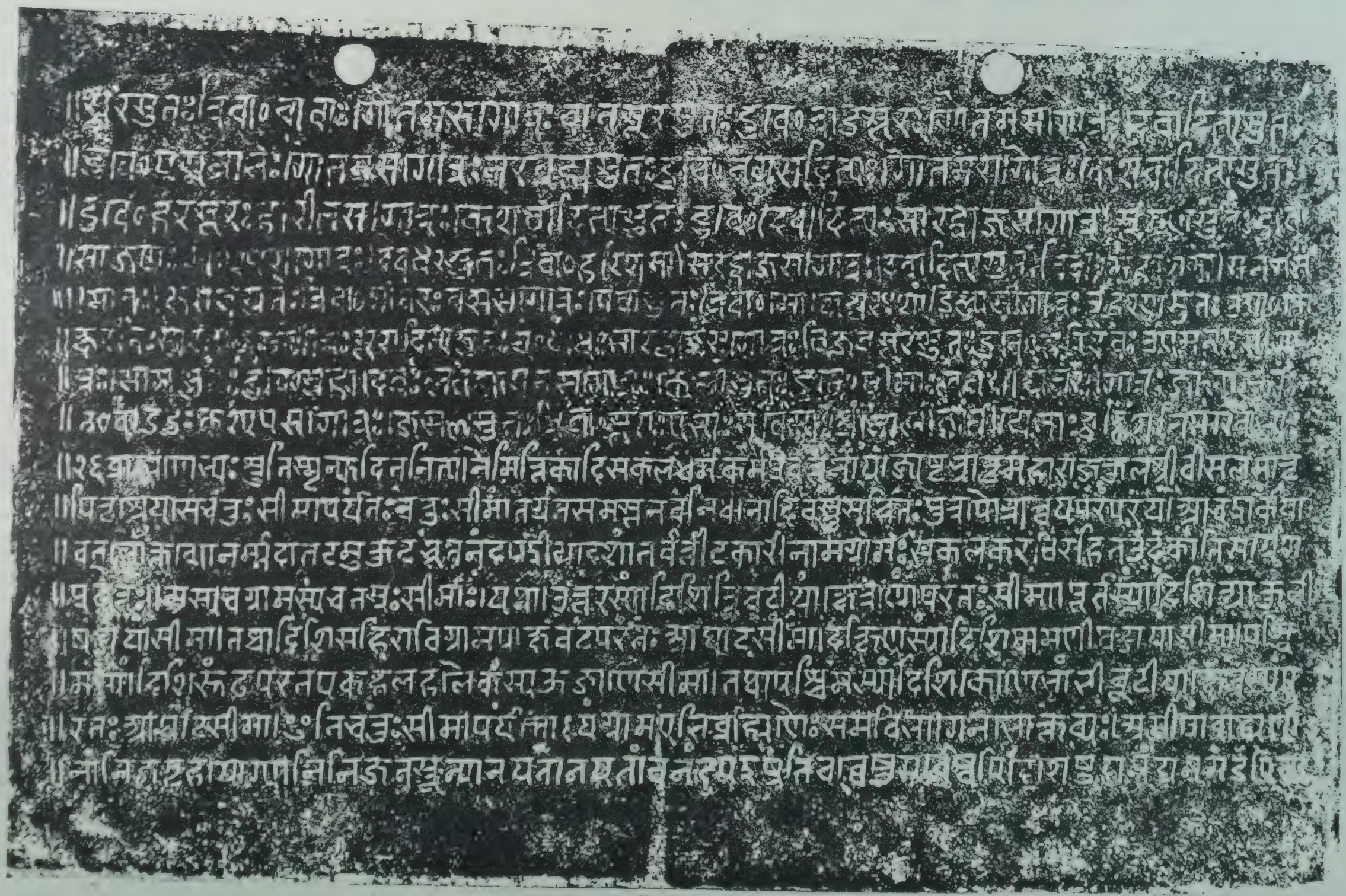
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[1] Cf. *śrī-Visala-mātri-pitri-śrēyasē* in lines 45-46 below.

[2] I. e. *Vishṇupada*.

[3] These strokes are redundant.

ii, b



Scale : One-half

32 ॥ महाराजकुलश्रीचाचिगदेवः तस्य पुत्रो स(म)हाराणकः श्रीसोढलदेवः तस्य पुत्रो महाराणकः श्रीजेसलदेवः त-

33 ॥ स्य पुत्रो महाराजकुवः(लः) श्रीजैत्रसिंहदेवः । एतेन काश्यपसंगोत्रः जोजलपु(सु)-त[ः*] त्रिवा° वीसलः गौतमसगोत्रः वि-

34 ॥ जयादिय(त्य)सु[तः] त्रिवा° सालडः पराशरसगोत्रः विजयादित्यसुतः त्रिवा° बासलः सनग-सगोत्रः पेथडसुतः त्रिवा°

35 ॥ विजयादित्यः उपमन्युसगोत्रः रतनसुतः त्रिवा° धीधाः उपमन्युसगोत्रः रत्नसुतः त्रिवा° कृष्णादित्यः सनग- ॥[1]

36 ॥ सगोत्रः नागशर्मसुतः त्रिवा° देवशर्मा सनगसगोत्रः वासुदेवसुतः त्रिवा° केशवः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः नाग- ॥[1]

*Second Plate, Second Side*

37 ॥ सूरसुतः त्रिवा° चावाः गौतमसगोत्रः वातसूरसुतः दुवे° वाडसूरः गौतमसगोत्रः देवादित्यसुतः

38 ॥ दुवे° पद्मनाभः गौतमसगोत्रः नरव्र(ब्र)ह्मसुतः दुवे° नगरादित्यः गौतमसगोत्रः केशवादित्यसुतः

39 ॥ दुवे° हरसूरः हारीतसगोत्रः केशवादित्यसुतः दुवे° देवादित्यः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः सुमणसुतः दुवे°

40 ॥ साजणः काश्यपसगोत्रः देवधरसुतः त्रिवा° हरिशर्म्मा भरद्वाजसगोत्रः देवादित्यसुतः त्रिवा° महाशर्म्मा सनगस-

41 ॥ गोत्रः केशवसुतः त्रिवा° श्रीधरः वत्ससगोत्रः पेवासुतः त्रिवा° मोक्षेश्वरः शांडिल्य-सगोत्रः उद्धरणसुतः उपा° प्रो(परो?)-

42 ॥ क्षरविः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः सूरादित्यसुतः चं° (पं°?) धांधः भारद्वाजसगोत्रः विजव(य)सूरसुतः दुवे° हरिदेवः उपमन्युसगो-

43 ॥ त्रः सोमसुतः दुवे° मु(म)हादेवः लवंघायनसगोत्रः केलासुतः दुवे° धीमाः लवंघायनसगोत्र जालासुतः

44 ॥ ठ° वाडदुः कश्यपसगोत्रः जेसलसुतः त्रिवा° सूराः एभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः श्रीमालीजातीयेभ्यः षड्विंशतिसंख्येभ्यः

45 ॥ २६ व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितनित्यनैमित्तिकादिसकलधर्मकर्मप्रवर्त्तनाय ज्येष्ट(ष्ठ)-भ्रातृमहाराजकुलं(ल)श्रीवीसलमातृ-[2]

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[1] These strokes are redundant.

[2] See foot-note 1 at p. 224.

46 ॥ पितृश्रेयसे चतुःसीमापर्यंतः चतुःसीमांतर्ग्गतसमस्तनवनिधानादिवस्तुसहितः पुत्र-
पौत्रान्वयपरंपरया आचंद्रार्कं या-

47 ॥ वत्(द्) भोक्तव्यो नर्म्मदातटमुकुटभूतनंदपद्रीयदेशांतर्वर्त्ती टकारीनामग्रामः सकलकर-
विरहित उदकातिसर्ग्गेण

48 ॥ प्रदत्तः ॥ अस्य च ग्रामस्य चतस्रः सीमाः । यथा । उत्तरस्यां दिशि
त्रिवटीयां क्षेत्राणां परतः सीमा । पूर्वस्यां दिशि आंकुली-

49 ॥ षट्डा(खड्डा)यां सीमा । तथा दिशि सहिराविग्रामपक्षे वटपरतः आघाट-
सीमा । दक्षिणस्यां दिशि धामणी षट्डा(खड्डा)यां सीमा । पश्चि-

50 ॥ मस्यां दिशि रूंढपरत एकहलहलैकस्य ऊजाणे सीमा । तथा पश्चिमस्यां
दिशि कोणे भांभीबूटीयाक्षेत्रस्य प-

51 ॥ रतः आघाटसीमा । इति चतुःसीमापर्यंतोऽयं ग्रामः एभिर्व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणैः
समविभागेन भोक्तव्यः । अमीषां व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा-

52 ॥ नां निजगृहयोग्यानि निजवस्तून्यानयतां नयतां च नंदपद्रप्रतिवध्धे(बद्धे)षु सर्वे-
ष्वपि देशेषु दानं दानमंडपिका[1]

## TRANSLATION

V.1. Ōm[2]. May the swan-shaped water-jar, ever held in the lotus-like hand of Brahman, dispense happiness—the jar, from whose neck-spout the fair Gaṅgā, gushing forth, imitates the grace of the lotus-fibres.

V.2. In the illustrious royal family of Vaijavāpāyana, lauded by hosts of eminent poets, there was a king, Chāchigadēva by name, whose fame could not be contained in the three worlds.

V.3. He was a portent for (*the destruction of*) the hostile kings and a comet (i.e. evil star) for the extirpation of the Mālavas. Resplendent, he shone (*in his body*) and by his great prowess as a life-sustainer like the very sun on the face of the earth.

V.4. To him was born the king Sōḍhala of a strong mind, who was the very death for the annihilation of his enemies, and, before the advancing tide of whose valour the families of his foes could never take root.

V.5. Him, who had a host of brave soldiers and was like a serpent, in putting to rout the warriors of his arrogant foes, the minstrel clans described as a lion overpowering the elephants that were the other Maṇḍalēśvaras (i.e. feudatory chiefs) on this earth.

V.6. His son, king Jēsala, with whom, possessed of benign splendour, the whole earth became luminous at once, was a rare gem among the mortals.

V.7. By him, the all powerful one, his blue-steel sword was flung on the crooked persons of impure mind, and his fame, as bright as the spotless moon, among the noble persons of pure mind.

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[1] The concluding portion of the sentence is completely worn out.

[2] See p. 222, note 5.

V.8. Having played the role of Yama in a war with the kings who were irresistible in fighting, he, with higher ambition, became the friend of the lord of the gods (i.e. Indra) within a few years (i.e. died).

V.9. When the illustrious Jēsala, the moving tree of paradise, had become the ornament of the land of the gods (i.e. attained heaven), then his son, Vīsala by name, who was of as lovely a form as Kāma himself, became the king.

V.10. Who, the resplendent one, even as a youngster, having pleased in battles Arjjuna, the king of the Gūrjjaras, shone brilliantly, spreading cheer in the city of Nandapura which was a gem set in the ornament of the land on (*the banks of*) the Rēvā (i.e. Narmadā).

V.11. The offspring of Jēsaladēva, dispelling the darkness and setting the people on the path of virtue, shone as if he were the moon on the earth's surface in the dark night of the destruction of his enemies.

V.12. With a smile that made his lotus-face bloom, who could assume the leadership of the tribe of the brave, no wonder! (*that the same*) Vijayārkadēva, his minister, who was clever at devising effectual plans, too, shone brilliantly.

V.13. In him, who was fashioned (*as it were*) from the same stuff as that of the Brave, the Noble and the goddess Lakshmī, the inherence of (*the qualities of*) prowess, modesty and majesty shone out most conspicuously.

V.14. Who, all alone, having stemmed repeatedly the numerous hordes of the king of the Yādavas, makes his very fame in the country, the (*barring*) door to the soldiers of the South.

V.15. The illustrious Vīsala of virtuous disposition, having thus enjoyed with facility the highest prosperity on this earth, made an assault on a Muhammadan (Mlēchchha) ruler who was formidable with his large troops which were irresistible and had broken the pride of all the princes.

V.16. Making the battle-field strewn with the broken pieces of the swords, arrows, bows and the bodies of the rancorous Muhammadans (Turushkas), he entered the abode of Indra (i.e. was killed) while the frown still glowed over his brow, striking terror into (*the hearts of*) the scampering soldiers (*of the enemy*).

V.17. As the fatigue of Vīsala was being removed by the sprout-like hands of the amorous belles of heaven (i.e. after his death), Jaitrasiṁha, his brother, came to share the enjoyment of the prosperity of a large kingdom.

V.18. With the skin of their bodies thickly covered with the dust of the ground close to his palace, his enemies, with their pride lowered like the slaves, always display nothing but humility.

V.19. By that very person (i.e. Jaitrasiṁha), radiant with happiness and valour, a unique moonlight[1] was created in the form of his glory, which caused burning affliction to his enemies and made the hearts and faces of the noble to expand like the petals of the lotuses.

V.20. Whose mind, having associated with the noble people, was radiant with a natural and charming elevation : his grown up son and excellent queen.....[2]

V.21. He, who, wielding here a singularly heavy sword, capable of felling a big tree when plied with the might of his arm, was extolled as *Khaḍgarāja* (sword-king) by the bards singing laudatory poems in the assemblage of the kings.

V.22. What wonder, if he shines as Jaitra-pañchānana (the victorious lion=Jaitra-siṁha) on this earth, when there are a hundred of noble persons to praise his virtues before him with a hundred mouths!

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[1] Note that it was of a contrary nature to the ordinary moonlight which is cool in its effect and causes the lotuses to close.

[2] The sense of the second hemistich of this verse is obscure.

V.23. This illustrious king Jaitrasiṁha, thundering with his irresistible arms, alone is victorious over the circle of the excellent soldiers who are like a chaplet of gems and are the champions of the battle-field ; and his bee-black sword, thrust into the heart of the enemy, wears the semblance of a slender column of smoke rising up from his (i.e. the enemy's) ever-burning anguish.

V.24. It is the good conduct of this very Jaitrasiṁha, pure as the waters of Gaṅgā, that triumphs as it washes away the moral impurities of the wicked, and which, being capable of removing severally the errors of many a learned man and of putting an end to the unrestrained movements of the enemies, pervades throughout the ends of the quarters.

V.25. By him has been given away, after getting the approval of his overlord, the village of Ṭakārī into the hands of twenty-six Brāhmaṇas of the Śrīmāla caste, along with its nine treasures, pools, etc., for the great bliss of final emancipation of Vīsala and his mother and father.

V.26. Let these Brāhmaṇas live in this village free from fear as long as these stars, shy at the sight of the bright moon, their spouse, continue to twinkle on the wide expanse of the sky, and as long as the sun continues to occupy its place in the heaven.

V.27. While Vijayārkadēva, the son of Vallaṇadēva who was the crest-jewel of the Śrīmāla family, was the minister with supreme powers, this grant was bestowed upon the Brāhmaṇas by Jaitra in the year reckoned by the (Sun's) horses (7), the Vēdas (4), the primary qualities (*guṇas*—3), and the moon (1) :

Lines 30-33. (that is to say) when thirteen hundred years increased by forty-seven had elapsed since the reign of the illustrious Vikramāditya. At such a time, viz. (*the year*) 1347, there had been the illustrious Mahārājakula Chāchigadēva of the Vija(Vaijavā)pāyana family ; his son the illustrious Mahārāṇaka Sōḍhaladēva ; his son the illustrious Mahārāṇaka Jēsaladēva ; his son the illustrious Mahārājakula, Jaitrasiṁhadēva :

Line 33. By him,—

Lines 44-48. for the bliss of final emancipation of his elder brother the illustrious Mahārāja-kula Vīsala, and his mother and father, and for the continuous performance of all the obligatory as well as accidental religious rites prescribed by the *Vēdas* and the *Smṛitis*, has been donated, with libations of water, the village of the name of Ṭakārī up to its boundaries on four sides, situated in the jurisdiction of Nandapadra which is the pride of the banks of the Narmadā, free from all taxes and along with all the property like the nine treasures existing within its four bounds, to all these Brāhmaṇas of Śrimālī family, 26 in number,[1] to be enjoyed in an uninterrupted succession of their sons and sons' sons for the same time as the moon and the sun endure.

Lines 48-51. The four boundaries of this village are, for instance :—the boundary on the northern side is beyond the Trivaṭī (?) fields ; on the eastern side the boundary is along the Āṁkulī nullah and in the same (?) direction the Āghāṭa-boundary extends beyond the banyan tree by the side of the Sahirāvi village ; on the southern side the boundary is along the Dhāmaṇī nullah ; on the western side the boundary is in the Ujāṇa (garden ?) of the Ēkahala-halaika (?) beyond the village Rūṇḍha ; and on the western side in a corner, the Āghāṭa-boundary extends beyond the fields of Bhāṁbhī-bū̃ṭīyā.

Lines 51-53. This village should be enjoyed by these Brāhmaṇas up to its four bounds, in equal shares. While these Brāhmaṇas carry their personal effects useful for their household to and from (the village), the gifts [should be free from all taxes at] the toll-booth (*Dānamaṇḍapikā*)[2] in all the territories adjoining Nandapadra.

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[1] The names of these Brāhmaaṇas, along with the *gōtra* and the name of every one's father (lines 33-44) are not included in the translation. They may be seen from the text.

[2] The word *dāna* is of frequent occurrence in the *Lēkhapaddhati*. For *maṇḍapikā*, see Sōḍhala's inscription of V.S. 1241.

## No. 29—BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF GANGA NARASIMHA

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar and K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

The inscription[1] under study is engraved on a stone tablet which was discovered in the course of an excavation of a site for the foundation of a monastery near the Gaurī-Kēdāra temple at **Bhubaneswar,** Orissa. The inscribed stone was made over to Mr. Ganapati Sircar of Calcutta by His Holiness Swami Kesavananda Brahmachari who had arranged for the excavation of the site in July 1916. Recently the stone was secured for the Asutosh Museum of Indian Arts attached to the University of Calcutta. The inscription was published by Sircar with a good illustration in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XX, 1924, pp. 41 ff. Since the text has not been properly read and interpreted, it is re-edited here.

The inscribed slab measures about $26\frac{3}{4}''$ in height, 23″ in breadth and $5\frac{3}{4}''$ in thickness. About the middle of the top part, there is an image of Gaṇēśa measuring $8\frac{1}{2}''$ in length, 6″ in breadth and $1\frac{1}{4}''$ in depth, engraved in bas-relief. The whole stone is stated to weigh nearly five maunds (about 400 pounds). The space in the right side of the surface of the stone is occupied by an **Oriya** inscription in **Gauḍīya** characters, the first 15 lines of which cover an area $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by the side of the figure of Gaṇēśa while the width of the area covered by the remaining 22 lines below the above is 11 inches. The height of the area covered by the record in 34 lines is 24 inches. The space in the left half of the stone is similarly occupied by an inscription in the **Tamil language** in **Tamil and Grantha characters,** the lower part of which, lying below the figure, is separated from the Oriya epigraph by a space about 1″ broad. The letters vary in size from $\frac{1}{2}''$ to $\frac{3}{4}''$ in height as well as in breadth. They are thicker in shape in the Oriya part than in the Tamil section. The writing is in a fairly good state of preservation although a layer of stone has broken away from the left hand side of the top part with the result that a few letters at the right end of the first three lines in the Tamil portion are lost. But the lost letters can be confidently restored with the help of the excellent photograph of the slab published along with Sircar's article referred to above.

As already indicated, the inscription consists of two parts, one engraved in Tamil occupying the left hand side and the other in Oriya engraved in the right side. The last three lines of the Tamil portion are, strangely enough, engraved in three vertical columns on the left face of the slab exactly in the Chinese fashion. The letters have to be read in these lines from top to bottom while the lines have to be read from right to left. Both the Oriya and Tamil sections of the inscription refer to a transaction between a debtor and a creditor, the former being the pontiff of a *Maṭha* of Tamilian Śaivas at Bhubaneswar and the latter a local Oriya moneyed man. That is why the document is written in two different versions, Oriya and Tamil.

The **characters** of the Oriya part of the record belong to the Gauḍīya class, some of them resembling either their modern Bengali or Oriya forms. The record may be assigned on palæographical grounds to a date not much earlier than the fourteenth century. Letters like *ṭ*, *bh* and *ś* and the signs of medial *u* and *ū* exhibit Gauḍīya forms, while *a*, *ā*, *ñch*, *m*, *r*, *v*(=*b*) and *s*, as found in the inscription, are the same as in Gauḍīya and in Bengali. Similarly, letters like *i*, *ṅk*, *ṅgh*, *p* and *ph* in the record are found in the medieval Gauḍīya epigraphs found in Orissa and resemble their Oriya forms, although the letter *h* (cf. also the peculiar form of *hi* in line 3) has a

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1955-56, App. B, No. 117.

cursive form which appears to be the origin of the modern Karaṇī (i.e. pertaining to the writer caste) form of the letter.[1] But the most interesting letter is *ḷ* which is found only in Oriya and not in Bengali. This letter has not been traced in Orissan epigraphs earlier than the thirteenth century.[2] Medial *i*, which has been only once used in line 29, is of the Oriya type. Of initial vowels, the inscription uses *a* (lines 16, 18, 24), *ā* (lines 10, 20-21, 24, 26-27, 31), *i* (lines 15-16, 20, 23, 25, 28, 31-32), *u* (lines 11, 15-16, 27) and *ē* (lines 7, 10, 12-14, 16, 20, 22-23, 26, 28-30, 33). The numerical figures 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 0 are found in the record (cf. lines 3, 11, 18). Of these, 1 is of the Telugu, 2 of the Oriya, 5 of the Telugu-Oriya and 8 of the Gauḍīya-Oriya type. The *Siddham* symbol at the beginning and the two punctuation marks (meant for a double *daṇḍa*) at the end look like the figure for 2.

The **language** is Oriya though there is a little influence of Sanskrit at the beginning of the epigraph. The composition exhibits carelessness on the part of the scribe. Some of the expressions used in the record are not found in modern Oriya. The **orthography** is characterised by a tendency to use the medial forms of *ī* and *ū* instead of medial *i* and *u* respectively. Indeed medial *i* has been used only once in *bhikshā* (line 29, the word being elsewhere spelt as *bhīkshā*) and medial *u* once in *sujya* (line 33) for Sanskrit *sūrya*. We know that *y*, when it is initial or the component of certain conjuncts, is pronounced as *j* in the East Indian dialects in which *v* is pronounced as *b* and *ksh* as *kkh*. The inscription uses *y* for *j* in *vā*(*vī*)*yē* (line 2) for Sanskrit *vijaya* (cf. *jētē kāḷa* for Sanskrit *yat-kāla* in lines 32-33) and represents the original sound of *y* by *īa* as in *asīā* (line 24) for Sanskrit *aśītika*. Interesting are the following modifications of Sanskrit words : *sīṅgha* for *siṁha*, *dēvaśa* for *dēvasya*, *pravradhamāna* for *pravardhamāna*, *vīyē-rājē* for *vijaya-rājyē*, *Kātrīka-krīshṇa* for *Kārttika-kṛishṇa*, *Ravī* for *Ravi*, *Kīttīvāsa* for *Kṛittivāsas* (or *Kīrttivāsa*), *Sīdhēsvara* for *Siddhēśvara*, *maḍha* for *maṭha*, *āśa* and *āuśa* for *āyus*, *Taparāja-māhāmunī* for *Tapōrāja-mahāmuni*, *Durggābhaṭa-āchāya* for *Durgābhaṭṭ-āchārya*, *Utrēsara-nāēka* for *Uttarēśvara-nāyaka*, *trīḥsēka* for *triṁśatka*, *sūnā* for *svarṇa*, *kaḷantara* for *kal-āntara*, *Sīva* for *Śiva*, *Tapachakravartī* for *Tapaśchakravartin*, *sthānā-patī* for *sthāna-pati*, *rāsī* for *rāśi*, *Pāṇḍī* for *Pāṇḍya*, etc. The expressions *aīkshā karī* (line 31), *āchāvanta* (line 31), *tapasāṅkā* (line 32) and *chadra* (line 33) are defective, standing respectively for *dīkshā lābha kari*, *āchāravanta*, *tāpasāṅka* (or *tāpasāmānaṅka*) and *chandra*. There are several other errors of this kind in the epigraph. The case-endings added to bases in *a* are : *ē* for both nominative singular (as in *Dugġābhaṭē* in line 15, *Āchāyē* in line 21) and locative singular or plural (as in *rājē*=Sanskrit *rājyē* in line 2, *dēsē*=Sanskrit *dēśēshu* in line 30) ; *kī* (as in *Chakravatīkī* in line 25) and *ṅka* or *ṅkara* (as in °*dēvaṅkara* in lines 5-6, °*nāēkaṅkara* in line 12, *tapasāṅkā* for *tāpasāṅka* in line 32, *kāḷaṅka* in line 24) for genitive singular or plural ; *kai* or *ṅkai* for dative singular (as in *kīlākai* in line 24, *āchāyaṅkai* in line 10) ; *raï* (for *rē* in modern Oriya) for locative singular or plural (as in *hātharaï*=*hātharē*) ; *ṅkara-tahū* for ablative (as in °*nāēkaṅkara tahū* in line 12). Among verbal derivatives, the following forms of the gerund occur in the epigraph : *dēi* (i.e. having given) in line 16, *sūṇī* (i.e. having heard) and *vōlī* (literally ' having spoken ' but used in the sense of 'because') in line 22, *hōi* (i.e. having been) in lines 30-31, *karī* (i.e. having done) in line 31. The following are verbs in the Past Tense : *kalā* (i.e. did or made) in lines 10 and 16, *ghētalā* (i.e. took or borrowed) in line 12, *hōilā* (i.e. became) in lines 19-20, 22-23, *dhīlā* for *dilā* (i.e. gave) in line 26. For the verbal forms *dēvā* in line 8 and *karāivā* in lines 28-29, see *dēvā* in Plate VI B, lines 5 and 11 of the Purī Plates (B) of Narasiṁha IV.[3] The expression *vaṁdhā kalā* (i.e. gave in mortgage) in line 10, *aṅka kalā* (i.e. calculated the sum) in line 16, *mūḷa-kaḷantara karante* (i.e. on the capital and interest having

[1] See *JBORS*, Vol. X, pp. 168 ff., Chart XIII.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 110 ; p. 127 and note 1. Originally *ḷ* seems to have been distinguished from *l* by the addition of a diacritical mark ; but this diacritically marked form was later employed to indicate *l* while the ordinary form of the letter indicated *ḷ*.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff.

been done=calculated) in line 17, *Śiva-prāphtē* (i.e. on having obtained Śiva=after death) in lines 18-19, *jamīlā hōi* (i.e. having been born) in lines 30-31, *āchā[ra*]vanta hōilā tāpasāṅka* (i.e. of the ascetics who have been [devoted] followers of the rules of conduct) in lines 31-32, *jētē kāḷa cha[ṁ*]-dra-sujya crata* (i.e. so long as the sun and the moon exist) in lines 32-33, *ētēka kāḷaṅka vasa rratī-vāka* (i.e. to exist for this much time) in lines 33-34, etc., are interesting.

The expression *ēkaïtī* (line 16) seems to mean the same thing as Sanskrit *ēkatra* or *ēkatrita* (i.e. brought together) while *asīā-śatakē kīlākai* (line 24) appears to mean 'in respect of a written [document] involving one hundred and eighty [gold coins]'. The word *maḍāmaḍē* in the locative in line 31 seems to stand for *maṭh-āmaṭhē* in the sense of 'in various *maṭhas*', i.e. in any *maṭha* in the three countries mentioned in the context, viz., Chōḍa-dēśa, Pāṇḍya-dēśa and Kāñchī-dēśa. But Sanskrit *maṭha* is modified to *maḍha* in line 5.

The **Tamil** section of the record exhibits some palæographical and linguistic features which are apparently due to the inscription being written in Orissa. Grantha characters have often been used in Sanskrit words. The use of medial *ī* exhibiting a tendency towards the formation of a loop at its right, which distinguishes it from medial *i*, is clear in *Kīrtti* (line 6), *prī* (line 12) and *nīr* (line 29). The sign for medial *i* in *°vanilā* in line 32 is indicated by projecting the top *mātrā* of the letter *n* almost making a loop of it. This may be compared with the slightly different form of the same *akshara* in *tanisu* in lines 15-16. The letter *ṭ*(=*ḍ*) in the word *māḍai* is written in two different ways. In lines 23 and 27 it is written in the usual Tamil form, while in lines 16 and 17 it is written with a downward curve as in Grantha, the latter form being comparable with *ṭ* in *bhaṭṭar* in lines 8 and 21 and in *poṭṭi* in line 27. It is possible that the pronunciation of the word *māḍha* was not clear to the person who drafted the Tamil section of the epigraph. The *rēpha* is indicated by a vertical stroke even where the Tamil forms of the Sanskrit words are used, e.g., *Kārttikai* in line 3 and *Kīrttivāsattil* in line 6, though the corresponding sign in Tamil was not unknown to the engraver (cf. *vārttu* in line 29).

The use of the expressions *rāśi-maitram* (lines 21-22) and *iḷandu* (line 24) is interesting. *Rāśi-maitram* means the friendship arising from two persons being born under the same *rāśi* or zodiacal sign. This interpretation is made clear in the Oriya part (lines 20-23) of the record. The other expression *iḷandu* seems to have been used in the sense of 'having written off'. The significance of the expression *maḍāmaḍam* (line 31) is not clear, though the context seems to suggest the meaning 'in various monasteries'.

Both the Oriya and Tamil parts of the inscription bear the same date and refer to the same transaction, though with slight difference in the details. The inscription is **dated in the 22nd year of Śrī-Vīra-Naranārasiṁhadēva** or Śrī-Vīra-Nārasiṁhadēva and the details of the date are quoted as **Kārtikka-ba. 7, Sunday.** The reigning Gaṅga monarch is called Naranārasiṁha in the Oriya part (lines 1, 27) and Nārasiṁha in the Tamil section (lines 1-2, 30); but in line 5 of the former and lines 10-11 of the latter a king named Narasiṁha is mentiond with the distinguishing epithets *vaḍa* in Oriya and *periya* in Tamil, both meaning 'big'. Apparently the elder Narasiṁha was one of the predecessors of Nārasiṁha or Narasiṁha during whose reign the inscription under study was incised. A Telugu inscription[1] from the Simhachalam temple, dated Śaka 1305, Chatira-ba. 6, Wednesday, corresponding to the 25th March 1383 A.D., records the gifts of the queens of Gajapati Peda-Narasiṁharāja and Vīra-Bhānudēvarāja. The word *peda* or *pedda* means 'big' in Telugu exactly as Oriya *vaḍa* and Tamil *periya*.[2] The Simhachalam epigraph belongs to the reign of Gaṅga Narasiṁha IV (1378-1402 A.D.) and king Bhānu mentioned in it can be none other than his father Bhānu III (c. 1353-78 A.D.). Peda Narasiṁha seems

[1] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 752 (pp. 285-86).

[2] In medieval Tamil inscriptions of the Chōḷas, a past king is often mentioned as *periya-dēvar*. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 189, text lines 7 and 10; Vol. XXIV, p. 159; Vol. XXV, p. 84.

to be his grandfather Narasiṁha III (c. 1327-53 A.D.) who was apparently distinguished from his reigning grandson bearing his own name by the said distinguishing epithet. There is thus some evidence to show that the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha III was referred to as the 'big' Narasiṁha in the records of the time of his grandson Narasiṁha IV. Although this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier Narasiṁha being distinguished from one of his predecessors of the same name in a similar way, we are inclined to identify the king, during whose reign the inscription under review was engraved, with **Narasiṁha IV** as the palæography of the record seems to support this identification. Moreover the details of the date quoted in the inscription do not appear to suit the reign of Narasiṁha II or Narasiṁha III.

Manmohan Chakravarti, in his account of the chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga kings,[1] fixed 1378-79 A.D. as the initial year of Narasiṁha IV. The details of the date in our record, viz., **Aṅka 22 (i.e. 18th regnal year), Kārttika(Pūrṇimānta)-ba. 7, Sunday,** would thus correspond regularly to **September 24, 1396 A.D.**

The **Oriya part** records that an area of 12 *Vāṭīs* of land called **Vāghamarā** (situated at Vāghamārā according to the Tamil version) was granted as *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā* in favour of the Siddhēśvara-maṭha at the illustrious Kṛittivāsa-kshētra (modern Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and fulfilment of the desires of the elder **Narasiṁhadēva** who was apparently one of the past kings of the country. The significance of the expression *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā* is clear from the Tamil part which states that the grant was meant for the feeding of Śaiva ascetics for the favour of the eleven Rudras. Some time after the creation of the endowment, Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, the pontiff of the *Maṭha*, mortgaged the land to Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya from whom he borrowed 150 [gold] *Māḍhas*. He also borrowed ten [gold] *Māḍhas* and 30 *Pauṭīs* of paddy from Uttarēśvara-nāyaka. *Pauṭī* is a measure of capacity prevalent in Orissa, which is equal to ten maunds. The word is probably derived from Sanskrit *pravarti* or *pravartikā* which was equal to five *khārīs* according to Sarvānanda's *Ṭīkāsarvasva* on the *Amarakōśa*, II, 9, 89. The same measure is possibly mentioned in certain inscriptions from Bengal and Orissa.[2]

Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya paid up Tapōrāja-mahāmuni's debt to Uttarēśvara-nāyaka and calculated the total amount including interest, payable to him by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, to be altogether 180 [gold] *Māḍhas*. This no doubt included 150 *Māḍhas* lent by himself and 10 [gold] *Māḍhas* paid by him to Uttarēśvara-nāyaka as well as the interest accruing to these amounts and the price of the paddy with interest. Meanwhile Tapōrāja-mahāmuni passed away and he was succeeded in the pontificate by Tapaśchakravartin. Since Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya and Tapaśchakravartin were born under the same *rāśi* or zodiacal sign, the former became a friend of the latter. Hence Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya wrote off the debt of 180 [gold] *Māḍhas*, due to him from the head of the monastery, for the continuance of the *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā* for the longevity and the fulfilment of the desires of the reigning monarch **Vīra-Naranārasiṁhadēva.**

The **Tamil version** of these transactions while giving some additional information also differs in some details. The purpose of the original grant is stated to have been the feeding of the *Māhēśvaras* (i.e. devotees of Mahēśvara or Śiva) for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras. The amount borrowed by Taparāja-munigaḷ is stated to be 148 *Māḍais* only as against 150 *Māḍhas* mentioned in the Oriya part. The reason of this discrepancy seems to be that 2 out of the 150 *Māḍhas* were paid to the writer and engraver of the document concerned. Thus while the creditor's version of the transaction in the Oriya part refers to the gross amount, the debtor's version puts the net amount he received after deducting the amount paid to the writer and the engraver. After the

[1] *JASB*, Vol. XXII, 1903, pp. 97 ff.

[2] See *pravarta-vāpa* in the sense of a land measure, several of which made a *kulya-vāpa*, in the Faridpur plate of Dharmāditya (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 356) and *pravarta* in the Alagum inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 45, 48). The word *pravarta* also occurs in the Govindapur inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1955-56, No. B 357).

death of Taparāja-munigaḷ, Tapachchakravartigaḷ became the head of the *Maṭha*. The next stage of the transaction as mentioned in the Tamil section is the writing off of 148 *Māḍais* by Durgābhaṭṭar since he was a *rāśi-mitra* of Tapachchakravartigaḷ. Durgā-bhaṭṭar also undertook to repay the 10 *Māḍais* and 30 *Poṭṭis* of paddy which had been additionally borrowed (by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni according to the Oriya version) from Uttarēśvara-nāyaka who was Durgā-bhaṭṭar's father-in-law (or maternal uncle).

In the final portion of the Tamil section, the land is stated to have been re-dedicated for the purpose of the training of the ascetics, who hailed from the three *Maṇḍalas* (i.e. the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kāñchī *dēśas* according to the Oriya section) and were trained in the conventional code of conduct in the various *Maṭhas* (apparently of the three *Maṇḍalas*), no doubt in the Siddhēśvara-maṭha at Bhubaneswar for the long life, health and prosperity of **Vīra-Nārasiṁhadēva**. The Oriya part records the re-dedication of the land for the continuance of the *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā* which was meant for the ascetics who were born in the three countries, viz., **Chōḷa-dēśa, Pāṇḍya-dēśa** and **Kāñchī-dēśa**, and became devout followers of *āchāra* as a result of their initiation in the various *Maṭhas*. The word *āchāra* has been used in the Tamil part in connection with *sampradāyam* no doubt referring to the conventions of a particular Śaiva school that flourished in the Tamil country. The reference to the three *Maṇḍalas* in the Tamil section is clearly explained in the Oriya part. It is interesting to note that the third of the three divisions of the Tamil country is mentioned as Kāñchī-dēśa, i.e. Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam, which ceased to be a political unit after the fall of the Pallavas about the beginning of the tenth century but continued as a geographical and social unit. The Siddhēśvara-maṭha at Kṛittivāsa-kshētra (i.e. Bhubaneswar) apparently owed its origin to a religious school hailing from the Tamil country, though we have no means at present of tracing its history. It may be noted that the names of the pontiffs of the monastery, viz., Tapōrāja-mahāmuni and Tapaśchakravartin, were only titles. They were no doubt Tamilians in origin. Durgābhaṭṭa-ācharya and Uttarēśvara-nāyaka appear to have been residents of Bhubaneswar and were apparently Oriyas.

The location of some of the geographical names mentioned in the records has already been indicated above. The village called Vāghamarā or Vāghamārā, where the gift land was situated, may be identified with the modern village of Bāghmāri which lies about 24 miles due west of Bhubanesvar.[1]

## TEXT[2]

### Oriya Part[3]

1 Siddham[4] [|*] Svasta(sti |) śrī- **Vīra-Naranārasī[ṅgha]dēva-**

2 śa[5] pravradhamānē vā(vī)yē-rājē[6] **sa-**

3 **ṁvata[7] 22 śrāhi[8] Kātrīka-krī[shṇa][9] 7 Ravī[10]-vā-**

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[1] *India and Adjacent Countries Series*, Sheet No. 73.

[2] From impressions.

[3] The letters *y*, *v* and *kṣh* have to be pronounced as *j*, *b* and *kkh* respectively.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] Sanskrit °*simhadēvasya*.

[6] Sanskrit *pravardhamānē vijaya-rājyē*.

[7] Sanskrit *saṁvat* for *saṁvatsarē*. The letter *ta* had been at first omitted and was later incised in a smaller form.

[8] The letter *hi* is written in a cursive form. The word is derived from Sanskrit *śaradi* through Prakrit *sarahi*.

[9] Sanskrit *Kārttika-krishṇa*.

[10] Sanskrit *Ravi*°.

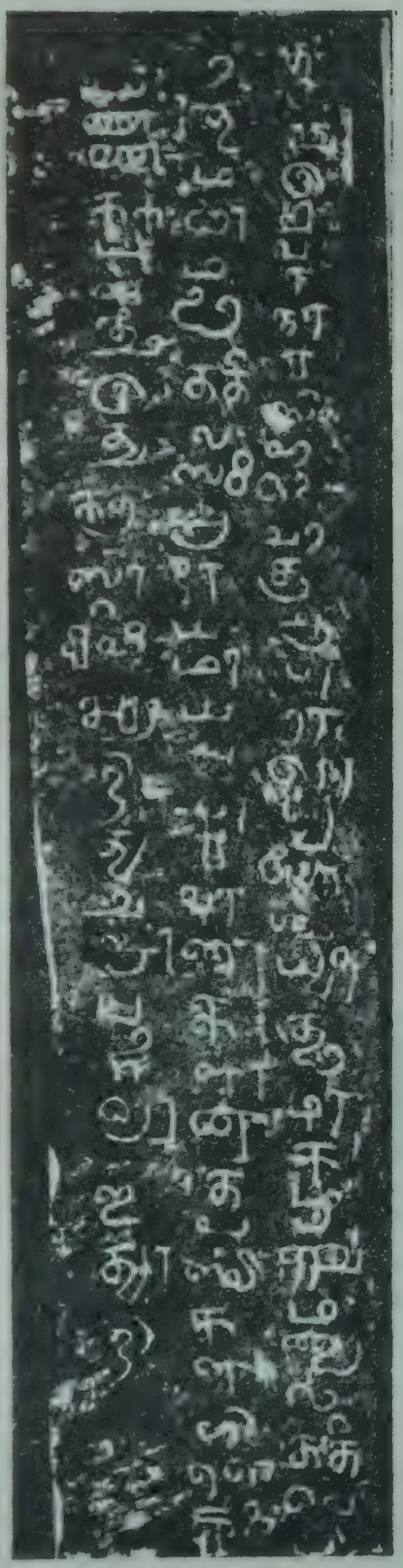
4 rē [|*] śrī-**Kīttī**[1]**vāsa-khētraṁ**[2] Sīdhē-
5 **svara-maḍhara**[3] **Vaḍa-Narasiṅghadēva-**
6 **ṅkara**[4] **āśa-kām-ārtha**[5] pūrvvakē[6]
7 **Vāghamarā** vāra[7]-vāṭī bhūmī ēkāda-
8 **śa-Rudra-bhīkshā**[8] dēvā [|*] bhūmī samaṁ-
9 dhē[9] Taparāja-māhāmunī[10] Dūggā-
10 **bhaṭa-āchāyaṅkai**[11] vaṁdhā kalā [|*] ē
11 **māḍha śata dēḍha 150** [|*] Utrēsva-
12 **ra-nāēkaṅkara**[12] **tahū** ghētalā [|*]
13 ē **māḍha dasa**[13] **dhānya-pai(pau)ṭī** trīḷ-
14 **sēka**[14] [|*] Taparāja-māhī(hā)mūnī[15] ē dū-
15 i dhānya sūnā Dūggābhaṭē[16] Utrēsa-
16 **ra-nāēkaṅkai**[17] dēi aṅka kalā [|*] ēkaūtī ē
17 **dhāṛa sūnā**[18] mūḷa-kaḷantara [19] karantē **māḍha**
18 **śatēka**[20] **asī**[21] 180 [|*] Taparāja-mūnī Sī-
19 **va**[22]**-prāphtē Tapachakravatī**[23] sthānā-patī[24] hō-
20 ilā [|*] ē Tapachakravatīṅkara Dūggābhaṭa-ā-
21 **chāyaṅkara rāsī**[25] [|*] Dūggābhaṭa-āchā[r]yē
22 **sūnī ēka-rāsī vōlī** maitra-paksha hō-
23 ilā [|*] ē **Vāghamarā** bhūmī vāra-vāṭī pha-

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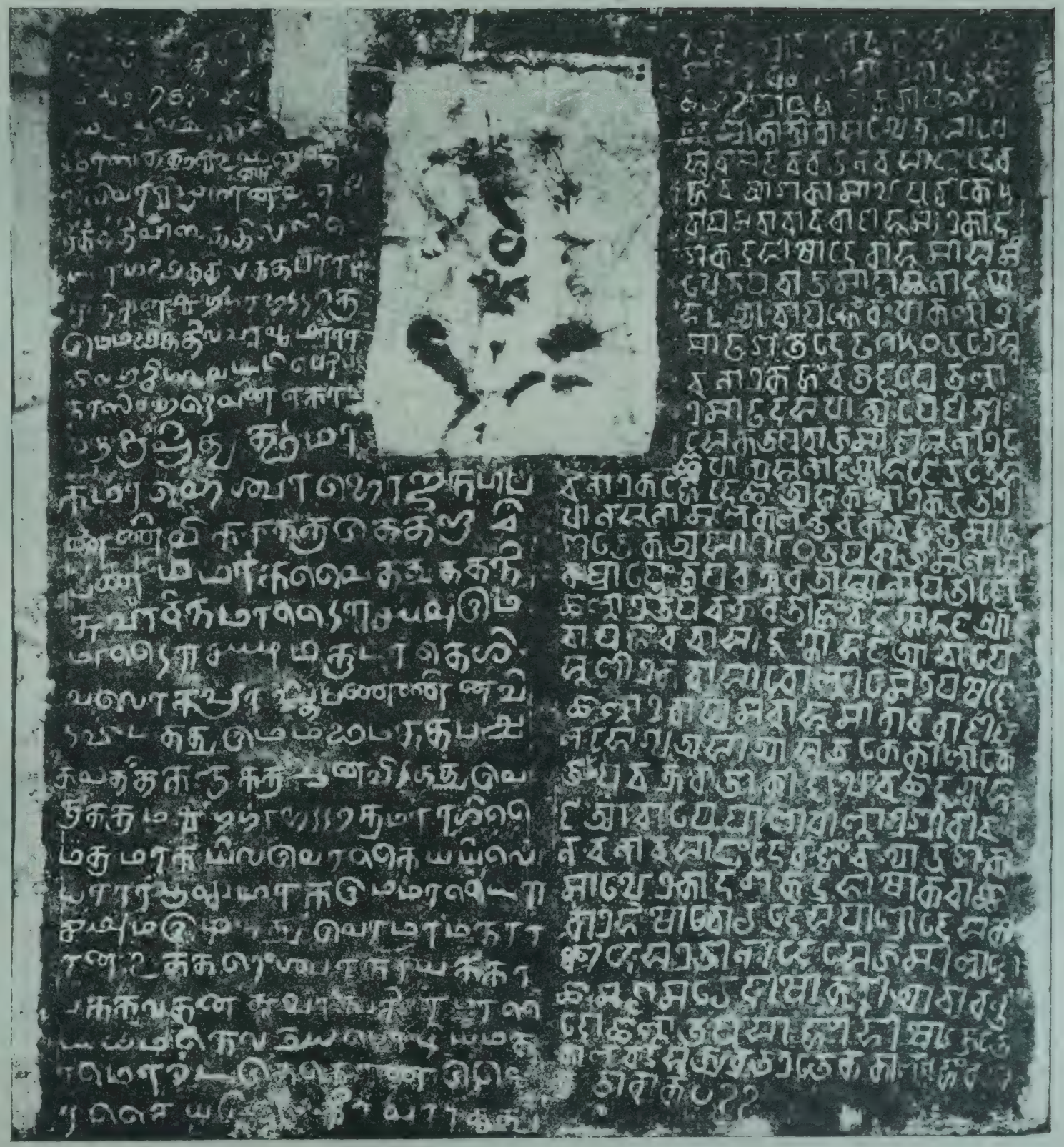
1 Sanskrit *Kṛitti°*, although in Orissa the name was often written as *Kīrti°*.
2 Sanskrit *kshētram*, though the intended word is *kshētrē*.
3 Sanskrit *Siddhēśvara-maṭhasya*, the intended expression being *maṭhāya*.
4 Sanskrit *Bṛihan-Narasiṁhadēvasya*.
5 Sanskrit *āyush-kām-ārtham*.
6 Traces after this show that the engraver had begun to incise a letter here but gave it up.
7 Sanskrit *dvādaśa*.
8 Sanskrit *bhikshā*.
9 Sanskrit *sambandhē*.
10 Sanskrit *Tapōrāja-mahāmunih*.
11 Sanskrit *Durgābhaṭṭ-āchāryāya*.
12 Sanskrit *Uttarēśvara-nāyakasya*; but °*nāēkaṅkara tahū* stands for Sanskrit °*nāyakā*.
13 Sanskrit *daśa*.
14 Sanskrit *triṁśatka*.
15 The addition of a word like *gṛihīta* here would have made the sense clear.
16 Sanskrit *Durgābhaṭṭah*.
17 Sanskrit *Uttarēśvara-nāyakāya*.
18 Sanskrit *dhānya-svarna*.
19 Sanskrit *kal-āntara*.
20 Sanskrit *śat-aika*.
21 Sanskrit *aśīti*.
22 Sanskrit *Śiva*.
23 Sanskrit *Tapaśchakravartī*.
24 Sanskrit *sthāna-pati*.
25 Sanskrit *rāśi*. The addition of a word like *ēka* before *rāsī* would have made the sense clear.

# BHUBANESWAR INSCRIPTION OF GANGANARASIMHA

Left



Front



Scale : One-fourth

24 ḷa-bhōgya asīā-satakē[1] kīlākai

25 Tapachakravatīkī hātharaī[2] Dūggābha-

26 ṭa-āchāyē pāṇī dhīlā [|*] ē śrī-Vīra-

27 **Naranārasā(sī)ṅghadēvaṅkara** āuśa-kā-

28 m-ārthē ēkādaśa Rudra-bhīkshā karāi-

29 vā [|*] ē bhīkshā **Chōḍa-dēsa**[3] **Pāṇḍī**[4]**-dēsa Kā-**

30 **ñchī-dēsa ē** tīnī dēsē[5] jamīlā hō

31 i **Maḍāmaḍē** dīkshā[6] karī āchā[ra*]vant[u]

32 hōilā tapasāṅkā[7] [|*] bhīkshā jētē

33 kāḷa chadra-sujya[8] vrata[9] ētēka **kāḷaṅka**[10] vasa[11]

34 vratīvāka[12] ṭha 22[13]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-4) May there be success ! In the increasingly victorious reign of the illustrious **Vīra-Naranārasiṁhadēva—Year 22, Kārttika-kṛishṇa 7, Sunday.**

(Lines 4-18) Formerly (*an area of*) 12 *Vāṭīs* of land (*at*) **Vāghamarā** was granted as *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā* in favour of the Siddhēśvara-maṭha at the illustrious **Kṛittivāsa-kshētra** (i.e. Bhubaneswar) for the longevity and (*fulfilment of*) the desires of the elder Narasiṁhadēva. As to (*this*) land, (*it*) was mortgaged by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni to Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya. The (*amount borrowed*) was one hundred and fifty (*gold*) *Māḍhas*—150. (*He also*) borrowed from Uttarēśvara-nāyaka. (*In*) this (*case*), ten (*gold*) *Māḍhas* and thirty *Pauṭīs* of paddy. Having deposited these two (*items, viz.,*) paddy (*and*) gold (*that had been borrowed by*) Tapōrāja-mahāmuni, to Uttarēśvara-nāyaka, Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya calculated the sum (*payable to him by Tapōrāja-mahāmuni*). On the paddy and gold being considered together (*and*) the capital and interest being calculated, (*the whole amount was found to be*) one hundred and eighty (*gold*) *Māḍhas*—180.

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[1] Sanskrit *aśīty-adhika-śataka.*

[2] Sanskrit *Tapaśchakravartinah hastē.*

[3] Sanskrit *dēśa.*

[4] Sanskrit *Pāṇḍya.*

[5] Sanskrit *ētēshu trishu dēśēshu.*

[6] The expression *dīkshā-lābha* would suit the context better.

[7] The intended word is *tāpasāṅka* or *tāpasāmānaṅka*=Sanskrit *tāpasānām.*

[8] Sanskrit *chandra-sūryau.*

[9] Sanskrit *vartētē.*

[10] Traces between *la* and *ṅka* show that the engraver had begun to incise a letter which was later given up.

[11] Sanskrit *vaśa.* The word *paryanta* would have been more suitable to the context.

[12] Sanskrit *vartitum=vartanāya.*

[13] The last three signs indicate the end of the writing, the second and third probably standing for a double *daṇḍa.* For the first, cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.

(Lines 18-26) When Tapōrāja-muni obtained Śiva (i.e. died), Tapaśchakravartin became the *sthāna-pati* (i.e. head of the *Maṭha*). This Tapaśchakravartin's *rāśi* (i.e. the constellation under which he was born) was the same as that of Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya. Having learnt (*this*), Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya became a friendly party (*to Tapaśchākravartin*) because (*both of them*) belonged to the same *rāśi*. Durgābhaṭṭa-āchārya poured water in the hands of (i.e. made a ceremonial offering in favour of) Tapaśchakravartin in respect of the written (*document*) involving one hundred and eighty (*gold coins and*) entitling (*him*) to enjoy the said twelve *Vāṭis* of land (*at*) **Vāghamarā.**

(Lines 26-34) (*He declared that*) the said (*land*) be made *Ēkādaśa-Rudra-bhikshā* for the longevity and (*fulfilment of*) the desires of the illustrious **Vīra-Naranārasiṁhadēva.** This *Bhikshā* is meant for the ascetics who are born in the three countries, viz., **Chōḍa-dēśa, Pāṇḍya-dēśa** and **Kāñchī-dēśa,** and who have obtained initiation in the various *Maṭhas* (*of those countries*) and become (*strict*) followers of the *āchāras* (*prescribed for the Māhēśvaras.*) (*This*) *Bhikshā* is to last for so long a time as the sun and moon will exist.[1]

## Tamil Part

1 Svasti Śrī [||] **[Vira-Nā]**[2]**-**

2 **rasiṁhadēvaṟku [yāṇḍu]**[2]

3 **22 āvadu Kārttigai**[3]

4 **māsattu kṛishṇa-saptami**

5 **Ravi-vāram**=um=āṇav=aṉṟu

6 Śrī-Kīrttivāsattil[4] Siddhē-

7 śvara maḍattil Tta(Ta)parāja-

8 munigaḷ Durggā-bhaṭṭaṟku

9 im-maḍattil **Vārgha(gha)mārā-**

10 vil bhūmi 12 vaṭṭi **Periya-**

11 **Narasiṁhadēvaṉ** Ēkāda-

12 śa-Rudra-prītyarttham=ā-

13 ga māhēśvara-bhōjana[m] pa-

14 ṇṇi(ṇu)vikka=kkuḍutta bhūmi

15 paṇayam=āga vaittu=ttani

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[1] For the signs after this, see p. 235, note 13.

[2] A layer of the stone here has peeled off. The letters have been restored from the photograph of the inscription published in *JPASB*, Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 41.

[3] The word is written in Tamil characters; but the *rēpha* is of the Grantha type as in some other cases below.

[4] Read *Kṛittivāsa*ᵛ.

16 śu vāṁg(ṅg)[1]ina māḍhai 148 im-

17 māḍai 148 m kuḍādē Śi-

18 vālōka-prāpti paṇṇiṇa v=i

19 ḍa[2] viḍattu im-maḍaṁ Tta(Ta)pachcha-

20 kravatti(rtti)gaḷukku āṇa = viḍattu iva-

21 rukkum Durggā-bhaṭṭaṟkkum rāśi-

22 maitram[3]= āga(gai)iyl ivar kaiyyi(yi)lē

23 dhārā-pūrvam=āga im-māḍai 1-

24 48 m iḷandu ivar māmanār=

25 āṇa Uttaṟēṁ(rē)śvara-nāyakkar

26 pakkal taṇa(ṇi)śu vāṅgiṇa-mā-

27 ḍai 10 m nel 30 poṭṭiyum t-

28 āmē ēṟaṭṭu=kkoṇḍu iva-

29 r kaiyyi(yi)lē nīr-vārttu=

30 [k*]kuḍuttu[4] iv-**Va(Vī)ra-Nārasiṁhadēvaṟku** āyuṟā(r-ā)rōgya-yō(ai)śvary-ā[r]-ttham=āga mūṇṟu maṇḍalattilē pi-

31 ṟandu maḍāmaḍattil sampradāyam=āy āchāravāṇgaḷ=āṇa tapasvigaḷ śikshai

32 paṇṇakkaḍavadu[5] [|*] Idukku sākshi Āditya-chandrā-vanilā ityādi[6] [|||*]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) Hail ! Prosperity ! In the **22nd (regnal) year of Vīra-Nārasiṁhadēva, on Sunday, the seventh of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttikai.**

(Lines 6-19) Taparājamunigaḷ of the Siddhēśvara-maḍa at the illustrious **Kīrttivāsa** (i.e. Kṛittivāsa or Kṛittivāsa-kshētra) after having mortgaged land to Durggā-bhaṭṭar—the land (*consisting*) of 12 *Vaṭṭis* at **Vāghamārā,** given for feeding the *Māhēśvaras* in this monastery for the propitiation of the eleven Rudras by the elder Narasiṁhadēva—and taken a loan of 148 *Māḍhais,* obtained *Śiva-lōka* (i.e. died) without repaying these 148 *Māḍhais.*

(Lines 19-29) This *Maḍa* having (*then*) come (*under the control of*) Tapachchakravarttigaḷ and this (*Tapachchakravarttigaḷ*) and Durggā-bhaṭṭar being friends owing to their birth under the same

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[1] The *anusvāra* and the letter *ka* appear to have been engraved one upon the other. The *anusvāra* above *vā* is to be ignored.

[2] The expression *viḍa* is redundant.

[3] The sign for *ai* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

[4] This and the next two lines are engraved vertically. The letters have to be read from top to bottom and the lines from right to left.

[5] The construction of the sentence is here imperfect, though its import is clear.

[6] This expression seems to suggest that the author wanted the usual imprecatory passage at the end of such records to be understood here. Cf. the imprecatory stanza *Āditya-chandrāv=anilō=nalaś=cha*, etc., in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. I (reviseded.), pp. 35 ff.

*rāśi*, this (*latter*) gave back 148 *Māḍais* in the hands of this (*former*) with the libation of water (i.e. relieved the former from the debt) and himself paid off 10 *Māḍhais* and 30 *Poṭṭis* of paddy that had been (*additionally*) borrowed from his (i.e. Durgābhaṭṭar's) father-in-law (or, maternal uncle) Uttarēśvara-nāyaka, and gave (*the land*) in his (i.e. Tapachchakravattigal's) hands with libation of water.

(Lines 30-32) Let the ascetics who have become well-disciplined in the convention (*of the Māhēśvaras*) in various *Maḍas* and have been born in the three *Maṇḍalas* be trained (*here*) for the long life, health and prosperity of this **Vīra-Nārasiṁhadēva.** Let the Sun, the Moon, the Wind, etc. bear witness to this (*transaction*).

## No. 30—VILASA GRANT OF PROLAYA-NAYAKA

*(1 Plate)*

N. Venkataramanayya and M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras

This grant was originally discovered long ago, nearly a century back, in the village of Kandarāḍa, near Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, by Sri Hundi Venkata Rao Pantulu Garu. He and his partner in business, a Vaiśya whose name is said to have been forgotten, heard a metallic sound one morning while digging the earth for a brick-kiln of joint enterprise, when they further dug deep having been curious to know the cause of that sound. Then they found fourteen copper plates attached to a ring. Since it was a joint enterprise Sri Venkata Rao and his Vaiśya partner both divided this new property equally between themselves, and got seven plates each. The ring also went to the share of the Vaiśya partner who had copper vessesls made out of the plates and the ring. The plates which went to the share of Sri Venkata Rao were preserved in his family with superstitious care as a unique treasure. Two generations after, their existence was revealed to Sri Sabnavis Satyakesava Rao Pantulu Garu, a public worker and scholar of repute, who was connected with that family by marital ties, and who, being educated in English, knew the value of copper-plate grants in general to history. Much interested in history, he made the discovery public, and was curious to know the contents of the plates. Some two decades back, when Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma, one of the editors of the grant under study, had gone to Visakhapatnam, Sri Hundi Venkata Rao Pantulu, the owner of the plates and the great grandson of their original discoverer, was good enough to place them in the hands of Sri Sarma for decipherment and publication.[1] Sri Somasekhara Sarma takes this opportunity to convey his grateful thanks to all those concerned for placing this record in his hands. The inscription is very valuable specially for the history of the Āndhras, and throws a flood of light on the political conditions of the Āndhra country subsequent to the fall of Warangal in 1323 A. D. The plates are now preserved in the Government Museum, Madras. It is fortunate that the seven plates that went to the share of Sri Venkata Rao Pantulu Garu, record a grant complete in itself, as the other seven plates probably do another one, and that these plates of one grant had not got mixed up with those of the other.

When these plates were with Sri Somasekhara Sarma they were sent to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy for being reviewed in his Annual Report. This set is marked as No. 5 of Appendix A in the Report for 1938-39 and finds a comprehensive notice in Part II. The inscription on the plates is now edited with the help of a set of excellent inked impressions, kindly placed at the disposal of the editors by Sri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, retired Government Epigraphist for India.

The following is an extract from the description of the plates given in the Annual Report:—

"This is a set of seven thick copper-plates the first and last of which are slightly bigger than the others measuring about $10\frac{1}{4}''$ long by $4\frac{3}{4}''$ broad, while the others (plates 2 to 5) measure about $9\frac{1}{2}''$ by $4\frac{1}{2}''$. Their writing, which is engraved on the inner side of the 1st plate and on both sides of the other six, is well preserved and protected by broad and raised rims covering their

[1] The following friends, the late lamented patriot and scholar, Sri Marepalli Ramachandra Kavi Garu, President of the Kavitā Samiti, Visakhapatnam, Sri Gobburi Venkatananda Raghava Rao Pantulu Garu, whose researches in Hindu astronomical lore are very widely known throughout the Āndhra country and the young poet and enthusiast, Sri Puripanda Appalaswami Garu, Secretary of the above mentioned Samiti, all of whom were interested in having this charter published, deserve mention in this connection. See *Bharati*, Vol. XIX, pp. 307 ff.

edges on three sides, while the right margin is left plain. This rim is about $\frac{3}{16}$" broad and is also as much in thickness. The plates are numbered in serial order on their inner sides in the breadth of this rim. They have ring holes about $\frac{3}{4}$" in diameter near their left margin but the ring which must have passed through them and held them together is now missing. The plates weigh 510 *tolas*. In the right margin of the 2nd and 4th plates there is a slight knob-like projection, the purpose of which is not clear."

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in a good state of preservation. The letters, almost all of which attained their modern forms by the date of this record, are deeply inscribed and are very beautiful. Very rarely do we come across such specimen of handsome Telugu writing in the grants issued in the early post-Kākatīya period. The script is **Telugu** which was current in the first half of the fourteenth century A. D. in the Āndhra country and is akin to that found in the Dōnepūṇḍi grant of Nāmaya-nāyaka.[1]

No distinction is made between the vowels short and long *e* (ll. 118, 125 and 126), the letters *bā* and *bhā*, *ḍ* and *ḍh*, and the secondary forms of the vowels *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. The sign for the aspirate, seen in the grant in a few cases in *ḍha*, *pha* and *bha*, resembles a small inverted crescent attached below the right arm of the letter. It definitely came into use by the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It can clearly be seen in *ratna-garbhāyāḥ* (1.8), °*bhidā vibhinnair*°, and *vibhaktē* (1. 11), °*lābhē* (1. 33), °*phalaiḥ* (1.60), °*prauḍha* (1. 117), etc. This, however, is not always used uniformly. The remaining aspirated letters have quite distinct forms to differentiate them from their unaspirated counterparts. Superscript *r*, resembling the modern *avagraha* in a diagonal position, is attached at the right top of the letter. The final forms of *t* and *n* occur frequently, as in 11. 30, 32 and 33. In almost all cases the *anusvāra* has taken the place of final *m*. The only letters in the record that differ from those of the present day are *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ś* and *ḷ*. The only difference between *ṭ* and *d* lies in the top stroke. The letter *ḍ* exactly resembles *ḍ* of the present day, but without the loop inside in the right arm and *dh* resembles the present day *d*. *N* can easily be identified even though it differs slightly from its present form. Among orthographical peculiarities, a superfluous *anusvāra* is sometimes inserted before double *n*, or before *n* followed by a consonant as in °*ruṁnnata* (1.61), *Puṁnny=ādhyāpaka* (1.132), *īśāṁnyā*° (1.151, 155) ; *dhdh* is written instead of *ddh* if the letter *dh* is doubled after *r* (11. 70, 140, 141, and 144) ; the consonants, *g*, *ch*, *j*, *ṇ*, *t* and *d* sometimes and *y* invariably are doubled after *r* ; the palatal *ś* is often used in the names of the donees for the dental *s* as in *Śiddhaya* (1. 110), *Śiṁgaya* (1. 117) and so on.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the passage in Telugu describing the boundaries of the village granted. The language, excepting the passage describing the boundaries, is chaste and is entirely in verse. This is a beautiful inscriptional *kāvya* in Sanskrit, replete with *alaṁkāras*, the like of which is rarely seen in the grants of the medieval period Unfortunately the name of the composer is not given. Another noteworthy feature of this grant is the absence in it of the usual imprecatory verses that are generally found at the close of the inscriptions. The inscription ends with the signature of the donor which reads as *Prōlā-nēni vrālu* (the signature of Prōlā-nēḍu).

The passage describing the boundaries is shabbily inscribed, quite in contrast with the preceding Sanskrit part. The Telugu forms *kāli* and *kāluva* are both used to denote a canal ; of these the former form has gone out of use now. *Kroppuṁ-gāluva* (1. 147) means a canal that was dug. This is a compound of *krochchu* and *kāluva*, of which the former is a verbal adjective. *Krochchu* is the root. It means' to make a low depression, to dig with an iron crow-bar or other instru-

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 356 ff.

ment'. This expression is also used in inscriptions in the sense of inscribing. *Kara* (l. 149, 154, 155) means an earthen bank. The form *iṁchika* (l. 147) meaning a little, is obviously the older form of *iṁchuka*. The expression *avuru-bāḍe* (l. 151) is really made up of two words *avuru* and *pāḍe*. The latter means 'a swamp or marsh'. *Avuru-bāḍe* is a compound of *avuru*, (a kind of grass) and *pāḍe*. In the passage *mūṇḍ-ūḷḷa-muttala-Māṁgāpu-puṁta* (l. 157) *muttala* is a compound of *mūḍu* and *tala*; *mūṇḍ-ūḷḷa-muttala* means at the junction of the three villages. *Māṁgāpu-puṁta* is the narrow way (*puṁta*) belonging to the village of *Māṁgām*, the present Māgam, a boundary village.

The inscription begins with the invocation of the god Vishṇu and his Varāha incarnation (11. 1-4). This is followed by an account of the creation. It is stated that at first the whole world was submerged under waters ; that on perceiving this, the god Nārāyaṇa, assuming the form of Brahmā, created all the worlds, in the midst of which was the earth adorned by the Golden Mountain and surrounded by the islands and the seas ; that in the centre of the earth and encircled by the salt seas was the Jambūdvīpa divided into nine *khaṇḍas* or continents, of which that extending from the Himalayas to the Southern Ocean was known as Bhārata-varsha comprising many countries, where different languages and customs prevailed ; and that one of them named Tiliṅga , through which flowed many holy rivers, contained several rich towns and cities,beautiful mountains, impenetrable forests, deep tanks, and unassailable fortresses (11. 4-13).

Several kings of both the Solar and Lunar families held sway over this country extending from the sea, without swerving from the path of righteousness. During the Kali Age, the kings of the Kākati family ruled over Tiliṅga from their capital Ēkaśilā, like the Ikshvākus from Ayōdhyā. When several rulers of the dynasty passed away, Pratāparudra, a monarch famous for his prowess ascended the throne and ruled the country with truth and justice so that such famous monarchs of yore as Yayāti, Nābhāga and Bhagīratha were completely forgotten. While king Pratāparudra was ruling the kingdom in this manner, bitter hositility arose between him and Ahammada Suratrāṇa, the lord of the Turushkas. The Suratrāṇa, who was the Yama (Death) to the kings, stamped out the remnants of the royal families left undestroyed by Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma). Although Pratāparudra vanquished that Suratrāṇa who had an army of 900,000 horses seven times, he had to submit to that Turushka at last, despite his military strength, and unrivalled skill in diplomacy, owing to the decrease of the good fortunes of the people of the earth. While being carried away as a prisoner by the Turushka monarch to his capital Delhi, Pratāparudra departed, by the decree of the Providence, to the world of the gods on the banks of the river Sōmōdbhavā, i.e. Narmadā (11. 13-28). When the sun, viz. Pratāparudra, set, the world was enveloped in the Turushka darkness. The evil (*adharma*), which he had up to that time kept under check, flourished under them, as the conditions were very favourable for its growth. The cruel wretches subjected the rich to torture for the sake of their wealth. Many of their victims died of terror at the very sight of their vicious countenances ; the Brāhmaṇas were compelled to abandon their religious practices ; the images of the gods were overturned and broken ; the *agrahāras* of the learned were confiscated ; the cultivators were despoiled of the fruits of their labour, and their families were impoverished and ruined. None dared to lay claim to anything, whether it was a piece of property or one's own wife. To those despicable wretches wine was the ordinary drink, beef the staple food, and the slaying of the Brāhmaṇas the favourite pastime. The land of Tiliṅga, left without a protector, suffered destruction from the Yavanas like a forest subjected to devastating wild fire (11. 28-39). Then was born, as if an *aṁśa* of the god Vishṇu, who took pity on the sufferings of the people, had descended from heaven, king Prōla of the Musunūri family of the fourth caste, who assumed the sovereignty of the earth. He destroyed the power of the Yavanas, who abandoned their forts and fled to unknown places unable to resist his might. The very people who suffered at the hands of the Yavanas sought protection under him, and turned against them

and put them to death. Having overcome the Yavanas in this fashion, he restored to Brāhmaṇas their ancient *agrahāras* confiscated by them, and revived the performance of the sacrifices, the smoke issuing from the firepits of which spreading over the countryside cleaned it of the pollution caused by the movements of those evil-doers. The agriculturists surrendered willingly a sixth of the produce of the soil to the king ; and he set his hand to the task of repairing the damages caused by the Pāraśīkas. King Prōla established himself at Rēkapalli on the Gōdāvarī at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain ; and having entrusted the administration to his younger brothers such as Kāpaya-nāyaka, he devoted himself to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. He granted many *agrahāras* and large sums of money to deserving scholars (11. 39-78). In the *gōtra* of the famous sage Bhāradvāja was born a Brāhmaṇa scholar of the name of Annaya, son of Vennaya, and grandson of Annaya, devoted to the study of the *Yajurvēda*. He had two sons, Vennaya and Gaṇapaya, who were distinguished by their learning, lofty character, wealth and liberality. Considering that of the two brothers, the former was worthy of honour, Prōlaya-nāyaka requested him to accept the gift of an *agrahāra*. Vennaya who was accustomed to make gifts rather than take them complied with the king's request somewhat reluctantly (11. 78-98). King Prōlaya granted to Vennaya on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the fertile village of Vilasa in Kōna-maṇḍala which lay on the bank of the Gōdāvarī as an *agrahāra*. Having divided it into one hundred and eight shares, Vennaya changed its name into Prōlavaram after king Prōlaya-nāyaka and gave it in turn to several learned Brāhmaṇas of good lineage and excellent character, proficient in the *śāstras* and the *vēdas*, with all the rights of possession, enjoyment, etc. (11. 98-105). There were in all 82 donees including the two deities Gautamēśvara and Kēśava of the village. The names of the donees and the distribution of shares among them are given in a table in the sequel.

The charter under review throws a flood of light on the history of Āndhra in the years immediately following the Muslim conquest and the downfall of the Kākatīya dynasty. While describing the circumstances in which the gift registered in the charter came to be made, the political changes through which the country had just then passed are briefly recounted. The following points which are therein touched upon call for a few words of elucidation :—(1) The history of Pratāparudra, his enmity with Ahammadu Suratrāṇa of Delhi, his early victories over the Muhammadans, and his ultimate defeat, captivity and death ; (2) the character of the Muslim rule, (3) the rise of the Musunūri family and the formation of the Confederacy of Āndhra *Nāyakas* under the leadership of Prōlaya-nāyaka ; (4) the conquest of Tiliṅga by Prōlay-nāyaka and the re-establishment of the Hindu *dharma* ; and (5) his benefactions, especially the gift of the village of Vilasa in Kōna-maṇḍala to the Brāhmaṇa scholar Vennaya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*.

The problem that deserves consideration first is the hostility between Pratāparudra and Ahammadu Suratrāṇa, the lord of the Turushkas, who is described as the *laya-kāla* (death) of kings and the destroyer of the remnants of the royal families that were left undestroyed by Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma). The identity of Ahammadu Suratrāṇa is not difficult to discover ; for, his final victory over Pratāparudra whom he despatched to Delhi as a prisoner and the latter's death on the way to the imperial capital clearly show that he could have been none other than Muḥammad Bin Tughluq. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that Ahammadu is a mistake for Muḥammad due either to the remissness of the engraver, or to the confusion in the mind of the composer of the inscription himself.[1] The statement that Sulṭān Muḥammad suffered defeat no less than seven times at the hands of Pratāparudra before he could ultimately vanquish him furnishes interesting information on the history of Muslim invasions of Tiling and demands careful examination. The Muslim histories of the period refer to a number of expeditions, which the

[1] A similar mistake is found in a Sanskrit work of a miscellaneous character called the *Prasaṅgaratnāvali* composed in 1465 A. D. (Madras Government Or. Mss. Lib. 5.5.6, D. No. 12033).

Sulṭāns of Delhi despatched against Tiling. According to Barani, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī planned an invasion of Tiling as early as 1301 A. D. 'Four or five months after the Sulṭān left Rantambhōr', says he, 'Ulugh Khān collected a large force with the intention of attacking Tiling and Ma'abar, but his time was come, and the angel of destiny took him to the blessed city. His corpse was conveyed to Delhi and buried in his own house'.[1] The expedition to Tiling did not obviously proceed. The idea was not, however, abandoned. Some two years later, 'at the time when the Sulṭān was engaged in the siege of Chitor, Malik Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūna, *dadbak-i-Hazarat* and Malik Jhāju of Karra, nephew of Nuṣrat Khān, had been sent with all the forces of Hindustan against Arangal'. On their arrival there the rainy season began and proved such a hindrance that the army could do nothing and in the beginning of the winter returned, greatly reduced in numbers, to Hindustan.[2] The expedition thus ended in disaster. Although the Muslim historians attribute the failure to the outbreak of rains, it is not unlikely that they came into conflict with the Tiliṅgas and were worsted by them in the fight.

The failure of the expedition rankled in the mind of 'Alā-ud-dīn ; and in 1309-10 A. D., he despatched another expedition under the famous Malik Nā'īb Kāfūr and Khwāja Ḥājī, the *'āriz-i-Mamālik*. This expedition, according to the unanimous testimony of Muslim historians, was a resounding success of Muslim arms. The details of it are far too well known to need description. The Muslim armies marched to Warangal by way of Dēvagiri without meeting serious opposition on the way ; defeated the Kākatīya forces, laid siege to and captured the outside mud fort, and invested the inner stone fort. Pratāparudra sued for peace. Malik Nā'īb Kāfūr agreed to accede to his request on condition that he surrendered all his wealth, together with his elephants and horses, jewels and valuables and promised to send every year a certain amount of treasure and a certain number of elephants by way of tribute to Delhi. Pratāparudra who had no alternative accepted the conditions and Malik Nā'īb Kāfūr raised the siege, and marched away to Delhi laden with booty.[3]

Of the next invasion, which was sent from Dēvagiri in 1318 A. D. by Sulṭān Quṭb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, two conflicting accounts have come down to us. The cause of the expedition was the failure of Pratāparudra to pay the annual tribute for some years. To collect the arrears of this tribute, the Sulṭān sent Khusru Khān at the head of an army to Tiling. According to Amīr Khusru, Pratāparudra offered resistance, but was defeated and had to purchase peace at a very heavy price. Amīr Khusru's account of Khusru Khān's expedition to Tiling reads like another version of Nalik Nā'īb Kāfūr's invasion in 1310 A. D. The encounter with Pratāparudra's forces, their defeat, the investment and capture of the mud fort, the attack on the stone fort, and Pratāparudra's surrender of all his wealth besides elephants and horses, follow the same pattern.[4] 'Iṣāmy, who also describes Khusru Khān's expedition to Tiling, narrates the events differently: he does not refer to hostilities. Pratāparudra, on the contrary, is said to have received Khusru Khān with respect, paid the tribute due to the Sulṭān readily and sent him back to Dēvagiri well satisfied.[5] Which of these two accounts is true is not easy to decide.

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[1] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 179.

[2] Ibid., p. 189, Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad makes a casual reference to this expedition. "The flower of the Sulṭān's army had, however, marched to the extreme south of the Dakin, to conquer Arangal' (*Ṭabaqat-i-Akbarī*, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 173). Ferishta also states that owing to the absence of his army, which went on an expedition to Waranagal, 'Alā-ud-dīn was in no condition to face the Mughal invader Targhī on equal terms (Briggs, *Ferishta*, Vol. I., p. 354).

[3] Ibid., p. 202-03.

[4] A few variations, no doubt, occur. Pratāparudra is said to have ceded five districts of his kingdom to the Sulṭān ; these were, however, given back excepting the fort of Badrkot (Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, pp 558-61).

[5] *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 361-63.

Two more expeditions came during the time of the Tughluqs, who succeeded the Khaljīs on the throne of Delhi. Both were despatched by Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A. D.), under the command of his son Ulugh Khān (the later Muḥammad bin Tughluq) in 1323 A. D. The first of these ended in disaster. Ulugh Khān suffered defeat, partly due to dissensions in his camp and the treachery of his officers, under the walls of Warangal, and was compelled to retreat at first to Dēvagiri and thence to Delhi. He returned, however, within four months at the head of a fresh and powerful army, and succeeded after a siege of six or seven months in capturing not only Warangal but also Pratāparudra, whom he sent to Delhi as a prisoner of war.

The Muslim historians thus enumerate five expeditions between 1303 and 1323 against Tiling, of which three were successful and the rest abortive. The Hindu records on the other hand refer to several Muslim expeditions—eight according to the present grant—of which all, excepting the very last, ended in the defeat of the Muslim armies and their expulsion from Tiling. Although these are said to have taken place in the reign of Pratāparudra, the exact time of their arrival and the circumstances in which they suffered defeat are not known. There is reason to believe that the Kākatīyas came into conflict with the Mussalmans long before 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khaljī's attack on Dēvagiri in 1296 A. D. An epigraph in the temple of Chhāyā-Sōmanātha at Pānugallu in the Nalgonda District of Andhra Pradesh dated 1267 A. D. describes the victories of Prince Śārṅgapāṇidēva, the son of the Sēuṇa king Singhaṇa and a subordinate of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Manuma-Rudradēva-mahārāja, i. e. the Kākatīya queen Rudrāmbā or Rudramadēvī. Among his exploits enumerated in the inscription, his victory over the Mussalmans deserves particular mention. Śārṅgapāṇidēva is spoken of in this record as the Primeval Boar who rescued the earth from the Turushka calamity.[1]

The Mussalmans also seem to have descended upon the Deccan a little later from another quarter. In an epigraph at the Kallēśvaradēva temple at Haḷuvāgilu in the Bellary District dated Ś. 1204, Chitrabhānu (1282 A. D.), the Yādava king Rāmachandra, that is, Rāmadēva, the adversary of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, is described as a rescuer of earth from the depredation of Turushkas.[2]

The circumstances in which these Turuskha invasions took place are not on record. Some of the expeditions sent by Balban against the Central Indian Hindu kingdoms probably penetrated into the Deccan, but being worsted in the fight by the Kākatīyas and the Yādavas they were compelled to retreat homewards.

The Muslim invasions of Tiling began in right earnest after Pratāparudra's accession in 1296 A.D. According to the present grant, which was issued within a decade of the Muslim conquest, the Muslims attacked Tiling no less than eight times. Pratāparudra is said to have defeated the Sulṭān of Delhi seven times, but was vanquished, owing to the misfortune of the earth; on the last occasion by that Turushka sovereign, and while being carried away as a prisoner to Delhi, died by the decree of Providence on the bank of the Sōmōdbhavā (Narmadā) river. This is not the only record that refers to the defeat of the Muhammadans. An inscription, noticed by the Mackenzie Surveyors in the fort of Warangal, refers to a victory of Manaraṅgodarirāju and Layiṅgayadēva over the Turakas in Saṁvat 1362 (1304-05 A.D.).[3] The proximity of the

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[1] *Corp. Inscr. Tel. Dist.*, p. 98 , No. 34. As most of the chiefs mentioned in this inscription figure in Singhaṇa's inscriptions as the foes conquered by him (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, ii. pp. 239-43), Śārṅgapāṇidēva seems to have participated in his father's wars and took credit for his victories before he accepted service under the Kākatīyas. Although the Turushkas, among the peoples of many other countries, are said, in very general terms, to have obeyed his comands, the Turushka invasion is not mentioned in any of his inscriptions. It is not therefore unlikely that the invasion took place after Śārṅgapāṇidēva had entered the service of the Kākatīyas.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 224 of 1918 ; *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 380.

[3] *Mack. Mss.*, 15-3-20, p. 101.

date of this inscription to that of the first recorded Khaljī expedition seems to indicate that Manaraṅgodarirāju and Layiṅgayadēva opposed the Turakas successfully on this occasion and forced them to return to their country. A damaged epigraph at Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District states that the Kākatīya general, *Mahārāyasthāpanāchārya* Kāchaya-reḍḍi, son of Mailaya-reḍḍi, who placed the Kākita throne on a firm footing, vanquished the Turaka king, who invaded the Teluṅga country after subjugating Gauḷa, Gūrjara, Mālava, Mahārāshṭra and other countries.[1] The Turaka king vanquished by Kāchaya-reḍḍi was in all probability 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī; for although he is not known to have conquered Gauḷa (Lakhnāutī), the other countries mentioned in the record were subjugated between 1296 and 1310 A.D. either by 'Alā-ud-dīn himself or one of his generals. The occasion when Kāchaya-reḍḍi defeated the Turakas cannot, however, be ascertained definitely; for, in the first place, the Śrīśailam epigraph which registers his victory bears no date. Secondly, it cannot be referred to either of the two expeditions which 'Alā-ud-Dīn is known to have sent against Tiling. The first of these which was despatched in 1303 A.D. no doubt ended, as pointed out already, in disaster; but the conquest of Mālava and Gūrjara referred to in the Śrīśailam record was not effected, by that time. 'Alā-ud-dīn was still engaged in Rajputana. Mālava was conquered in 1305 A.D. and Gūrjara (Gujarat) in 1309 A.D. The Śrīśailam epigraph must be assigned therefore to a date subsequent to the conquest of these countries. The second invasion according to the unanimous testimony of all the Muslim historians was a great triumph of the Sulṭān's armies; and it is highly improbable that Kāchaya-reḍḍi effected the destruction of Turaka forces on this occasion. Therefore Kāchaya-reḍḍi's victory must have taken place in the course of another expedition, which is not recorded for some reason by the court historians of Delhi.

Telugu literary tradition handed down from the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. preserves also the memory of several victories of Pratāparudra and his generals over the Eussalmans. The poet Śrīnātha, who flourished at the courts of the Reḍḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rajahmundry in the first half of the fifteenth century refers, in the introduction to his *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇamu*, to Prōlaya Anna, one of Pratāparudra's ministers as the "fire of destruction to the *Yavanas*".[2] The *Śivayōgasāram* speaks of *Mahāpradhāni* Gannaya Preggaḍa, another minister of Pratāparudra, as the vanquisher of the Turakas and the protector of the fort of Warangal.[3] The *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, a chronicle of the Rēcherla chiefs of the Velugōḍu family alludes to the battle of Kolachelamapura, in which Rēcherla Yācha, son of Prasāditya, put to flight the Turakas and having captured their horses took them to the court.[4] The *birudāvaḷi* of some of the Nāyaka families that were in the service of the Kākatīya monarchs alludes also to the Hindu

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 54 of 1942-43.

[2] *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇamu*, 1. 48.

*Yavana-saṁhāra-vilaya-kālāgni-yanaga*

. . . .

*vinutik=ekken=atula-bala-sīri*

*Prōlaya-Anna-śauri*

[3] The concerned passage reads:

*ōpi Turukala gelchi Pratāparudra-manuja-nāyaku kōṭan=ēmaraka kāche.*

*ā [Sultān=Ōrugall-ena] chuṭṭu-muṭṭan=ekkuva-līla=dāne [kal-kō]ṭa gāche.*

*Kākit=ēśuḍu mechcha galu-kōṭa vesa gāchi.*

Published in the *Kākatīya Saṁchika* and the Telugu journal *Subhāshi*.

[4] *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, p. 14, verse 48.

. . . . . *Turakalan=dōli tat-sainya-rājī*

*ghōr-āji-dhāṭi chellan Golachalam-purin ghōṭikā-kōṭi=dechchen.*

victories over Muslim armies of Delhi.[1] The *Pratāpacharitra*, a late quasi-historical prose work, states, like the present record under consideration, that there were no less than eight Muslim invasions against Warangal, and that though Pratāparudra vanquished and put them to flight on the first seven occasions, he suffered defeat during the last expedition. Warangal fell into the hands of the Turakas, and he himself was carried away as a prisoner to Delhi.[2]

Though the Muslim and the Hindu sources are in perfect agreement regarding the final conquest of the Kākatīya kingdom and the captivity of Pratāparudra, they are at variance about the number of Muslim expeditions and the events that happened in them. Whereas contemporary epigraphic evidence fixes their number at eight, Muslim historians mention only five. The difference is perhaps due to the omission, by the latter, of abortive attempts of conquest, which they considered unworthy of notice. While the Hindu sources claim victory uniformly over the Mussalmans in all expeditions excepting the last, the Muslim historians admit defeat only twice which they attribute to unforeseen circumstances. There is reason to believe that the Kākatīyas were not so uniformly successful against the Mussalmans as the Hindu records would have us believe. *Chāṭu* verses addressed to Pōtuganṭi Maili, one of the *Nāyakas* in the service of Kākatīya Pratāparudra, describe an event which happened in the court of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khalji at Delhi. For some reason unknown at present Maili is said to have vanquished the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Bijjana at *Dakhoḷ* in Delhi in the presence of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn, Malik Nēmār (Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr ?), the unrivalled hero, and the seventy-seven *Nāyakas* (of Prataparudra's court).[3] The presence of so many Kākatīya nobles at Delhi, and the duel between Maili and Bijjana at Dākhōḷ before 'Alā-ud-dīn and Malik Nēmār seem to indicate the existence of intimate political relations between Delhi and Warangal. The Muslim historians refer, as a matter of fact, to the arrival of Kākatīya officials to the court of the Sulṭān to pay the annual tribute into the imperial treasury.[4] Maili and Bijjana probably escorted the tribute to Delhi on one of the occasions, when during their stay in the capital, the duel described in the *Chāṭu* verses was fought.

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[1] The chiefs of the Gōsagi family, for instance, claim to have wrested from Ulugh Khān, the seven constitutents of his royalty : *Ulughu-Khāna-saptāṅga-haraṇa* (*Mack. Mss.*, 15-5-32).

[2] *J.Tel.Ac.*, Vol. VII, pp. 304-5.

[3] See *Chāṭupadyamaṇimañjari*, ii, p. 63 :

Ḍhillilō Surathānuḍ=Allāvadīn-dhar-ādhyakshuṇḍu pratyaksha-sākshi-gāga,
mahanīya-jayaśāli Maliki Nēmāruṇḍu jagad-ēka-śūruṇḍu sākshi-gāga
jagatipai ḍebbad=ēḍuguru nāyaṁkulun=akshīṇa-bala-yutul sākshi-gāga
sahaja-sāhasa-yuddha-sannaddha-vara-bhaṭ-āśrayam=aina Dākōlu sākshi-gāga

Sūrya-vaṁśōdaya-khyātuḍ=ārya Telugu-
Bijjala-nṛipālu gelche dad-bhīma-baluḍu
vairi-gaja-bhīmuḍ=amita-satya-priyuṁḍu
ghana-bhujāśāliy=agu Pōtugaṁṭi Maili.

[4] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 204 : 'At the end of the same year (H. 711) twenty elephants arrived in Delhi from Laddar Deo, Rāi of Tilang, with a letter stating that he was ready to pay at Dēvgīr, to any one whom the Sulṭān would commission to receive it, the treasure which had been engaged to pay, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty with Malik Kāfūr.' On another occasion, some of the Kākatīya officials who were on their way to Delhi are said to have paid tribute to the Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr whom they met in his camp on the banks of the Narmadā. See Khusrū, *Khazain Khaz-ul-Futūḥ*, p. 83 :

'After the rivers, mountains and valleys had been crossed, a present of twenty-three elephants, huge as Elburz, arrived from the Rāi of Tiling.'

Iṣāmy also alludes to Pratāparudra's practice of payment of tribute to Delhi.—

"I am a slave of the king", said Rudradēv, and "I shall go to the Khān, the commander of his forces. It was in my mind to send the tribute to the king in the capital; but as the roads are infested with malefactors I hesitated to send it to the court." See *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (Madras edn.), p. 362.

The association of the Kākatīya and the Muslim forces in the war against the Pāṇḍya kingdom to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his ancestral throne points also in the same direction. Wassāf, it may be remembered, refers to the flight of Sundara-pāṇḍya to Delhi. 'Sundara Pandi, trembling and alarmed', says he, 'fled from his native country and took refuge under the protection of 'Alā-ud-dīn of Delhi.'[1] Although no information is available from Muslim sources as to what happened afterwards, one of the inscriptions at Tirukkaḷar in the Mannargudi Taluk of the Tanjore District, dated in the 25th regnal year of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha (1316 A.D.), alludes to the arrival of the Muhammadan forces in support of Sundara-pāṇḍya. It is stated that sometime before the date of the inscription, Rājarāja Sundara-pāṇḍya came with the Tulukkar, when a certain chief called Okkūruḍaiyan died together with his brothers and followers obviously in a fight against them.[2] The Tulukkar were not the only supporters of Sundara-pāṇḍya. A large Kākatīya force under Pratāparudra's famous general Muppiḍi-nāyaka was at the same time operating on his behalf in the Tamil country. An inscription at Vṛiddhāchalam in the South Arcot District dated in 13+1st year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍāṉ Sundara-pāṇḍyadēva (1315 A.D.) registers the assignment of income from lands in some villages for conducting a service named after Muppiḍi-nāyaka, the ruler of Vikramasiṁhapaṭṭaṇa (Nellore) and one of the ministers of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva, in the temple of the god Vṛiddhagirīśvara.[3] From this it is evident that Muppiḍi-nāyaka, the minister of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva, was an ally of Sundara-pāṇḍya who caused the service to be instituted in the temple to honour him. Though the cause of Muppiḍi's presence in the Pāṇḍyan territory is not disclosed in the record, the Śrīraṅgam epigraph of Dēvari-nāyaḍu, dated 1317 A.D. leaves no room for doubt that the Kākatīya armies came there to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his ancestral throne.[4] If Rājarāja Sundara-pāṇḍya of the Tirukkalar record is the same as Sundara-pāṇḍya of the inscription from Vṛiddhāchalam cited above, it may be surmised that the Muhammadan and Kākatīya forces were both fighting in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in and around 1315 A.D., and that they were both allies of Sundara-pāṇḍya. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Kākatīya monarch sent his armies to the south at the instance of Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī to support the contingent of Muhammadan forces sent thither by the latter to restore Sundara-pāṇḍya to his kingdom. Therefore, it is not possible to accept without reserve the statement in the Vilasa grant and some other later records that Pratāparudra was invariably victorious over the Muslim armies on all occasions excepting the last.

Next, the present inscription throws some new light on the circumstances in which Pratāparudra met with his death. According to Shams-i-Shirāj' Afīf, the Rāi of Tiling, whom Sulṭān Muhammad sent to Delhi, died upon the road.[5] The correctness of the statement has, however, been questioned. On the authority of inscriptions, it has been said that Pratāparudra did not die on his way to Delhi; he was not only rescued and freed by some *Nāyakas* from captivity, but continued to rule his kingdom for some years after that. An inscription at Santamāgalūru in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntur District dated 1326 A.D. mentions Pratāparudra as the ruler of the kingdom, and registers a gift for his merit by Kolani Rudradēva, one of his *mahāpradhānis*. This furnishes, as pointed out by H. Krishna Sastri, a date 'four years later than the latest date given for Pratāparudra.'[6] Coupled with the evidence of this record,

[1] Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 54.

[2] *A.R.Ep.*, No. 642 of 1902; *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 247.

[3] Ibid., 72 of 1918.

[4] Ibid., 79 of 1938-39

[5] *History of India*, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 367.

[6] *A.R.Ep.*, No. 308 of 1915; ibid., 1916, Part II, para. 53.

the title *Rāya-bandī-vimōchaka*, said to have been borne by Rēcherla Siṅgama I, one of the *Nāyakas* in the service of Pratāparudra, has given rise to the belief that he rescued the king from captivity and that the latter continued to rule his kingdom even after the fall of Warangal in 1323 A.D.[1] Now, the Santamāgalūru inscription is a solitary record unsupported by other evidence; and no trace of Pratāparudra's rule is found anywhere subsequent to his capture by Ulugh Khān. Moreover, the Muslim forces were still busy with the subjugation of the country and they would not have tolerated Pratāparudra's rule in any part of it. The setting up of an inscription at Santamāgalūru by Kolani Rudradēva in 1326 A.D. must be attributed to the feelings of loyalty to his old master and his irreconcilable hostility to the Mussalmans who had overthrown his authority. The title *Rāya-bandī-vimōchaka* is of uncertain origin. There is no evidence to show that it was ever borne by Siṅgama I. None of his records has come down to us; and the *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* does not associate the title with his name. It occurs for the first time in an inscription of his son Anavōta I, dated 1369 A.D., at Ayyanavōlu in the Warangal District.[2] Anavōta I was not a contemporary of Pratāparudra, and he could not have participated in that monarch's wars with the Muhammadans. Therefore, the origin of his title *Rāya-bandī-vimōchaka* must be traced to some event which must have taken place in his (Anavōta's) own time.

The present inscription, which must have been issued within about a decade or so of the Muslim conquest of Tiling, not only confirms the evidence of Shams-i-Shirāj 'Afīf that Pratāparudra died on his way to Delhi but also specifies the locality where his death had taken place as the bank of the river Sōmōdbhavā (verse 20). There is reason to believe that he did not suffer natural death, but put an end, unable to bear perhaps captivity, to his own existence. In the Kaluvachēṟu grant of the Reḍḍi queen Anitalli dated 1423 A.D., exactly a century after the fall of Warangal, it is stated that Pratāparudra departed to the world of the gods by his own desire.[3] This seems to suggest that he either committed suicide or was slain at his own instance by one of his own followers.

The statement that, on the death of Pratāparudra, the entire Āndhra country passed into the hands of the Muhammadans is corroborated by the evidence of other contemporary and nearly contemporary records. The Rajahmundry mosque inscription of Sālār 'Ulwī bears testimony to the subjugation of the Gōdāvarī delta.[4] The *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* refers to the conquest of Kaliṅga and the capture of the forts of Gooty (Anantapur District) and Kanti (Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Cuddapah District).[5] A *chāṭu* verse in Telugu addressed to Saṅgama II (1356 A.D.), nephew of Harihara I and Bukka I of Vijayanagara, alludes to Muslim occupation of the Nellore District immediately after the rule of Muppiḍi-nāyaka (1323 A.D.).[6] Although the Āndhra country was thus rapidly subjugated, it did not long remain under Muslim rule. This was mainly due to the oppressive character of their government which is vividly portrayed in the present inscription (vv. 22-27). Unlike other conquerors of India, the Mussalmans were not satisfied with the acquisition of mere political power. They descended on the Deccan not as mere conquerors in search of new countries but as crusading warriors to spread the true faith in the land of the infidels. To stamp out heathenism, and gather all the people within the fold of Islam, they prohibited, as

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[1] M. Rama Rao, *Kākatīyas of Warangal*, pp. 97-98.

[2] *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśacharitra*, Appendix No. 4.

[3] *J.Tel.Ac.*, Vol. II, p. 106.
*Tasmin Pratāparudrē sva-sthānaṁ sv-ēchchhay=aiva yātavati*
*atha sā bhūr=Yavanamayī jāt=aiv=āhō mahāmahō mahimā.*

[4] *A.R.Ep.*, No. 426 of 1926.

[5] *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* (Madras edn.), pp. 402-03; also p. 31.

[6] *Chāṭupadyamaṇimañjari* :—*Muppiḍi tagan=ēle mudamutō Turak=ēle.*

stated in the inscription, the public exercise of Hindu religion, and subjected its followers to inhuman tyranny. The Hindus could not dress well, live well, and appear to be prosperous. Vexatious taxes were imposed on them ; their seats of learning were destroyed ; their temples were plundered and demolished ; and the images of their gods were defaced and broken and used as building material for erecting prayer houses for the faithful. That this is not an exaggeration but genuine truth is proved by independent accounts of the condition of the Hindus in other parts of South India subjugated by the Mussalmans. Gaṅgādēvī, the queen of Kumāra Kaṁpaṇa (1340-74 A.D.), presents in her *Madhurāvijayaṁ*, a harrowing picture of devastation caused by the Muhammadans in the Tamil country. 'The temples in the land', says she 'have fallen into neglect as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of the *mṛidaṅga*. Like the Turushkas who know no limits, the Kāvērī has forgotten her ancient boundaries and brings frequent destruction with her floods. The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the chant of the Vēdas have deserted the villages (*agrahāras*), which are now filled with the foul smell of the roasted flesh and the fierce noises of the ruffianly Turushkas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight ; many of their beautiful cocoanut palms have been cut down ; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tāmraparṇī is flowing red with the blood of the slaughtered cows. The *Vēda* is forgotten and justice has gone into hiding ; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land, and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Drāviḍas.'[1]

Unable to bear the grinding tyranny of the Musalmans, which was set on foot to wipe out their race, religion and culture, the Āndhras as a people joined together and rose up in revolt. Nobles and common folk, if we can trust the evidence of the inscription under consideration, voluntarily flocked to the standard of Prōlaya-nāyaka to rid the country of the barbarous hordes of Islām, which by the decree of an evil fate descended on their native land. The Brāhmaṇas and the farmers of the soil paid, of their own free will, taxes to enable the leaders to carry on the struggle for freedom successfully. It was the first national movement in Indian history ; and the Āndhras showed to the rest of India how a people could, by their united effort, expel the enemy and regain their lost freedom.

This was no easy task. Muḥammad bin Tughluq was a powerful monarch, who was cruel and merciless in crushing his enemies. No Hindu ruler of the South, however strong and warlike, was able to resist the irresistible advance of his armies. It is noteworthy that in that deplorable state of utter helplessness, the Āndhras were able to organise themselves into a confederacy, strike a blow to gain independence, and successfully accomplish their purpose.

The information furnished by the grant under review about the Musunūri family is very meagre. It simply states that king Prōla of the Musunūri family was born in the fourth caste ; he headed the movement to free the country from the Muslim yoke, and having successfully driven them out, he made Rēkapalli on the Gōdāvarī at the foot of the Mālyavanta mountain his capital and entrusted the administration of the country to his younger brothers, such as Kāpaya-nāyaka, devoting himself entirely to the performance of charitable and meritorious deeds. Nothing is known from this grant about Prōlaya-nāyaka's history and career, except that he had many younger brothers, of whom Kāpaya-nāyaka was one. This dearth of information about his family is made up by the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya-nāyaka,[2] dated in the Śaka year 1267, expressed by the chronogram *giri-tarka-bhānu*, in the cyclic year Pārthiva. As he is also stated in the grant to have belonged to the Musunūri family and as the date of the grant is very near to

[1] K.A.N Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 242-43.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1934-35, C. P. No. 3. Cf. *JBORS*, Vol. XX, pp. 260 ff.

the date of the fall of Warangal, there need be no doubt that he is identical with Kāpaya-nāyaka, Prōla's brother mentioned in the grant under review. Fortunately for us, the Prōlavaram grant furnishes a short pedigree of three generations of the Musunūri chiefs born in the fourth caste. Pōta, the earliest known member of the family, had four sons, namely, Pōcha, Dēva, Kāma and Rāja. The first three brothers had two sons each, namely, Prōla and Eṛapōta, Kāpa and Mummaḍīśa, and Immaḍīśa and Dēva respectively ; and Rāja, the last son of Pōta, had only one son by name Anavōta, otherwise known as Toyyēṭi Anavōta, or Anavōta of Toyyēṛu. From this it becomes clear that Prōla and Eṛapōta were the only sons of Pōcha, and that Kāpa and others were, strictly speaking, Prōlaya-nāyaka's cousins (that is, his paternal uncles' sons and not his own brothers). Even the Prōlavaram grant does not furnish any information about Kāpaya-nāyaka's grandfather Pōta and his father and uncles, except giving the pedigree. Probably these members of the Musunūri family were ordinary *Nāyakas* of no great importance and played no part in the momentous history of the period during and after the reign of the last Kākatīya emperor, Pratāparudra. Prōla and his brothers, especially Kāpaya-nāyaka, seem to have been the only members of the family that came to limelight during the period of the Muslim occupation of the Āndhra country immediately after the fall of Warangal by their deeds of valour, and untiring efforts to unite and inspire the people of the country and liberate it from the Muslim yoke. Except Kāpaya-nāyaka none of the other cousins of Prōlaya finds mention either in the grant under review or in the Prōlavaram grant of Kāpaya-nāyaka. Probably they were young and achieved nothing worthy of note during that troublous period, or it may be that some of them lost their lives during those days of anarchy, and the oppressive and autocratic rule of the Mussalmans. It is, however, certain that Kāpaya-nāyaka was the right hand man of Prōlaya-nāyaka, whom he actively supported and co-operated with in every way in waging war on the Mussalmans and expelling them from the Āndhra country.

There is another record, the Kaluvachēṛu grant of Anitalli,[1] dated in Śaka 1345, (1423 A.D.), that should be taken into account here for a better understanding of the political conditions of the country immediately after the fall of Warangal, even though it is separated in time by nearly a century from the grant under review. It is stated in the introductory portion of the Kaluvachēṛu grant that after Pratāparudra of the Kākatīya dynasty, the lord of Triliṅga (Telugu country), had gone to heaven by his own will, the whole land was occupied by the Muslims (*Yavanamayī jātā*) ; Prōlaya-nāyaka then raised the country that was enveloped in the womb of the Yavanas (*Yavan-ōdara-stha*) just like Varāha, the boar incarnation of Vishṇu, who raised the land submerged under water. After Prōlaya-nāyaka went as a guest to heaven at the command of Viśvēśvara, the same grant further says, Kāpaya-nāyaka who was equal in splendour to the sun, ruled his kingdom, and that he whose feet were served by the seventyfive *Nāyakas*, protected the earth by the grace of Viśvēśvara. King Kāpa is said to have regranted to Brāhmaṇas, the *agrahāras* taken over by the Turushkas, besides granting them some afresh. After the death of Kāpa, all the *Nāyakas* subordinate to him are said to have gone to their towns and protected their respective countries.

Prōlaya-nāyaka and Kāpaya mentioned thus in the introductory portion of the Kaluvachēṛu grant are, no doubt, respectively identical with the donors of the grant under review and the Prōlavaram grant, although their family name Musunūri does not find mention in the latter. The Kaluvachēṛu grant further makes it clear that after rescuing the Āndhra country from the Muslim yoke, Prōla and after him Kāpa ruled it one after the other and that the seventy-five *Nāyakas*,

[1] *J. Tel. Ac.*, Vol. II, pp. 93-112 ; *Bhārati*, Vol. XXI, Part I, pp. 553-57, Part II, pp. 61-73.

the survivors as well as the sons of those that perished in the struggle, acknowledged their supremacy and leadership and served them faithfully.

Let us see if we can spot out any of the *Nāyakas* that served Prōla and Kāpa and co-operated with them in liberating the country. With the fall of Warangal, the leadership of the coastal region passed from the hands of the kings of the Lunar and Solar dynasties into those of the *Nāyakas* of the Musunūri family of the fourth caste. Of the other *Nāyakas* of this period, we already know that Vēma was one. Most of the chiefs, ministers and commanders of the Kākatīya emperor, Pratāparudra, lost their lives in the last fatal siege of Warangal. A few, who had survived the disaster, are known to us from both inscriptions and literature. One of them was Kolani Rudradēva *alias* Pratāparudra, the *mahāpradhāni* of Kākati Pratāparudra and son of Gannaya-mantri. He was a contemporary of Anna-mantri and a great Sanskrit scholar and the author of *Rājarudrīyaṁ*, a work on grammar.[1] He was the grandson of Kolani Sōma-mantri, the minister of Kākati Gaṇapatidēva and the subjugator of the *māṇḍalikas* of Kolanuvīḍu or Sarasīpurī. It is known from the *Śivayōgasāraṁ*, a Telugu work on Śaiva theology, written by Gaṇapatidēva of the Kolani family, that Kolani Rudradēva had taken part in the expedition to Kāñchīpura (1315 A.D.) during the reign of Pratāparudra and defeated the five Pāṇḍya chiefs. The statement in the same work that he protected the stone fort of Warangal so as to win the commendation of Kākatēśa (i.e. Pratāparudra) and that he slew some Yavana chiefs, makes it clear that he had taken an active part in the wars with the Mussalmans. Yet it appears strange that none of his records prior to 1323 A.D. has come to light. An epigraph at Santamāgalūru[2] in the Guntur District dated in the cyclic year *Kshaya*, corresponding to Śaka 1248 (1326 A.D.) in the reign of Kākati Pratāparudra, registers a gift of land to the temple of Gōpīnātha of that village by Kolani Rudradēva for the merit of that king on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Pratāparudra, as we know, was already dead by the date of this record. It has therefore to be presumed that Rudradēva, the donor of the record, shook off by that time the Muslim yoke and was free to make at his will a grant of land for the merit of his late master out of respect and devotion.

Another survivor was Anna-mantri of the Beṇḍapūḍi family, the *Gajasāhiṇi* of Kākati Pratāparudra, who is described in the *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇaṁ* of Śrīnātha as the veritable fire in annihilating the *Yavanas* and the establisher of the throne of the *adhyaksha* of the Āndhra country.[3] The term *adhyaksha*, which means supervisor or president (and not king), no doubt refers to Prōlaya-nāyaka, and probably to Kāpaya-nāyaka also after him. This title suggests that it was through the successful efforts of Anna-mantri that the selection of the supervisor or the president of the confederacy of nobles of the Āndhra country was made possible and that the president so elected was made acceptable to all the chiefs, who combined together to liberate the country. The title is meaningless, if this is not its import. Thus, the title indicates, in unmistakable terms, the successful and prominent part played by Anna-mantri of the Beṇḍapūḍi family. The same work, *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇaṁ*, referred to above, informs us that Anna-mantri received the village of Ārēḍu, which was full of many crops grown by the supply of canal waters, as an *agrahāra* on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There must have been some significance for the special mention of Rudradēva's gift of this village to Anna-mantri. If this solar eclipse, on which the village was granted, was the same as that mentioned in Rudradēva's Santamāgalūru record, cited above, this grant must have been made to Anna-mantri soon after the successful culmination of the war of independence and the liberation of the coastal region, probably in appreciation of his services to

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[1] *Rājarudrīyam* : *Ādirāja-Kākatīya-Pratāparudra-pradhāna-varyasya Mudrāka-Gannaya-sūnu-rachitaṁ Vārttika-vyākhyānam.*

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 308 of 1915.

[3] *Bhīmēśvara Purāṇam*, I. 48: *Āndhra-bhūmaṇḍal-ādhyaksha-siṁhāsana-saṁpratishṭhāpan-āchāryaṁ.*

the cause of freedom. It is certain that it could not have been possible for Rudradēva to make this grant of a village as an *agrahāra* while the coastal country was under the iron grip of the Mussalmans. These two facts mentioned above, namely, the title borne by Anna-mantri and the grant of an *agrahāra* to him by Kolani Rudradēva, clearly suggest the important role played by these two aged Āndhra statesmen in the national movement started for the liberation of the Āndhra country.

Simgaya-nāyaka, son of Eṛa Dāchā-nāyaka of the Rēcheṛla family, was another survivor of the disaster. His father Eṛa Dācha accompanied Muppiḍi-nāyaka in his expedition against the Pāṇḍyas to Kāñchīpura in 1315 A.D. He is said to have "constructed a *maṇḍala* with arrows and on the dias of the elephants made an offering of the pride of the Pāṇḍya king in the *hōma* fire of his valour and accepted the hand of the bride of victory."[1] His son Simgaya also must have followed his father and taken part in the battle of Kāñchī. All his activities described in the Telugu work *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi* refer to the early post-Kākatīya period.[2]

Kūnaya-nāyaka, the son of Gaṇapati-nāyaka and the grandson of Kēsami-nāyaka was another contemporary of Prōlaya-nāyaka and Kāpaya-nāyaka. Kēsami-nāyaka who is said to have won a victory against the Pāṇḍyas according to the Kōrukoṇḍa inscription of Mummaḍi-nāyaka,[3] must have served Pratāparudra and taken part in the expedition against Kāñchī.

The *Vīrasāmanta* chiefs, Kāpaya-nāyaka and Prōlaya-nāyaka, also must have been the contemporaries of the Musunūri chiefs since the date of the Dōnepūḍi record of Nāmaya-nāyaka, grandson of Kāpa and son of Prōla, is dated in Śaka 1259.[4]

Similarly the Uṇḍirājas of the Solar race, Veṅga-bhūpati, king of Vēṅgī, and his relations, the Telugu Chōḍa chiefs of Ēṛuva, Gaṅgādhara and his son Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, especially the latter, co-operated with the Musunūri chiefs in the war of independence.[5]

All the *Nāyakas* and chiefs mentioned above, besides many others whose names are not known to us, must have formed into a confederacy, acknowledged the leadership of Prōlaya-nāyaka and gathered under his banner to free the country from the foreign yoke. These confederates must have made the mountainous regions and forest areas on the banks of the Gōdāvarī and the Kṛishṇā their rendezvous to put into action their plans to free the country, first the coastal plain below the Ghats and then the upland country of Telaṅgāna above the Ghats.

The various measures concerted by Prōlaya-nāyaka and his associates to liberate the country from the Muslim yoke and how they accomplished their object are totally unknown to us. We know, however, for certain that Madhya-Āndhradēśa, as the coastal Āndhra country was then called, very soon had regained its independence, almost within two or three years after its subjugation by the Muslims. Warangal fell in 1323 A.D.; but the whole of Telaṅgāna and Madhya-Āndhradēśa did not immediately come under the sway of the Muslims. There was strong opposition to the Muslim army. However, the coastal plain submitted to the arms of the conquering hordes within a year, that is, by the 10th September, 1324 A.D., the date of the construction

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[1] *A. R., Arch. Dept.*, Hyderabad, 1933-34, p. 29, App. C.

[2] *Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi*, pp. 16-17.

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 44 of 1912.

[4] Ibid., 1906, App. A. No. 21; above, Vol. XIV, p. 83.

[5] Ibid., 1946-47, App. A. No. 3.

of the big mosque at Rajahmundry by Sālār ' Ulwī, a servant of Ulugh Khān '.[1] By this date the conquest of the whole of the coastal region of the Āndhra country was complete. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq's coins discovered in this part of the country, ranging in dates from A.H. 722 to 726 [2] (i.e. from 1322 to 1326 A.D.) were current in that region. However, the year 1325 A.D., the date of the Mallavaram stone record of Vēmā Reḍḍi, [3] marks the turning of the tide, and indicates the beginning, and 1326 A.D., the date of the Santamāgalūru record [4] of Kolani Rudradēva, the completion of the re-conquest and the final liberation of the coastal region of the Āndhra country. A few inscriptions of the early post-Kākatīya period, of the Telugu-Chōḍas and the Reḍḍis, however, contain references to their victories over the Muslims in general, and of the particular Muslim chiefs and commanders, in the course of the war. The Peṇṭapāḍu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja[5] is a very interesting record in this respect, as it furnishes some valuable information about Prōlaya-nāyaka and a certain Vēṅga-bhūpati. From this we learn that subsequent to the death of the father of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, who was then a boy, the Āndhra country (*avanī-chakram=Āndhraṁ*) was conquered (*hṛitaṁ*) by the Yavanas (Mussalmans), when the valourous and righteous Prōlaya-nāyaka, son of the heroic Pōchaya-nāyaka, together with his associate Vēṅgarāja left the Vēṅgī *vishaya* and repaired to a Vana-durga surrounded by hundreds of mountains. They both had reconquered the Āndhra country after putting an end to the entire Turushka horse in battle (*Samarē śamit-āśēsha-Turushka-turag-ōtkarau, punar=āharatām=ētāv=Āṁdhraṁ maṇḍalam=arddhataḥ*). After killing all the Yavana commanders (*vihat-ākhila-Yavana-vāhini-nāthaḥ*), Vēṅga-bhūpati went to heaven (probably was killed in battle), as if to help Indra in battle. This Vēṅga-bhūpati, great-grandson of Brahmā, grandson of Dēva and son of Kāmarāja of the Lunar dynasty, was the maternal uncle of Kāma, alias Bhaktirāja, son of Gaṅgarāja of the Solar dynasty. Consequent on the death of Vēṅga-bhūpati, probably without leaving an heir to his kingdom, Prōlaya-nāyaka installed Bhaktirāja, while he was still a boy as the ruler of his maternal uncle's territory, which seems to have comprised Vēṅgī and its surrounding tracts. Thus Chōḍa Bhaktirāja who, according to the grant referred to above, owed his elevation to the support given to him by Prōlaya-nāyaka, though a boy, killed the infantry and cavalry of the Yavana king (*Bhakti-kshitipālakō=*

[1] *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1923-1924, pp. 13 ff.

[2] *A Forgotten Chapter of Āndhra History*, p. 17.

[3] *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, O. 73. The Mallavaram record registers a grant of land to god Rāghava of Chadalavāḍa in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the Śaka year denoted by the chronogram *Śaila* (7), *Vārdhi* (4), and *Dyumaṇi* (12), that is, 1247, in the month of Āśvija on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Thursday (*Āśvīnasy=āvasānē rāhu-grastē=himāṁśau Suraguru-divasē*) by Vēmā-reḍḍi, one of Prōlaya-nāyaka's subordinate associates, who is described in the record as " the very Agastya to the ocean, namely, Mlēchchhas (*Mlēchchh-āṁbhōdhi-Kalaś-ōdbhavaḥ*). The equivalent English date is 7th October, 1325 A.D. The date Śaka 1277 given by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty in the Nellore inscriptions by assigning the value 7 to *Vārdhi*, and the occasion as lunar eclipse (*himāṁśau*) are both wrong as pointed out by Mr. H. K. Narasimhaswami in the course of his article on the Kōḍūru grant of Anavōtā Reḍḍi ( above, Vol. XXV, p. 139 and n. 5). He takes *himāṁśu* as *ahimāṁśu* correctly but accepts the value seven given by the authors for the term *vārdhi*. Hence he finds the date irregular as there was no solar eclipse in the month of Āśvija in Śaka 1277. So he writes, " The word *vārdhi* in the chronogram *śaila-vārdhi-dyumaṇi* as read by the authors (Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty) mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as *tarka* to give the numeral 6 in place of 7, and the chronogram equated with 1267 ." If corrected like this the date becomes regular as there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āśvija on Thursday in Śaka 1267. But the numerical value generally given to *vārdhi* is 4 and not 7. Then the Śaka date becomes 1247 and not 1277. In 1247 there was a solar eclipse in the month of Āśvija on Monday, *Śaśidhara-divasa*, and not on Thursday, *Suraguru-divasa*. The week day does not totally tally, if 1247 is taken. However this Śaka date which is given so clearly in the inscription may be accepted.

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1915, No. 308.

[5] Ibid., 1946-47, App. A, No. 3.

*tha bālō='pi saṁgrāma-raṁga-saṁhṛita-yavana-āḍhipa-subhaṭa-ghōṭak-āṭōpaḥ*), i.e. king of the Musalmans.

Prōlaya-nāyaka, son of Pōchi-nāyaka, is, no doubt, identical with his namesake of the Musunūri family, the donor of the grant under review. The Peṇṭapāḍu grant referred to above, not only confirms the account of the liberation of the coastal Āndhra country furnished by the grant under review, but also reveals to us the names of two of his associates, Vēṅga and Bhaktirāja—the former his elder and the latter a younger contemporary—who played an important part in the war of independence, even though their achievements are unknown to us from that grant. It is probable that Pōchi-nāyaka, the father of Prōlaya-nāyaka, also lost his life during this memorable war. The unnamed *vana-durga* to which Prōla and Vēṅga repaired, may be safely identified with Rēkapalli, the capital of Prōlaya-nāyaka, situated near the Mālyavanta mountain mentioned in the present grant. Nothing more is known about either Vēṅga-bhūpati or his ancestors.

Some more information about the achievements of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja such as the defeat of Boggara and other Muhammadan warriors in the battle near Gulapūṇḍi, his conquest of the demoniac forces of Dabaru-khānu and others near Pedakoṇḍāpurī may be gleaned from the undated Rajahmundry Museum plates[1] of his son, Annadēva-chōḍa.

As has already been stated, the Kaluvachēṟu grant of Anitalli[2] also attests to the fact of the liberation of the Triliṅga country by Prōlaya-nāyaka and of Kāpaya-nāyaka's rule over it. This grant mentions Vēma of the Paṇṭa community, as one of the seventy-five Nāyakas that served Kāpaya-nāyaka. He was the son of Prōlaya-reḍḍi and the founder of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. Vēma was thus a contemporary and loyal associate of the Musunūri chief, Kāpaya-nāyaka, and probably of his cousin and predecessor, Prōlaya-nāyaka. His Mallavaram stone record,[3] dated in Śaka 1247 (October 7, 1325 A.D.), describes him as the very Agastya to the ocean, namely, Mlēchchas (*Mlēchchh-ābdhi-Kuṁbhōdbhava*), and indicates the region of his activities during the period of this war. As he is stated to have re-granted the *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas which were foremerly taken away by the Muslims, after rescuing them from the enemy, on the banks of the three important rivers, the Gautamī, the Kṛishṇā, and the Brahmakuṇḍī or Kuṇḍiprabhā, i.e. the Guṇḍlakammā, he must have participated in the war against the Muhammadans in the region through which these rivers flow. Vēma's victory over the Yavanas, i.e. Muhammadans, the protection by him of Madhy-Āndhra-dēśa, i.e. the Middle Āndhra country, and the patronage of Brāhmaṇas, are also referred to by his court poet Yaṟṟā-Preggaḍa in his *Harivaṁśaṁ*.[4] He loyally co-operated with the Musunūri chiefs, Prōla and Kāpa, during the early post-Kākatīya period and contributed to the success of the war of independence. It seems strange that the Kaluvachēṟu grant mentions Vēma as the subordinate of Kāpaya-nāyaka and not of Prōlaya-nāyaka, though his contemporaneity with the latter is indubitable. This was probably due to the fact that the adminstration of the country was left in the hands of Kāpaya-nāyaka by his cousin Prōla, after the conquest of the country, as has been stated in the grant under review.

This **record registers, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, the grant of Vilasa, the best of the fertile villages of the Kōna-maṇḍala on the banks of the Gōdāvarī, as an agrahāra to Vennaya,** the elder brother of Gaṇapay-ārya and son of Annaya, grandson of Vennaya and great-grandson of Annaya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and *Yajur-vēda*. The donee is described in high sounding terms as a learned scholar of note and a well-to-do person of charitable disposition. Several *yāyajūkas* of blemishless conduct, who had performed many sacrifices with the money given by him, are said to have shone like the flags of fame, etc. When Prōlaya-nāyaka,

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, No. 2.
[2] *J.Tel.Ac.*, Vol. II, pp. 93-112; *Bhārati*, Vol. XXI, Part I, pp. 553 ff.; Part II, pp. 61 f.
[3] *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Ongole 73.
[4] *Harivaṁśaṁ*, Part I, 5,260; Part II. 2,1,

finding Vennaya to be a *dānapātra* (i.e., a person worthy of a gift), implored him to receive the gift of a village, he accepted it out of consideration for him, in spite of his aversion to do so. After having received Vilasa as an *agrahāra*, he, along with his brother, re-granted it to a number of Brāhmaṇas, having divided it into one hundred and eight shares. There were eighty donees in all including the two deties, Gautamēśvara and Kēśava of the village. The list of donees with their names of *gōtras*, *śākhās* and the number of shares given to each is appended hereto.

This *agrahāra* was pre-eminently granted to the Bhāradvāja-gōtrins, who received more than fifty four shares in the village. With the exception of a few, most of the donees were Yajur-vēdins who were proficient in the sacrificial lore, besides being poets, commentators, *Vēd-ādhyāpakas* and *adhyētṛis* and experts in *śāstras* and *darśanas*. The titles given to many of the recipients indicate the high level of their scholarship and skill in the various sciences and arts. It is unusual to find so many scholars of repute among the donees mentioned in the grants of the late medieval period. It is yet strange and unfortunate that not even one of the works of these reputed scholars, who were not only proficient in *gaṇita*, *jyōtisha*, grammar, logic, *āgames*, *darśanas* and *vēdānta* but were also scholarists and poets, has come to light. It is for future research to unearth their works. It is interesting to find two donees of the Parāśara *gōtra* and Yajuś *śākhā* who were experts in the *guru-tantra*. The mention of the *guru-tantra* in the grant under review shows that even *pūrva-mīmāṁsā* was studied in the coastal Āndhra country as late as the fourteenth century.

It is also worth noting that the donees, with the exception of a few, were experts in the ritual of sacrifices. This is significant as indicating the revival of Vēdism and Vēdic sacrifices in the early post-Kākatīya period in the coastal region, subsequently to the attainment of independence and the re-establishment of Hindu monarchy. The establishers of independence voluntarily undertook the task of purifying the places in Āndhra (*Āndhrān=pradēśān*) defiled by the sinful feet of the Muhammadans, by the continuous performance of Vedic sacrifices by Brāhmaṇas, which were stopped during the Mussalman rule (*kṛitvā pravṛittān virata-prasaṁgān yajñān havir-dhūma-paraṁ-parābhiḥ*). This revival of sacrifices and Vēdism gave a re-orientation to the then existing religion of the country by giving it a strong Vēdic tinge, and had a profound influence on the Vaishṇava cult of the South.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, viz., Tiliṅga-dēśa, Kōna-maṇḍala, Ḍhilli, Ēkaśilānagara, Rēkapalli and the gift village Vilasa and its boundaries, Tilinga-dēśa is the Telugu country. Its extent conformed more or less to the present Āndhra State. The terms Telugu and Āndhra became synonymous even by the middle of the thirteenth century and both terms were applied indiscriminately to denote the whole country dominated by the Telugu speaking people. Kōna-maṇḍala, same as Kōna-dēśa, Kōna-rāshṭra of Kōna-sthala, is the country ruled by the feudal chiefs of the Haihaya dynasty in the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. It is no doubt the *Reṇḍ-ēṟula-naḍimi-vishaya* of the Naṁḍaṁpūṁḍi grant[1] and probably the *Sindhu-yugm-āṁtara-dēśa* of the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of the Velanāṭi king, Pṛithivīśvara.[2] The identification of the *Sindhu-yugm-āṁtara-dēśa* with the territory between the rivers Gōdāvarī and the Kṛishṇā[3] by Hultzsch, the editor of the inscription, is of course, erroneous. Acording to the late Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu who re-edited the Naṁḍaṁpūṁḍi grant in the journal of the Telugu Academy,[4] the terms *sindhu-yugm-āṁtara* is nothing but a Sanskritisation of *reṇḍ-ēṟula-naḍimi-vishaya* of the Naṁḍaṁ-pūṁḍi grant, and the rivers that enclose this territory, are the Gautamī, the main one of the seven-branches of the Gōdāvārī, and the Vainatēyaṁ, another of its branches. So this *reṇḍ-ēṟula-naḍimi-vishaya* in his opinion, corresponds to the present Amalapur Taluk. This Kōna-sthala or Kōna-dēśa

[1] Above, Vol. IV., pp. 300, ff.
[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 36 and 42.
[3] Ibid., p. 36.
[4] Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

finds mention in the Naḍupūru grant of Anavēmā-reḍḍi,[1] and in the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma.[2] This territorial division retains its name even today and the whole territory between the Vasishṭha and the Gautamī branches of the Gōdāvari is known as Kōnā-sīma at the present day. Ḍhilli is the well-known city of that name, the capital of the Indian Republic, which was the capital of the Slave kings, the Paṭhāns and the Tughluqs in the medieval period. Ēkaśilā-nagara is the present Warangal, the headquarters of the district of the same name in the Andhra State. Rēkapalli is identical with the village of the same name in the Bhadrachalam Taluk of the East Godavari District. Of the villages mentioned in the grant only Vilasa, the village granted and its boundary village of Śirupalle and Māṅgām are identifiable. They are in the Amalapur Taluk. Śirupalle is the present Śiripalle, and Māṅgām, the present village of Māgām. Vilasa, which is a few miles distant from Amalāpuram, retains its old name to the present day. The rest of the boundary villages are not to be found now.

It is stated that the grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse ; but neither the Śaka-year or the cyclic year nor the month in which the lunar eclipse occurred is specified. Hence the precise date of the grant cannot be definitely ascertained. However, the period in which it was given, can be approximately calculated. The grant was certainly subsequent to 1325 A.D. (Śaka 1247), the earliest date known for the establishment of Hindu independence in the costal region. It is unfortunate that none of the records of Prōlaya-nāyaka with the exception of this grant has come to light. In this respect his brother, Kāpaya-nāyaka was really more fortunate. Besides his Prōlavaram grant[3] already adverted to, dated in Śaka 1267, Pārthiva, there are two of his lithic records, the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription[4] dated in Śaka 1268, Vyaya, and the Pillalamaṛṛi inscription[5] dated in Śaka 1279, Hēmaḷaṁbi. Of these, his Prōlavaram grant is the earliest as is evident from its date. But the country of Tiling, in fact, the whole of Southern Hyderabad to the south of Warangal, was already in the possession of the Hindus by 1339 A.D., the date of the Bādāmi record of Harihara I,[6] the founder of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. Hence, Kāpaya-nāyaka was surely in possession of Warangal before 1339 A.D. He conquered it probably by about 1336-37 A.D. from the Mussalmans.[7] As the Muslim historians mention Kāpa, Kabā-nand, or Kabā-Nāyand, who is no other than Prōlāya-nāyaka's brother Kāpa Nīḍu or Kāpaya-nāyaka, as the leader of the rebellion of the Hindus of Warrangal in Telaṅgāna, it seems likely that his brother Prōlaya-nāyaka was already dead, by that time. If not so, he must himself have been mentioned as the leader of the rebellion. If this supposition is accepted, the record under review must have been granted between 1325 and 1336-37 A.D., possibly about 1330 A.D.

The editors of the present record take this opportunity of expressing their gratitude to Sri N. Lakshminarayana Rao, for lending for consultation the impressions of the following unpublished inscriptions : (1) the Śrīśailam epigraph of Kācheya-reḍḍi, (2) the Mallavaram inscriptions of Prōlaya Vēmā-reḍḍi, and (3) the Peṇṭāpāḍu grant of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja. They also offer thanks to Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras for revising the Romanised text of the inscription.

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[1] Above, Vol. III, p. 2.
[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 320.
[3] *JBORS*, Vol. XX, pp. 260 ff.
[4] *SII*, Vol. IV., No. 950.
[5] *Cuop. Ins. Tel. Dist.*, p. 113, No. 40.
[6] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, pp. 63 ff.
[7] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. V, p. 264 ; *A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History*, p. 69. *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 205.

## List of Donees

| Serial Number | Name of the Donee | Śākhā | Gōtra | No. of Shares |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Dēchi-bhaṭṭa | Yajus | Kapi | 2 |
| 2 | Mallikūchi | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 3 | Peda-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭa | ,, | Bhāradvāja | 12½ |
| 4 | Peda-Śiddhaya-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | |
| 5 | Bhadra | ,, | ,, | |
| 6 | Pina-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 12½ |
| 7 | Pina-Siddhaya | ,, | ,, | |
| 8 | Mallaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 9 | Chēmakūra Dhāmaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 10 | Sōmayārya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 11 | Mañchi-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 12 | Kēśava | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 13 | Jakkaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 14 | Bhāskara | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 15 | Pinnaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 16 | Gaḍḍapallī Peddi-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 17 | Taittiri Viṭṭhaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 18 | ,, Appalu | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 19 | ,, Yajñama | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 20 | Chennaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 21 | Śrīkaṁṭha | ,, | ,, | 1½ |
| 22 | Āditya | ,, | ,, | 1½ |
| 23 | Pammappalu | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 24 | Nāgasvāmi | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 25 | Siṁgaya | ,, | ,, | ½ |
| 26 | Siṁgaya | ,, | ,, | ½ |
| 27 | Nṛisiṁha-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 28 | Peddaya | Ṛik | ,, | ½ |
| 29 | Sōmāya-bhaṭṭa | Yajus | Kauṇḍinya | 1 |
| 30 | Kēśava | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 31 | Pōtappaya | ,, | ,, | 2 |
| 32 | Siṁgappaya | ,, | ,, | 2 |

| Serial Number | Name of the Donee | Śākhā | Gōtra | No. of Shares |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33 | Rāmaya | Yajus | Kauṇḍinya | 1 |
| 34 | Mañchyappalu | ,, | ,, | ½ |
| 35 | Mañchyappalu | ,, | ,, | ½ |
| 36 | Sōmappaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 37 | Annaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 38 | Nārāyaṇa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 39 | Mallu-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 40 | Siṁhagiri | ,, | ,, | 2 |
| 41 | Gōvinda | ,, | Kāśyapa | 1 |
| 42 | Nāgaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 43 | Bolli-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 44 | Rāmaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 45 | Sūraya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 46 | Narahari | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 47 | Gannaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 48 | Sūri-bhaṭṭa | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 49 | Kāmaya | Ṛik | ,, | 1 |
| 50 | Erapōta | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 51 | Elukurk-Appale-bhaṭṭa | Yajus | Harita | 1 |
| 52 | Padmanābha | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 53 | Vallabha | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 54 | Trivikrama | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 55 | Ananta-bhaṭṭa | Ṛik | ,, | 1 |
| 56 | Rāmaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 57 | Īśvara | Yajus | Parāśara | 1 |
| 58 | Īśvara | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 59 | Vēlumpalli Pōchanārya | Ṛik | Vādhūla | 2 |
| 60 | Nā[rā]yaṇappaya | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 61 | Vennaya | ,, | Vaśishṭha | 1 |
| 62 | Gaṁgayārya | Yajus | ,, | 1 |
| 63 | Punnaya | Ṛik | Kauśika | 1 |
| 64 | Chiṭṭaya | Yajus | Gautama | 1 |
| 65 | Vaikuṁṭha-bhaṭṭa | ,, | Āṭreya | 1 |

| Serial Number | Name of the Donee | Śākhā | Gōtra | No. of Shares |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 66 | Rāmāya-bhaṭṭa . . . . . | Yajus | Ātrēya | 1 |
| 67 | Appāya-bhaṭṭa . . . . . | ,, | Śrīvatsa | 2 |
| 68 | Ananta . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 2 |
| 69 | Pōti-bhaṭṭa . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 70 | Tippaya . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 71 | Viśvēśvara . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 72 | Chukka-boṭṭa Mallikūchi . . . . | ,, | ,, | 2½ |
| 73 | ,, Mallayapeddaya . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1½ |
| 74 | Bollaya . . . . . | ,, | Maitrēya | 1 |
| 75 | Kēśava . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 76 | Vissaya . . . . . | ,, | Gārgya | 1 |
| 77 | Taṁgeḷḷapalli Pōchana . . . . . | ,, | Śāṇḍilya | 1 |
| 78 | Māraya . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 79 | Kēśava (god) . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |
| 80 | Gautamēśvara (do.) . . . . . | ,, | ,, | 1 |



## Text

[Metres : Verses 1, 40, 45 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 3, 5-6, 12-13, 16-18, 21, 26, 33, 35, 39, 42, 47, 49, 53, 60, 61, 63, 64, 72-108 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 4, 7-11, 14-15, 19-20, 22-24, 27, 29, 31-32, 36-38, 41, 43-44, 48, 50-52, 56-58, 62, 65-71 *Upajāti* ; verses 25, 54, 55 *Āryā* ; verse 28 *Praharshiṇī* ; verses 30, 57 *Indravajrā* ; verse 34 *Upagīti* ; verse 46 *Rathōddhatā*.]

### *First Plate*

1 Avighnam=astu | Yāṁ prēmṇā Śaśimauḷinā Gajamukhō gāḍhaṁ samā liṁgitaś=chāpalyāch=chhaśinaḥ kalā[ṁ]

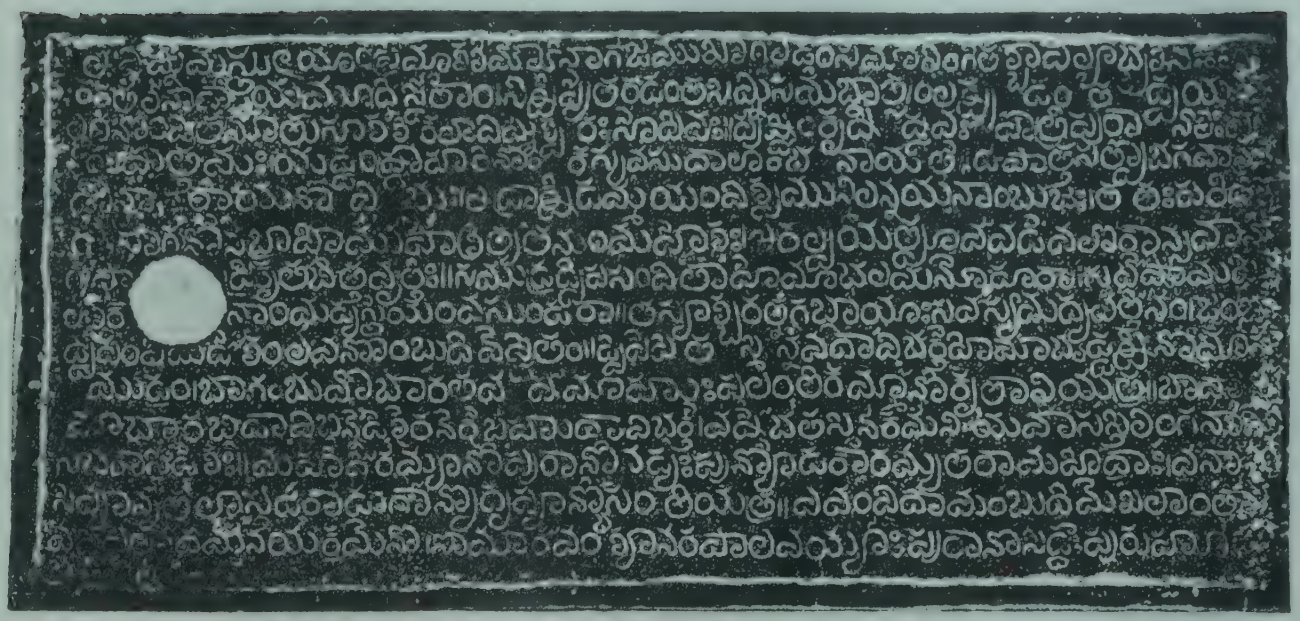
2 kara-talēn=ādāya mūrdhni sthitāṁ(tām) | nikshipy=ētara-daṁta-sīmni samabhāt=saṁlakshya daṁta-dvaya[ḥ ka]-

3 lyāṇaṁ vitanōtu sā śaśi-kalā Vighnēśvaraḥ sō='pi vaḥ || [1*] Pushṭiṁ kṛishīshṭa vaḥ pōtrī purāṇaḥ [Pu]-

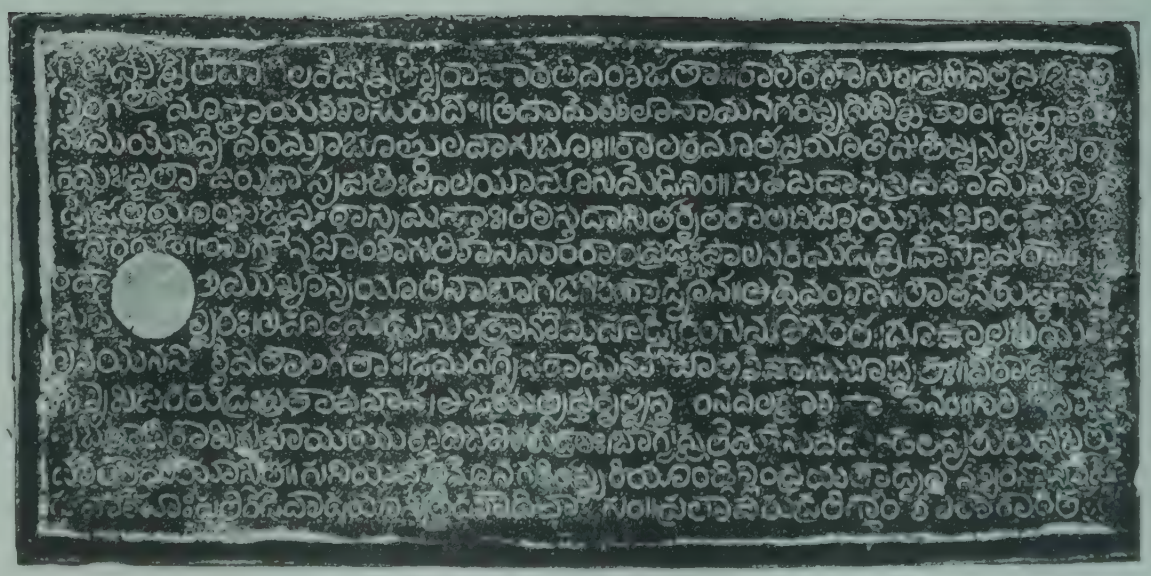
4 rushōttamaḥ [|] yad-daṁshṭrā-hariṇāṁkasya vasudhā lāṁchhanāyatē || [2*] Upātta-satvō(ttvō) bhagavā[n=ā]-

5 dau Nārāyaṇō vibhuḥ | adrākshīd=amaṇaṁ viśvam=unmīlan-naṇan-īṁbujaḥ || [3*] Tataḥ parī[tō]

# VILASA GRANT OF PROLAYA-NAYAKA



*ii, a*



Scale : One-half

6 ra[ja]sā guṇēna brāhmīm=upāśritya tanuṁ Mahēśaḥ | akalpayat=pūrvavad=ēva lōkān=sa[r]vān

7 kṛip-ārdrīkṛita-chitta-vṛittiḥ || [4*] Samudra-dvīpa-saṁvītā Hēm-āchala-manōharā | sarvēshām=api

8 lōkānāṁ madya(dhya)sth=ē'yaṁ vasuṁda(dha)rā || [5*] Tasyāś=cha ratna-garbhāyāḥ sarvasyā madhya-varttinaṁ(nam) | Jaṁ[bū]-

9 dvīpam vidur=dēśam lavaṇ-āmbudhi-vēshṭitaṁ(tam) || [6*] Dvīpē='pi tasmin=navadhā vibhaktē Himāchalā[1]d=dakshiṇam=ā-sa-

10 mudraṁi(dram) | bhāgaṁ bhuvō Bhāratavarsham=āhuḥ phalaṁti karmāṇi kṛitāni yatra || [7*] Bhāshā-[sa]-

11 māchāra-bhidā vibhinnai[r]=dēśaiṛ=anēkair=bahudhā vibhaktē | varshē cha tasmin kamanīya-vāsas=Tiliṁga-nāmā

12 sa chakāsti dēśaḥ || [8*] Mahardhi(rddhi)-ramyāṇi purāṇi nadyaḥ puṇy-ōdakā ramyatarā mahīdhrāḥ | vanā[ny=a]-

13 sēvyānna(ny=a)talās=taṭākā durgāṇy=adhṛishyāṇi cha[2] saṁti yatra || [9*] Ēvaṁ-vidhām=aṁbudhi-mēkhalāṁ tā-

14 m=apīpalan dharma-naya-kramēṇa | Sōm-āṛka-vaṁśyā narapāla-varyyāḥ purāṇa-siddhāḥ puruhūta-

15 bhāsaḥ || [10*]

*Second Plate, First Side*

16 Gatēshu tēshu[3] kshitipālakēshu[4] kshitīśvarāḥ Kākati-vaṁśa-jātāḥ | kālē Kalau saṁprati varttamānē Ti-

17 liṁgam=āsthāya śaśāsur=urvīṁ(rvīm) || [11*] Tēshām=Ēkaśilā-nāma-nagarī pṛithivīkshitāṁ-(tām) | Ikshvākū-

18 ṇa(ṇā)m=Ayōdhy=ēva ramy=ābhūt=kula-vāsa-bhūḥ || [12*] Kāla-kramāt prayātēshu tēshv=analpa-parā-

19 kramaḥ | Pratāparudrō nṛipatiḥ pālayāmāsa mēdinīṁ(nīm) || [13*] Sarvē='pi dāna-pravaṇā manushyā

20 dvijātayō yajña-parās=samastāḥ | kalis=tad=āsīt kṛita-kāla-chihnō yasmin=mahīṁ śāsati

21 Vīra-Rudrē || [14*] Yasti(smi)n=mahīṁ śāsati śāsan-āṁkāṁ prajāḥ prajā[5]-pālana-karma-dakshē | n=āsmārshur=ādyā[n=na]-

22 rapāla-mukhyān=Yayāti-Nābhāga-Bhagīrath=ādyān || [15*] Ath=aivaṁ śāsatā tēna Tu[ru*]-shkāṇā-

23 m=adhīśvaraḥ | Ahammadu-Suratrāṇō mahad=vairaṁ samācharat || [16*] Bhūpāla-laya-Kā-

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[1] The letter *tā* is inserted between *cha* and *da*.

[2] *Cha* is inserted below the line between the letters *ni* and *saṁ* with the mark of a cross above the line to indicate its place.

[3] *Tēshu* is inscribed below the line with a curved line underneath and a cross mark above the line between the letters *shu* and *kshi* to indicate its place.

[4] Between *pā* and *la* in *Kshitipāla*, a letter which looks like *ti* is erased.

[5] *Prajā* in *prajāpālana* is inscribed below with a cross above it to mark its place.

24 lēna yēna niśśēshatāṁ gatāḥ | Jāmadagnyēna Rāmēṇa hata-śēshā mahībhṛitaḥ || [17*] Vīr-ōdbhaṭa-bhaṭa-

25 s=sō='pi Vīra-Rudraḥ pratāpavān | ajayat=sapta-kṛitvas=taiṁ[1] nava-laksh-āśva-sādhanaṁ (nam) || [18*] Nīti-praśastō=

26 'pi bal ādhikō='pi sahāya-yuktō='pi cha Vīra-Rudraḥ [2] | bhāgya-kshatēr=mānusha-maṁḍa-lasya Turushka-ba(bha)rtu-

27 va(tur=va)śatām=ayāsīt || [19*] Sa nīyamānō nagarīṁ svakīyāṁ Ḍhillīṁ prayatnād=Yavan-ēśvarēṇa | Sōmō-

28 dbhavāyāḥ saritaḥ[3] pratīrē daivād=ayāsīt=tridaś-ādhivāsaṁ(sam) || [20] Pratāparudra-tigmāṁśau lōk-āṁtara-ti-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

29 rōhitē [|] Turushk-āṁdha-tamisrēṇa samākrāṁtaṁ mahītalaṁ(lam) || [21*] Pratāparudrēṇa paraṁ parā-

30 stō ripūn=adharmō Yavanān gatō nu | nō chēd=gatē='smin Yavanais=sah=aiva kathaṁ nir-ābādha-sukhaṁ

31 jajṛiṁbhē || [22*] Kēchid=dhanāḍhyāḥ paribādhyamānā dhanāya[4] pāpair=vividhair=upāyaiḥ | kēchin=nirīkshy=aiva cha Pāraśīkā-

32 n paryyatyajan prāṇa-nabhasvatō='nyē || [23*] Dvijātayas= tyājita-karma-bandhā bhagnāś=cha dēva-pratimās=sa-

33 mastāḥ | vidvad-varishṭhaiś=chira-kāla-bhuktās=sarvē='py=apāhārishat=āgrahārāḥ || [24*] Āttē karshaṇa-lābhē pā-

34 pair=Yyavanair=balātkārāt | dīn-ādīna-kuṭuṁbāḥ kṛishīvalā nāśam=āpaṁnāḥ || [25*] Dhana-dār-ā-

35 [dikē] nṛīṇāṁ kasmiṁśchid=api vastuni | sv-āyattatā-matir=n=ābhūd=bhuvi tasyāṁ mah-āpa-

36 [di] || [26*] [Pēyā] surā gō-piśitaṁ cha bhnō(bhō)jyaṁ līlā-vihārō dvija-ghātanaṁ cha | aśrāṁ-tam=āsīd=Yavan-ā-

37 dhamānāṁ kathaṁ nu jīvēd=bhuvi jīva-lōkaḥ || [27*] Itthaṁ tair=Yyavana-bhaṭaiḥ pra-bādhyamānaṁ Tailiṁgaṁ dha-

38 raṇi-talaṁ sur-āri-kalpēḥ(lpaiḥ) | trāṭa(tā)raṁ kam=api hṛid=āpy=aviṁdamānaṁ saṁtēpē vanam=iva dāva-vahni-

39 jushtaṁ(shṭam) || [28*] Anaṁtaraṁ saṁprati yāvanīṁ tām=ālōkya pīḍām=anukaṁpamā-naḥ | aṁś-āvatī-

40 rṇō bhagavān=iv=ādyaḥ Prōla-kshitīśō vasudhāṁ bibhartti || [29*] Puṁsaḥ pa(pu)rāṇasya padād=udīrṇṇaṁ(rṇaṁ) va-

*Third Plate, First Side*

41 rṇṇaṁ(ṇaṁ) yam=ā[huḥ] Kalikāla-varyaṁ(ryam) | tatra praśastō Musunūri-vaṁśō yaj-janma-dhāma [pratha]-

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[1] *Sthā* originally engraved has been erased and corrected into *sta*.

[2] The length mark of *dra* has been cancelled by a cross mark circumscribed by a circle.

[3] *Saritaḥ* is inscribed below the line with the mark of a cross above.

[4] *Dhanā°* is engraved below the line with a cross mark above the line to show its place.

*ii, b*



*iii, a*



42 tē pṛithivyā[ṁ](vyām) [‖] [30*] Sa Prōla-bhūpō Musunūri-vaṁśyas=tathā-vidhaṁ Yāva-
nam=ādhipatyaṁ (tyam) |

43 viśv-ōpajīvyēna viśṛiṁkhaḷē(lē)na vyanīnaśad=bāhu-balēna vīraḥ ‖ [31*] Nām=āsya tēshāṁ
Yavan-ādha-

44 mānāṁ maṁtraḥ kiṁ=uchchāṭana-karma-kārī | dīnā yad-uchchāraṇa mātratas=tē durggāṇi
saṁtya-

45 jya kutō [py]=abhūvan ‖ [32*] Yāḥ prajās=samabādhyaṁta Yavanais=tām=anūpamaṁ[1] |
prabhavaṁta-

46 m tam[2]=ōv=āgur=ni[dā]gh-ā[r*]ttā iva hradaṁ(dam) ‖ [33*] Yē pīḍitās=Turushkair=anārataṁ
mā-

47 nushā ghōraṁ(ram) | tē tān=ēva nijaghnur=balam=āśrayajaṁ mahat=khyātaṁ (tam) [34*]
Itthaṁ pa-

48 rāsya prabalaṁ prapaṁ[3]chaṁ Yāvanaṁ balī | nashṭam=āpadi kashṭāyāṁ dharmaṁ punar=
avīvṛitat [‖] [35*]

49 Apāhṛitāṁs=tair=atipāpa-chāraiḥ prattān purāṇair=manujēṁdra-varyyaiḥ | anēkaśaḥ[4]
pūrva-

50 ha(ma)hīsurēbhyaḥ Prōla-kshitīśō='dadat=āgrahārān ‖ [36*] Kṛitvā pravṛittān virata-pra-
saṁgān ya-

51 jñān havir-dhūma-paraṁparābhiḥ | Turush[ka]-saṁchāraṇa-jāta-pāpān=Āṁdhrān pradēśān=a-

52 naghān=akārshīt ‖ [37*] Kṛishīvalāś=ch=āpi kṛishiḥ(shēḥ) phalānāṁ yath-ōditaṁ
bhāgam=adaḥ prabṛish[ṭā]-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

53 ḥ | tapasvinash=shasbṭham=iva prabhāgaṁ pṛithvi-bhujē='smai tapasaḥ phalānāṁ(nām) ‖
[38*] Yad= yat=kṛitaṁ Pāraśī-

54 kaiḥ[5]r= vyatyastaṁ dharaṇītalē | tat=tat=sarvaṁ yathā-pūrvaṁ vyarīrachad=ayaṁ balī ‖
[39*] Ittha-

55 ṁ Prōla-mahī[dha]rēṇa balinā sarvaṁsah=ē'yaṁ chirāt=kashṭāyā Yavan-ēṁdra-ghō-

56 ra-nikṛitēs=saṁmōchya hastē dhṛitā | saṁtushṭā sukṛit-ōpachāra-vidhibhir=vismṛitya pūrvā[n*]=

57 nṛipāṁ[s=tasmi]n bhāvam=ananyagaṁ vitanutē saustthitya-saṁdarśitaṁ(tam)‖ [40*] Tasy=
āsti tasyām bhuvi rā-

58 jadhānī mahībhṛitō Mālyavatas=samīpē | Gōdāvarī-prāṁta-bhuvi praśastāṁ

59 yāṁ Rēkapall=īti vadaṁti dēśyāḥ ‖ [41*] Dāna-bhōg=ōpayōg[y*]ābhi[s*]=sarvābhir=vasu-
bhūri-

60 bhiḥ | y=ātichakrāma nagarīma[6]m=Alakāṁ ch=Āmarā[7]vatīṁ(tīm) [42*] Muktāphalair=
vidruma-bhaṁga-jāla-

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[1] Read *Yavanais=tā anūpamam*.

[2] The letter *m* has been partly mutilated by the cutting of the ring hole and therefore looks like *v*.

[3] *Prapaṁ* in *prapaṁchaṁ* is written below the line with a cross mark above.

[4] *Ka* in *anēkaśaḥ* is written similarly below the line with a cross mark above.

[5] The *visarga* is redundant.

[6] The letter *ma* is redundant.

[7] The letter *rā* is engraved below the line with a cross mark above.

61 ' ° maṇi]-vrajair=uṁnna(na)ta-hēma-rāśibhiḥ | ṛiddh-āpaṇā yā satataṁ virājatē dhanēśvarasy=ē-

62 va cha bhāṁḍa-gēha-bhūḥ || [43*] Sa tām=adhishṭhāya purīṁ samṛiddhāṁ Prōla-kshitīśaḥ Puruhū-

63 [ta-tējāḥ] | apāsta-vē(vai)ri-kshitipāla-lōkāṁ praśāsti pṛithvīṁ nija-śāsan-āṁkāṁ(kām) || [44*] Yad-dhāṭī-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

64 shu valat-turaṁgama-khura-prōdyad-rajō-maṁḍali-vistāraiḥ parimṛiśar-āla[ka]-bhara-prā-

65 ṁtā diśā-yōshi[ta*]ḥ | dṛishṭvā bhrāṁtim=avāpnuvaṁti mahatīṁ gaṁdharva-kanyā mu-

66 hur=bhītyā dūratara-pradhāvad-ahita-kshmāpāla-yōshā iti || [45*] Yat-pratāpa-tapanē-

67 na vihvalā vairiṇaḥ kshiti-bhṛitō mahīyasā | pāda-paḍma-nakha-chaṁdra-rōhiṇī-

68 ṁ śītalāṁ paricharaṁti chaṁdrikāṁ(kām) || [46*] Yad-bāhu-pīṭhaṁ saṁprāpya pratāpōshmaḷa(la)m=u-

69 nnataṁ(tam) | tyajaty=aṁbudhi-sa[ṁ]vāsa-klēśam=adya vasuṁdharā || [47*] Aratna-mauḷī-paridaṁtu-

70 rēshu nirātapatr-āvaraṇēshu yasya | ājñā-naṭī nṛityati bhūpatīnāṁ mūrdhdhā(mūrddh-ā)-

71 gra-ra[ṁ*]gēshu samunnatēshu[1] || [48] Ārōpita-guṇaṁ yasya[2] dhanus=sāpatnya[3]- śaṁkayā | ari-rā-

72 janya-kāṁtānāṁ kaṁṭhasthān=alunād=guṇān || [49*] Tasy=ābhavan Kāpaya-nāyak-ā-

73 dyās=subhrātaraś=śauryya-nay-ōpapaṁnāḥ(pannāḥ) | yēshu pratishṭhāpya dhuraṁ dharāyāḥ

74 prabhus=sa dharm-ārjana-tatparō=bhūt || [50*] Mahīsurēbhyaḥ Kali-kāla-varyaṁ taṁ dā-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

75 na-rūpaṁ paramaṁ viditvā | prādāt=praśastān bahuśō=grahārān mahāṁ-

76 ti dānāny=akarōd=bahūni || [51*] Yē sūrayas=saṁti mahītalē= 'smin sat=pātra-bhūtā

77 vasu bhūri tēshu | datvā(ttv=ā)tipātrē pratipādanāya vyachāyayat=ta[4]j=jagatītal-ēṁ-

78 draḥ || [52*] Bhāradvājō · muniḥ pūrvam=abhavad=Vēda-viśrutaḥ | prathatē=nuttamaṁ gōtraṁ ya-

79 d-upajñaṁ mahītalē || [53*] Tad-gōtrē='nnaya-vidushaḥ pautraḥ putrāś=cha Vennay-āryya-

80 sya | Annaya-nāmā vidvān=abhavata(vat) khyātō Yajur-vēdī || [54*] Vennaya-Gaṇapa-

81 ya-vibudhau tat-putrau jagati viśruta-khyātī | Yat-pāda-padma-saṁgād=dhraṇir=i-

82 yaṁ dhanyatāṁ dhattē || [55*] Trivishṭapād=ētya gurus=Surāṇāṁ Pātāḷa-lōkātpa(t=pha)-ṇinā-

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[1] The letter *tē* is written below *shu* and its place is indicated by a cross mark in the line between *nna* and *shu*.

[2] A circle with a cross inside is inscribed between the letters *ya* and *sya*.

[3] The subscript *n* in *tnya* is written on the left side of the *y* sign instead of between *t* and the *y* sign attached to it for want of space.

[4] The letter *tta* is inscribed below the line with a cross mark above it to indicate its place.

83 ṁ patiś=cha | saubhrātra-saukhy-ānubhavāya bhūmiṁ saṁprāptavaṁtāv=iva yau vi-

84 bhāṭaḥ || [56*] Jyēshṭhas=tayō[r*]=Vennaya-sūri-varyyaḥ praśasta-vidyā-vinay-ābhirāmaḥ | vistā-

85 [ribhi]r=yyaḥ ka(ku)mud-āvadātair=yyaśōbhir=āśās=surabhīkarōti || [57*] Yat-pāda-paṁkēru-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

86 ha-pārśva-namra-kshitīśvara-śrēṇi-lalāṭa-lagnā | brāhmī lipir=bhāgyavad=āspu(sphu)radbhir=nakh-āṁśu-[jā]-

87 lais=suvachatvam=ēti || [58*] Yatr=āsti Vidyā na cha tatra Lakshmīr=yatr=āsti Lakshmīr=na cha tatra Vidyā | Vi-

88 dyā cha Lakshmīś=cha[1] vihāya vairaṁ yasminn=ubhē tē vasataḥ prahṛishṭē || [59*] Bhōgād=anaṁtaraṁ dā-

89 naṁ prasiddhaṁ pṛithivītalē | tyaktvā bhōgaṁ vitaraṇaṁ yasminn=ēva vijṛiṁbhatē || [60] Yad-dā-

90 na-Lakshmī-saṁprāpti-budhyā(ddhyā) svar-lōka-dhēnavaḥ | ūrdhva-pādāś=charaṁt=īva chiraṁ ghō-

91 rataraṁ tapaḥ || [61*] Yasmād=avāptair=bahubhis=suvarṇair=anārat-ānushṭhita-yāga-

92 taṁtrāḥ | vibhāṁti bhūmau vimala-prachārā yaśaḥ-patākā iva yāyajū-

93 kāḥ || [62*] Viprēbhyō vidhivad=dhēnūḥ pradatvōba(tt=ōbha)yatō[2]mukhīḥ | yaḥ karōti nijāṁ kīrtin=nirmalā-

94 ṁ sarvatōmukhīṁ(khīm) || [63*] Yan-nisṛishṭ-āgrahārēshu pratitishṭhaṁti bhūsurāḥ | pada-vākya-pramā-

95 ṇajñā dharma-staṁbhā iv=ōchchhritāḥ || [64*] Kṛitēshu dānēshu mahatsu yēna viśvāsa-vibhrājita-māna

96 sēna | chirāya dāna-pratipādakāni prayāṁti śāstrāṇi yath-ārtta(rttha)-bhāvaṁ(vam) || [65*] Niśchitya

97 taṁ Prōla-nṛipō=tipātraṁ saṁprārtta(rttha)yad=grāma-varam grahītuṁ[3] | prati-grahāt s'ō=pi nivṛitta-chētā-

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

98 s=tat-pakshapātēna kathaṁchid=aichchhat || [66*] Tatō=nu-Gōdāvari tushṭa-chētā grahē vidhōḥ prādiśad=agrahā-

99 raṁ (ram) | Kōn-āvanī-maṁḍa(ṇḍa)la-sārabhūtaṁ grāmaṁ sa tasmai Vilas-ābhidhānaṁ-(nam) || [67*] Vibhāṁti yasy=ā

100 tipachēḷi(li)māni kshētrāṇi śāl-īkshu-vaṇō(n-ō)chitāni | ārāma-bhāgāś=cha bhujaṁga-vallī-raṁbh-ā-

101 mra-pūgī-panas-ādi-ramyāḥ || [68*] Tam=agrahāraṁ pratigṛihya tasmāt Prōla-kshītīśād=atha Vennay-ā-

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[1] After *ś=cha* the letter *vi* was engraved and scored off with a cross.

[2] The letter *tō* is engraved below the line.

[3] The letter *gra* is engraved below the line. Read °*tum*.

102 ryyaḥ | saḥ-ānujō=ditsata bhūsurēbhyaḥ pradattayē tasya dhan-ārjanaṁ hi || 69*]
Anēka-śāstr-ārṇa-

103 va-karṇa-dhārān Vēd-ādhva-san laṁ(saṁlaṁ)ghana-jāṁghikān saḥ | prasiddha-śīl-ācharaṇ-
ābhijātyān=a

104 yō(yū)thayad=vipravarāṁś=chirēṇa || [70*] Aiśvaryya-bhōgair=yyutam=ashṭa-saṁkhyais=
tam=aṁkayi-

105 tvā nṛipatēś=cha nāmnā | ashṭ-ōttarēṇa pravibhajya bhāgaiś=śatēna sō='dāt=sumatir
=dvijēbhyaḥ || [71*]

106 Ath=ātra bhāgināṁ nāma-śākh-ādir=gōtra-vargaśaḥ | pravarṇyatē samāsēna bhāga-
saṁkhyā cha

107 bhāgināṁ(nām) || [72*] Sarvē=pi bhāginō=rhanti prāthamyaṁ guṇavattamāḥ | tath=āpi
krama-vṛittitvād=vā-

108 chō mē n=ātra mūḍhatā || [73*] Śrī || Upādhyāyō Dēchi-bhaṭṭaḥ pada-vākya-pramāṇa-vit |
Mallikūchi-

109 r=manīshī cha Yājushau Kapi-gōtra-jau || [74*] Peda-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭaś=cha Pāṇiniś=śabda-
śāsanē | sudhīś=chulikit-āpāra-gaṁ-

*Sixth Plate, First Side*

110 -bhīra-gaṇit-ārṇavaḥ || [75*] Peda-Śi(Si)ddhaya-bhaṭṭaś=cha jyōtir-dṛishṭa-jagad-vidbaḥ |
kalit-ākhila-vāg-jālaḥ prājñō Bha-

111 dra-budh-āgraṇīḥ | [|76*] Pina-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭaś=cha vāgmī nṛipati-vallabhaḥ | jyōtiś-
śāstraṁ mahad=yasya tṛitīya-

112 m=iva lōchanaṁ(nam) | [|77*] Vidvaj-jana-nuta-prājñas-sabh-ārhaḥ Pina-Śi(Si)ddhayaḥ |
Mallayaś=Chēmakūr-ōpapadō

113 Dāmaya-kōvidaḥ | [| 78*] Jyōtir-vit=Sōmay-āryyaś=cha Maṁchi-bhaṭṭaś=cha Kēśavaḥ |
Jakkay-ādhyā-

114 pakō dhīmān Bhāskaraḥ Pinnayas=sudhīḥ |[| 79*] Gaḍḍapallī Peddi-bhaṭṭaś=śabda-
śāstra-Pataṁjaliḥ | Taittir-ō-

115 papad-ōpētā Viṭṭhay-Āppalu-Yajñamāḥ |[| 80*] Adhyāpakā(ka)ś=Chennay-ākhyas=
satat-ādhyā-

116 pan-ōttaraḥ | Śrīkaṁṭha-pada-saṁsēvī Śrīkaṁṭha-vibudh-āgraṇīḥ |[| 81*] Ādityas=satyam
=ādityō pra-

117 hvaḥ prauḍha-tamō-pahaḥ | Pammappalūr-Nāgasvāmī manīshī Śiṁgayāv=ubhau |[| 82*]
Nṛisiṁ-

118 ha-bhaṭṭ-ōpādhāyaḥ kavir=vēdāṁta-pāragaḥ | Yājushā ārcha ēkas=tu Pedday-ādhyāpa-

119 k-ōttamaḥ |[| 83*] Shaḍ-viṁśati-dvijā ētē Bhāradvāja-kul-ōdbhavāḥ | Sōmāya[1]-bhaṭṭ-
ō[pā]dhyāyas=[Smṛi]ti-

120 jñaḥ Kēśavas-sudhīḥ | [2] | [84*] Pōtappay-ādhyāpakaś=cha dharma-śāstra-kṛita-śramaḥ |
Śi(Si)ṁgappay-ādhyāpa-

121 kaś=cha śishya-saṁkrāmit-āgamaḥ |[| 85*] Rāmay-ādhyāpakō Maṁchy-Appalū-Sōmappa-
yō=nnayaḥ | Nārā-

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[1] The letter *ya* is written below the line, with a cross mark above to indicate its place.

[2] There is a floral design between the *daṇḍas*.

*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

122 yaṇ-ādhyāpakaś=cha Mallu-bhaṭṭaś=cha Yājushāḥ |[| 86*] Vidvān Siṁhagiriś=cha dvādaśa Kauṇḍinya-gōtrajāḥ |

123 Gōvind-ādhyāpakas=sādhur=Nāgay-ādhyāpakō=paraḥ |[| 87*] Bolli-bhaṭṭaś=ch=āgamēshu prauḍhō gaṇita-

124 marma-vit | Rāmayō Gaṇita-brahma-birudas=Sūrayas sudhīḥ |[|88*] Adhyāpakō Nara-hariś=cha[1] Ganna-

125 yō=dhyāpak-ōttamaḥ | Sūri-bhaṭṭaś=cha Ya(Yā)jushi śūrā (ra) ārchau tu Kāmayaḥ | [| 89*] Eṟapōt-ādhyā-

126 pakaś=cha daśa Kāśyapa-gōtrajāḥ | Elkurk-Appalē-bhaṭṭaḥ Padmanābhaś=cha Vallabhaḥ | [| 90*] Trivikrama-sudhīr[2]=yyā

127 ga-taṁtra-vid=Yājushā imē | Anaṁta-bhaṭṭō Vēdāṁta-śabda-śāstra-kṛita-śramaḥ |[| 91*] Kāmayō=

128 'dhyāpakaś=ch=ārchau Hārītāsh=shaḍ=imē dvijāḥ | Yajur[3]-aṁbudhi-pāra-jñau Guru-taṁtra-viśāradau |[| 94*]

129 Sudhiyāv=Īśvarāv=ētau dvau Parāśara-gōtrajau | Velu[ṁ*]palli Pōchan-āryya[ḥ] svādhīna[4]-Yajur-ā-

130 gamaḥ |[| 83*] Nā[rā*]yaṇa(ṇō)=ppayaś=ch=ārchchō(rchchau) dvau Vādhūla-kul-ōdbhavau | s-āṁgē Bahvṛichi nishṇā-

131 tō Vēdē Vennaya-saṁjñakaḥ |[| 94*] Gaṁgay-āryyō Yajuś-śūrō dvau Vasishṭha-kul-ōdbha-vau |

132 Puṁnnay[5]-ādhyāpakaś=ch=ārcha ēkaḥ Kauśika-gōtrajaḥ |[| 95*] Yajur-nigama-nirvōḍhā Chiṭṭayō-Gau-

133 tam-ānvayaḥ | Kupa[6]-dvi-vidha-Mīmāṁsas=tīrṇa-Vyākaraṇ-āṁbudhiḥ |[| 96*] Vaikuṁṭha-bhaṭṭ-ōpādhyāyaḥ

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

134 kavir=adhvara-taṁtra-vit | Rāmāya-bhaṭṭaś=cha Yaju[ḥ*]-khyātāv=Ātrēya-gōtrajau | [| 97*] Appāya-bhaṭṭ-ōpā-

135 dhyāyō jyōti[r*]-jñō=naṁta-kōvidaḥ | śabda-śāsana-vit=Pōti-bhaṭṭas=Tippaya-saṁj[ña]-kaḥ | [| 98*] Vaiyāsika-ma-

136 ta-prauḍhaḥ ssu(su)dhīr=Viśvēśvar-āḥhidhaḥ | Chukka-boṭṭ=ādhi(di)kau Mallikūchi-[7] Mallaya-Peddayau | [| 99*] Sudhiyau

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[1] Read *Naraharir=Ganna*° ; *cha* is superfluous.
[2] The letter *dhī* is written below the line with a cross mark above to indicate its place.
[3] *Ju* is written above the line with a tiny cross mark below.
[4] The letters *svadhī* are written below the line.
[5] Read *Punna* or *Puṁna*.
[6] Read *kḷipta*.
[7] *Chi* is written below the line.

137 Yājushā viprās=sapta Śrīvatsa-gōtrajāḥ | Bollay-ādhyāpakō dhīmān=Kēśavaś=cha Yajur-vidau |[| 100*] Maitrē-

138 yōttau(yau tau) Gārgya-gōtrō Yājushō Vissayas=sudhīḥ | Taṁgēḷḷapaly-abhijanaḥ Pōchan-ādhyāpak-ōttamaḥ |[|101*]

139 Ma(Mā)rayaś=cha Yajuś-śu(śū)rau dvau Śāṁḍilya[1]-kul-ōdbhavau | Peda-Bhāvana-bhaṭṭaś=cha Peda-Siddhaya-Bhadrayau |[| 102*]

140 Sa-pād-[ā]rddha-dvādaś-āṁśās=trayas=saṁbhūya sōdarāḥ | tan-[mā]tra-bhāgakau dvau cha Pina-Bhāvana-Śi(Si)ddha-

141 yau [|| 103*] Chukka-boṭṭ-ādikō **Mallikūchis**=s-ārddha-dvi-bhāgakaḥ | Appāya-bhaṭṭ-ōpādhyāyau(yō) jyōti-

142 r-jñō='naṁta-kōvidaḥ |[| 104*] Sa **Dēchi-bhaṭṭ-ōpadhyāyō** Vidvān Siṁhagiriḥ paraḥ | adhyāpakāv=ubhau Pōta-

143 ppaya-Śi(Si)ṁgappayau dvijau |[| 105*] **Vēlu[ṁ*]palli-** Pōchan-āryya iti sapta-dvi-bhāgakāḥ | Mallāyapeddi-Śrīkaṁṭh-Ādi-

144 tyās=s-ārdh=aika-bhāgakāḥ |[| 106*] **Maṁchyappalū-Śiṁgayau cha Pedday-ādhyāpakō=py=** amī | Paṁch-ārddha-bhāgakā vi-

145 prāś-śēshās=tv=ēk-aika-bhāginaḥ |[| 107*] **Ēk=aika-bhāgakau** dēvau Gautamēśvara-Kēśavau | aśītir=ēvam=abhavan pratigraha-

146 yujō dvijāḥ |[| 108*] Sa-grāma-dēvā(va)-bhāgās=tu jātaś=ch=āshṭ-ōta(tta)raṁ śataṁ(tam) || Atha sīmā-nirṇayaḥ | tū-

147 ṟupu-sīma Vṛid[dh]a-Gōdāvarī dāṭēdi bhaṁḍi-ṟēvunan=uṁḍi kro[ppu]ṁ-gāluva sīma-gānu imchika yāgnēyānaku

*Seventh Plate, Second Side*[2]

148 ..m=va[chchi Cheṟu]vāḍē sīmagānu vachchi aṁtaṭanu chāyane Māmiḍi[3]-kuṁṭa tūṟupunaṁ-gānu tō

149 [ṁṭa]la tūṟupu-kara sīmagānu paḍuva-nui (yi) mōchanu adi [āgnē]ya sīma | dakshiṇa-di-[kku]ku [paḍu-]

150 maṭa Bhīmavarapu-pāṭi upu[ṁ]gāli sīma [|*] aṁdun=uṁḍi uttarānaku veḷi Vāyavū(vyā)-nanu [a]-

151 vuṟu-bāḍe- puṁtan=uṁḍi īśāṁ[4]nyānaku veḷanu mūṁḍu-vaṁkalanu mana

152 ūri mālapalli paḍumaṭi pedda-rāvi sīma [|*] aṁdun=uṁḍi īśāṁnya[4] tīrānaku

153 veḷi vaṁgala-kāli dakshiṇapu pedda-chiṁtan=uṁḍi īśānya tīrānanu

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[1] The *anusvāra* is engraved above the line.

[2] The writing on the plate especially from line 150 onwards is very indifferently engraved, probably by a different scribe.

[3] The letter *ḍi* is written below the line.

[4] The *anusvāra* is redundant.

154 vaṁgala-kāli dāṁṭī Śirupalle-tōṁṭa tūṟpu-kara sīma-gānu Vṛiddha-Gau-
155 tami dāṁṭi īśāṁ[1]nya tīrānaku veḷi Śirupalle-tōṁṭa dakshiṇapu-kara-mīṁdi rā-
156 vi sīma-gānu tīrānanu īśāṁny[1]ānanu Ōlēṭi-kāluva-gaṭṭu-mīṁdi[2] rāvi-nuṁḍi ā-tīrā-
157 nanē Ōlēṭi-uttarapu-gaṭṭu sīma-gānu mūṁḍ-ūḷa-muttala-Māṁgāpu puṁta
158 mōpukoni dakshiṇānanu Vṛiddha-Guatami mōvanu || ivi sīma-saṁdhulu [||*]
159 Prōlānēni vrālu[ ||*]

[1] The *anusvāra* is redundant.

[2] The letter *di* is written below the lines.

TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE I



(from a Photograph)

# No. 31—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL

*(2 Plates)*

H. K. Narasimhaswami and K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

The two epigraphs edited below come from the villages **Rāmanāthapuram** and **Perumbuḷḷi** in the Dindigul Taluk of the Madurai District, Madras. Rāmanāthapuram is about 6 miles due east of Dindigul, a railway station on the Tiruchirapalli-Madurai line of the Southern Railway and Perumbuḷḷi is about 9 miles due north east of Rāmanāthapuram. The Rāmanāthapuram record was copied as early as the year 1905[1] and the Perumbuḷḷi inscription, recently during the collection tour in February 1956.[2] Both the epigraphs are engraved on boulders which show on their engraved faces clear signs of having been dressed for the purpose. The Rāmanāthapuram record with bold deep-cut characters is remarkably well preserved while the Perumbuḷḷi epigraph which is comparatively less deeply engraved and is on the flat top of a boulder is exposed to the effects of the weather, which has resulted in some damage to the writing in certain crucial passages of the text. Nevertheless, the main theme of the record can be substantially reconstructed. The two epigraphs together furnish certain interesting details which help us to understand some important chronological sequences in the early Pāṇḍyan history that were hitherto only conjectured. Both the epigraphs are written in simple chaste **Tamil**, a feature that is characteristic of the early lithic records of this dynasty. Palaeographically both the epigraphs may be assigned to about the middle of the 9th century. However, a close comparison of their alphabet would show that the Rāmanāthapuram inscription could be assigned to a period at least about three decades earlier than the Perumbuḷḷi record. This, it will be seen, conforms perfectly with the conclusions arrived at in the sequel.

The Rāmanāthapuram inscription consists of 11 lines which occupy a rectangular space 3′-4″ × 2′-1″ of the boulder. Crude sketches of a fish, a bow and a lamp-stand are engraved on the proper right side of the inscription while on the proper left only a lamp-stand is depicted opposite the one on the right side. The fish is no doubt the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas. The bow by its side, the emblem of the Chēras, apparently signifies the Pāṇḍya overlordship over the Chēras.

As for its contents, the epigraph records that Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṉ *alias* Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ who accompanied king Māṟaṉ-Jaḍaiyaṉ on an expedition to Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country, constructed a tank called Puḷḷaṉ-ēri after his own name, (providing it) with revetment and the main outlet. But some work having still remained over, Puḷḷa-Nakkaṉ completed it. That (*i.e.*, the main) work was done by the stone-mason Vaḍugaṉ-Kūṟṟaṉ. His son having completed the remaining work, Puḷḷa-Nakkaṉ gave the latter as *kāṇi* two pieces of land irrigated by the village tank in the two divisions of Paḷḷi-nāḍu, each sowable with a *padakku* of paddy.[3]

The Perumbuḷḷi record (in 18 lines) commences with the mention of a place by name Kuḻumbūr and of the chief Paḷḷivēḷāṉ who probably fell fighting, apparently in an encounter at this place.

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 690 of 1905.

[2] Ibid., No. 290 of 1955-56.

[3] The passage has been construed in another way also. It is said that "Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ granted to him as *kāṇi*, land in the two divisions of the Panni (for Paḷḷi)-nāḍu and *paḍakku* paddy per field watered through the channel from the headworks of this tank." *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 1090.

Paḷḷivēḷāṉ's son, Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṉ is stated to have served in the campaign at Iḍavai. The latter's son, Aṇḍavēḷāṉ Kuṟumbar-Āḍittaṉ Puḷḷa-Ṉakkaṉ served Mahārājar Kō-chChaḍaiya-Māṟar. He was associated with the king in the campaigns at Viḷiñam, Iḍavai and Tirukkuḍa-mūkku. Puḷḷa-Ṉakkan's son was Paḷḷivēḷāṉ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ whose activities are then described in greater detail. In this connection are mentioned Siṁhaḷarāja, Sāḷagrāma, a Varaguṇa-mahā-rāja who is described to have killed a huge elephant whose name appears to be Ayirāvaṇam and lastly Śennilam. Paḷḷivēḷāṉ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ is stated to have led nineteen[1] elephants to the battle field at the last mentioned place. Unfortunately the portion of the inscription describing the events connected with these places and persons is so damaged that it is difficult to make out an accurate picture of the events. The record then recounts how the king honoured Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ highly by bestowing on him gifts for his services and conferring on him the title *Kumaraṉ*. Then Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ and his son are stated to have made a gift of land to a person whose name ends with Tirumalai. The wording of the concluding part which again is badly damaged, seems to be couched somewhat on the same lines as the Rāmanāthapuram epigraph and probably contained the details of the extent of land granted to the donee.

To begin with the donor of the Perumbuḷḷi inscription and his son, it will be apparent that Paḷḷivēḷāṉ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ served with distinction Varaguṇa-mahārāja. Leaving for a later discussion the services rendered by this chief to the king, we may attempt to establish the identity of this Varaguṇa-mahārāja. Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ's father, Aṇḍavēḷāṉ Kuṟumbar-Āḍittaṉ Puḷḷa-Nakkaṉ served under Kō-Chchaḍaiya-Māṟar.[2] If the kings Kō-Chchaḍaiya-Māṟar and Varaguṇa mahārāja were related as father and son, as they indeed appear to, then Śaḍaiya-Māṟar may be identified with Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha who, according to the Sinnamanur Plates of Rājasiṁha[3] was the father of Varaguṇa II. The fact that the Viḷiñam and Kuḍamūkku campaigns of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha mentioned in this charter and those of Puḷḷa-Nakkaṉ in which he is said to have served Śaḍaiya-Māṟar in the Perumbuḷḷi record are identical establishes the identity suggested above. The Perumbuḷḷi inscription mentions, in addition, another campaign, namely that of Iḍavai. The Sinnamanur plates, it may be noted, do not mention this campaign.

The predecessor of Aṇḍavēḷāṉ was Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṉ. The Perumbuḷḷi inscription mentions him merely by his title while the Rāmanāthapuram record gives, in addition, his name as Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ. The former epigraph refers to his expedition to Iḍavai while the latter specifies that he accompanied king Māṟañ-Jaḍaiyaṉ on an expedition to Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country, obviously the same as the Iḍavai of the Perumbuḷḷi inscription. The Iḍavai campaign of Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ *alias* Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṉ with Māṟañ-Jaḍaiyaṉ was in all probability different from that of his son Puḷḷa-Nakkaṉ with Śaḍaiya-Māṟaṉ. Māṟañ-Jaḍaiyaṉ, the overlord of Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṉ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ may easily be identified with Varaguṇa (I), the father and predecessor of Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha, the grandfather of Varaguṇa II and Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ all of whom are mentioned in the Larger Sinnamanur plates.[3]

Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷān's father is referred to merely as Paḷḷivēḷāṉ. This was perhaps only his title similar to that of his son or grandson. Probably his name was Puḷḷa-Nakkaṉ, judging from that of his grandson. Paḷḷivēḷāṉ is associated with the name of Kuḷumbūr but the details

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[1] This probably indicates the number of the conventional divisions of a regiment in the army.

[2] A certain Aṇḍanāṭṭu-vēḷāṉ figures in four inscriptions of Māṟañ-Jaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja from Lālguḍi (above, Vol. XX, p. 52), Tiruveḷḷaṟai (*A. R. Ep.*, No. 84 of 1910), Tiruchirāppaḷḷi (*A. R. Ep.*, No. 413 of 1914) and Javantināthapuram (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) respectively, all of which are dated in the same year viz. 4+9th year of the Pāṇḍya king. Obviously the *vēḷāṉ* who figures in all these records in the same capacity must be one and the same person. But whether he is identical with Aṇḍavēḷāṉ Kuṟumbar-Āḍittaṉ Puḷḷa. Nakkaṉ of the Perumbuḷḷi record is not certain.

[3] *SII*, Vol. III, p. 451, ll. 20-23.

regarding his deeds here are unfortunately lost. However, the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates make up what the Perumbuḷḷi record lacks, for, they refer to Kuḷumbūr as one of the battle fields where Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha, the predecessor of Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Neḍuñ-jaḍaiyaṇ defeated the Pallava king and captured his countless huge elephants and horses.[1] It may be noted here that the mention of the battle of Kuḷumbūr in these records establishes indirectly the identity of Varaguṇa I with Jatilavarman Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates and Jaṭila, son of Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha of the Madras Museum plates.[1] We thus see that four successive Pāṇḍya kings[2] down from Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha were served successively by four successive chiefs beginning with Paḷḷivēḷāṇ. The identities established above may be conveniently set in a tabular form as shown below.—

| Sl. No. | King | Rāmanāthapuram inscription | Perumbuḷḷi inscription | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | [Māṟavarman Rājasiṁha] | .... | Paḷḷivēḷāṇ ; fought at Kuḷumbūr and fell (?) | Cf. *Kūḍāda Pallavaṇai-k Kuḷumbūruḷ tēśaḷiya enniṟanda mal-kaḷiṟum ivuḷigaḷum pāla kavarndum* of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, above, Vol. XVII, p. 301, lines 77-78. |
| 2 | Māṟañ-Jaḍaiyaṇ (Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan *alias* Varaguṇa I). | Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṇ *alias* Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ who accompanied Maṟañ Jaḍaiyaṇ in the campaign against Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country. | Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṇ who carried out the expedition against Iḍavai. | .... |
| 3 | Chaḍaiya-Māṟar [Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha] | Puḷḷa-Nakkaṇ who completed the building of a tank called Puḷḷaṇ-ēri undertaken by his father Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ (mentioned above). | Aṇḍavēḷāṇ Kurumbar-Āḍittaṇ Puḷḷa-Nakkaṇ who rendered several services to Chaḍaiya-Māṟar at Viḷiñam, Iḍavai, Tirukkuḍamūkku. | Cf. *Tēṉ-gamaḷ-poḷiṟ-Kunṟūrilum Siṅgaḷattum Viḷiñattum vāḍāda vāgai śūḍi ..Koṅgalarpoḷiṟ Kuḍamūkkiṟ = pōr-kuṟittu vand=edirnda Gaṅga-Pallava-Chōḷa-Kāliṅga-Māgadhādigaḷ....* of the Larger Sinnamanur plates (*SII*, Vol. III, p. 455.) |
| 4 | Varaguṇa-mahārājaṟ (II) | .... | Paḷḷivēḷāṇ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ, who served Varaguṇa-mahārāja, and the former's son. With reference to the former's services, Siṁhaḷarāja Sāḷagrāma, Ayirāvaṇam and Śennilam are mentioned. | Cf. accounts in *Cūlavaṁsa*, Chapters L and LI. |

To revert now to the donor Paḷḷivēḷāṇ Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ and his overlord, Varaguṇa-mahārāja, we have already noted that the king conferred a status befitting the chief in appreciation of the services that he rendered his liege. The very first act that Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ did seems to have something to do with a Siṁhaḷarāja. The nature of this act is unfortunately not clear as the

[1] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.

[2] The pedigree of the Pāṇḍya kings as made out by the two inscriptions proves the correctness of the scheme suggested by Prof. Sastri in his *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 40 ff.

writing on the rock here has peeled off.[1] However, the events of the period as could be gleaned from the Ceylonese Chronicle and the contemporary sources enable us to have a fair idea of the relationship that must have prevailed between the Pāṇḍya, Simhaḷa and the Pallava kings of the period and therefore of the nature of Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ's act in question. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cūlavaṁsa*[2] while re-counting the contemporary events says that as a reprisal to the Pāṇḍya king's invasion and plunder of Ceylon during the reign of Sēna I and in response to an appeal from 'a prince of the Pāṇḍu family'[3] reported to have been ill-treated by the reigning king, Sēna II sent a commander with enormous forces, who not only recaptured all the treasures but also enthroned the prince after defeating the Pāṇḍya king who died of the wound received in the battle. The above account has been construed by scholars in different ways. One view holds that the Pāṇḍu prince referred to in the Chronicle was Ugra Pāṇḍya and that Varaguṇa II was the ruling king.[4] Another view identifies the Pāṇḍu prince with Māyā-Pāṇḍya and the ruling king with Śrīmāra-Śrīvallabha.[5] There is also a view, recently expressed, which identifies the Pāṇḍu prince with Varaguṇa II himself and the contemporary Pāṇḍya king with Varaguṇa's father Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha.[6] Yet another view presupposes the existence of a prince otherwise unknown, who was installed on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Siṁhaḷa king after the latter defeated Śrīmāra.[7] The wording of the record, mutilated as it is, in respect of the relationship that prevailed between the Pāṇḍya and the Siṁhaḷa kings,[8] seems to lend support to the late Mr. Venkayya's view that it might have been Varaguṇa II who sought and obtained the Siṁhaḷa king's help.[9] However, the inscription does not give us any clue as to the circumstances that necessitated Varaguṇa to seek the help of the Siṁhaḷa king, if ever he did so. He was no pretender to the Pāṇḍya throne but was its legitimate heir, being the elder of the two sons of his father and predecessor Śrīmāra ; nor is there any indication in the copper-plate charters or lithic records of the family that there was ever a dissension either between the father and the sons or among the brothers themselves, to postulate that the aggrieved prince who sought the help of the Siṁhaḷa to regain his throne might have been Varaguṇa. We are not in a position to visualise a situation when Varaguṇa, the legal heir to the Pāṇḍya throne was overlooked and ill-treated by the king and therefore sought the help of his father's erstwhile enemy to regain his throne.[10] Who then was the Pāṇḍya prince who was supported by the Siṁhaḷa king ? What was Varaguṇa's position with reference to the

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[1] The actual wording of the text as can be made out on the stone reads, *Simhaḷa-rāja . . . [lai] ellāñ=je[ydu]* (l. 7-8). This, put in apposition with the phrase *paṇi-palavuñ-jeydu* (ll. 11-12) points to both these acts as those of Nakkam-Puḷḷaṉ, the one in respect of the Siṁhaḷa king and the other in respect of his liege Varaguṇa-mahārāja. Were the former also a friendly act like the latter, the relationship between the Siṁhaḷa and the Pāṇḍya monarchs could not obviously have been otherwise than friendly. But the improbability of this has been shown below by a discussion of the events of the period.

[2] *Cūlavaṁsa*, Chapters L and LI, Gieger's translation, pp. 138 ff.

[3] The expression *Pāṇḍurājakumārakō* in the text of the Chronicle is capable of yielding the meaning 'a prince of the Pāṇḍu royal family' or 'a son of the Pāṇḍu king'.

[4] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp. 140-41. This view does not fit in with any scheme of the Ceylonese Chronology proposed so far.

[5] *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 72, The author has since changed his views for reasons not stated. He makes Varaguṇa II, a pretender to the throne for which there is no warrant ; vide *History of India*, Part I, p. 233 ; *History of South India*, p. 154.

[6] This view has failed to take into account the statement in the *Cūlavaṁsa* that the prince who was supported by the Ceylonese was ill-treated by the Pāṇḍya king. There is no evidence whatsoever that Varaguṇa was ever ill-treated by his father, the ruling king. All these views were expressed by Mr. Venkayya ; *A. R. Ep.* 1908, p. 56 ; cf. *Ey. Zeyl.*, Vol. V, pp. 103-5.

[7] *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, pp. xxxv-xxxviii (see also p. xxxxiii, f.n.1).

[8] See note 1 above.

[9] *A.R. Ep.*, 1908, p. 56.

[10] *Cūlavaṁsa* (Geiger), Part I, p. 150.

contemporary rulers ? That Varaguṇa was a contemporary of Nṛipatuṅga is proved by the Tiruvadi inscription[1] dated in the 18th year of the reign of the Pallava king. The Bahur Plates[2] dated in the 8th year of Nṛipatuṅga refer to the aid rendered by the Pallava king to a Pāṇḍya. The passage *yat-prasādāj=jitā sēnā Pāṇḍyēna samarē purā* of the record suggests that the Pāṇḍya could have been no other than the one who figures in the Tiruvadi inscription, i.e. Varaguṇa II and that the Pallava by whose favour the other (i.e. Pāṇḍya) obtained an army formerly was his ally.[3] What could have been the occasion for the Pallava to have gone to the aid of the Pāṇḍya ? In all probability it was the occasion of the Ceylonese intrusion on behalf of the 'ill-treated' Pāṇḍu prince who sought their aid. Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ claims to have led a contingent of elephants to Śeṇṇilam to the succour of his liege Varaguṇa-mahārāja. The record is silent about the source of this reinforcement. Could it have been the favour of the Pallava ? Granting that the arguments advanced above are admissible, the event that appears to have culminated in Varaguṇa-mahārāja regaining his throne may be reconstructed thus : an unknown Pāṇḍya prince, obviously a pretender appealed to the Siṁhaḷa king Sēna II for help ; the Singhalese army, under its commander met the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra in battle, wounded him and having set up the Pāṇḍu prince on the throne, was marching back to its country. At this juncture Varaguṇa-mahārāja, the legitimate heir, aided by Pallava Nṛipatuṅga with a contingent of elephants led by Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ, routed the pretender as well as the Singhalese[4] and regained the throne. It appears thus that this might be the event recorded in the Perumbuḷḷi epigraph and therefore the act of Nakkam-Puḷḷaṇ towards the Siṁhaḷarāja in the context of the situation discussed could hardly have been friendly. Indeed it could not have been otherwise in view of the continued loyal relationship that existed between the members of this family and the Pāṇḍya kings for four generations.

Among the places mentioned in the records viz. Kuḷumbūr, Iḍavai, Viḷiñam, Tirukkuḍamūkku, Śāḷagrāmam, Śeṇṇilam, and Paḷḷi-nāḍu, the identity of Kuḷumbūr or Śeṇṇilam is still unknown. Śeṇṇilam is one of the places where the Pāṇḍyas are known to have fought with their foes on more than one occasion. Māṟavarmaṇ, the father of Kō-chChaḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīraṇ fought here against an unnamed enemy.[5] Parāntakaṇ Vīra Nārāyaṇaṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ, the successor of Varaguṇa II is also known to have shown his prowess in archery in the battle-field of Śeṇṇilam.[6]

As for Iḍavai two different identifications have been proposed so far. One of them identifies the place with Iḍavai in Maṇṇi-nāḍu on the basis of an inscription of a later date which gives also the other name of the village as Śōḻāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[7] The other identifies it with Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam in the Lalgudi Taluk, Tiruchirapalli District on the basis of nearly contemporary inscriptions copied from the region.[8] Both the identifications have got their own merits

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[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, No. 71 ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1922, p. 1071.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 10 ff ; *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 513 ff.

[3] The absence of any records of Nṛipatuṅga dated between his 26th (above, Vol. IV, p. 180 f.) and 41st (*A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. 138) regnal years, the provenance of Aparājita's inscriptions ranging upto his 18th regnal year within parts of the Chingleput and the Chittoor Districts, and Varaguṇa's encounter with Aparājita at Śrīpurambiyam, and the uncertainty of the latter's relationship with the members of the main line, all these factors seem to point to Varaguṇa's sustained friendship with Nṛipatuṅga.

[4] It is natural that the *Cūlavaṁsa* keeps silent over the reverses of its armies on this occasion as well as over the fate of the Pāṇḍu prince. Could the former be Ugra-pāṇḍya ?

[5] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, line 56.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 455, ll. 117-118.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, 1941, No. 42 See *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 57.

[8] Above, XXVIII, p. 41.

and drawbacks. There are numerous places called Iḍayātti, Iḍayāttimaṅgalam, Iḍaiyāttūr, Iḍaiyār in Tanjore District and Iḍaiyār and Iḍaiyāttaṅkuḍi in Tiruchirappalli District, all of which are situated along the border land lying between the traditional (sometimes shifting) frontiers of the Çhōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries. Until all these places are explored, it is very difficult to locate Iḍavai beyond doubt for, the names of each one of these villages can be shortened to the identical form of Iḍavai. Viḷiñam has been identified with a fishing village of the same name in South Travancore.[1] Tirukkuḍamūkku is the well-known name of Kumbakōṇam in Tanjore District. The epithet Aṇḍavēḷāṇ applied to Puḷḷa-Nakkaṇ is evidently a shortened form of Aṇḍanāṭṭu-vēḷāṇ and means the vēḷāṇ of Aṇḍa-nāḍu. An idea of the spread of this territorial division may be had from inscriptions[2] copied from the area around Virupākshi, Periyakōṭṭai, Tēvattūr and Porulūr in the Palani Taluk, Madurai District which refer to these places as situated in Aṇḍa-nāḍu. Other places that are known to be included in Aṇḍa-nāḍu from inscriptions copied outside this area are Perumaṇalūr, Chellūr, Tirumāḍavaṇūr, Kuvalaiyasiṅganallūr *alias* Mēyūr Tiruppattūr, Perumūr and Tirutturutti.[2]

Sāḷagrāmam may be identified with Sālaigrāmam of the Paramagudi Taluk in Ramanathapuram District in view of the fact that this village lies on the route which an army from Ceylon would have to take on its march towards or retreat from the Pāṇḍya capital. It may be noted here that the god of the place is called Varaguṇa-Īśvara in the inscriptions of Śaḍaiya Māṟaṇ and Vīra-Pāṇḍya.[3] The village is called Sāḷaigrāmam in those inscriptions.

The Rāmanāthapuram inscription records that the gift lands lay in the two divisions (*kūṟṟu*) of Paḷḷi-nāḍu. The village Perumbuḷḷi, referred to as Perumbaḷḷi in another inscription[4] on a rock lying on the bund of a large lake at the outskirts of the village perhaps lent the name Paḷḷi-nāḍu to the tract around it.

## Rāmanāthapuram Inscription

### TEXT

1 Śrī **Kō Māṟaṅ-Jaḍaiyaṇoḍu** Śōḷa-nāṭṭ-Iḍavai yāt-

2 tirai śeyda Parāntaka-Ppaḷḷivēḷāṇ=āïṇa Nak-

3 kam-Puḷḷaṇ=ṟaṇ-pērāṟ=Puḷḷaṇ-ēri eṇṟu

4 kuḷam-ākki=kkaṟ-kōdi=kkumuḷi śeyvittu=kkuṟai-

5 ppaṇi niṇṟadu muṟṟu=ppeṟuttāṇ Puḷḷa-Na-

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[1] S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 130, note 7 and p. 450.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1916, Nos. 678, 400; 1907, No. 95; above, XXV, p. 40; *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, Nos. 502 and 507.

[3] Above, XXVIII, pp. 85 ff. As one of the two inscriptions refers to a former grant of Sāḷaigrāmam to god Varaguṇīśvara by Perumānaḍigaḷ Śīvalluvadēvar. i.e. Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, it is rightly inferred that the god was named after Varaguṇa I, the father of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha.

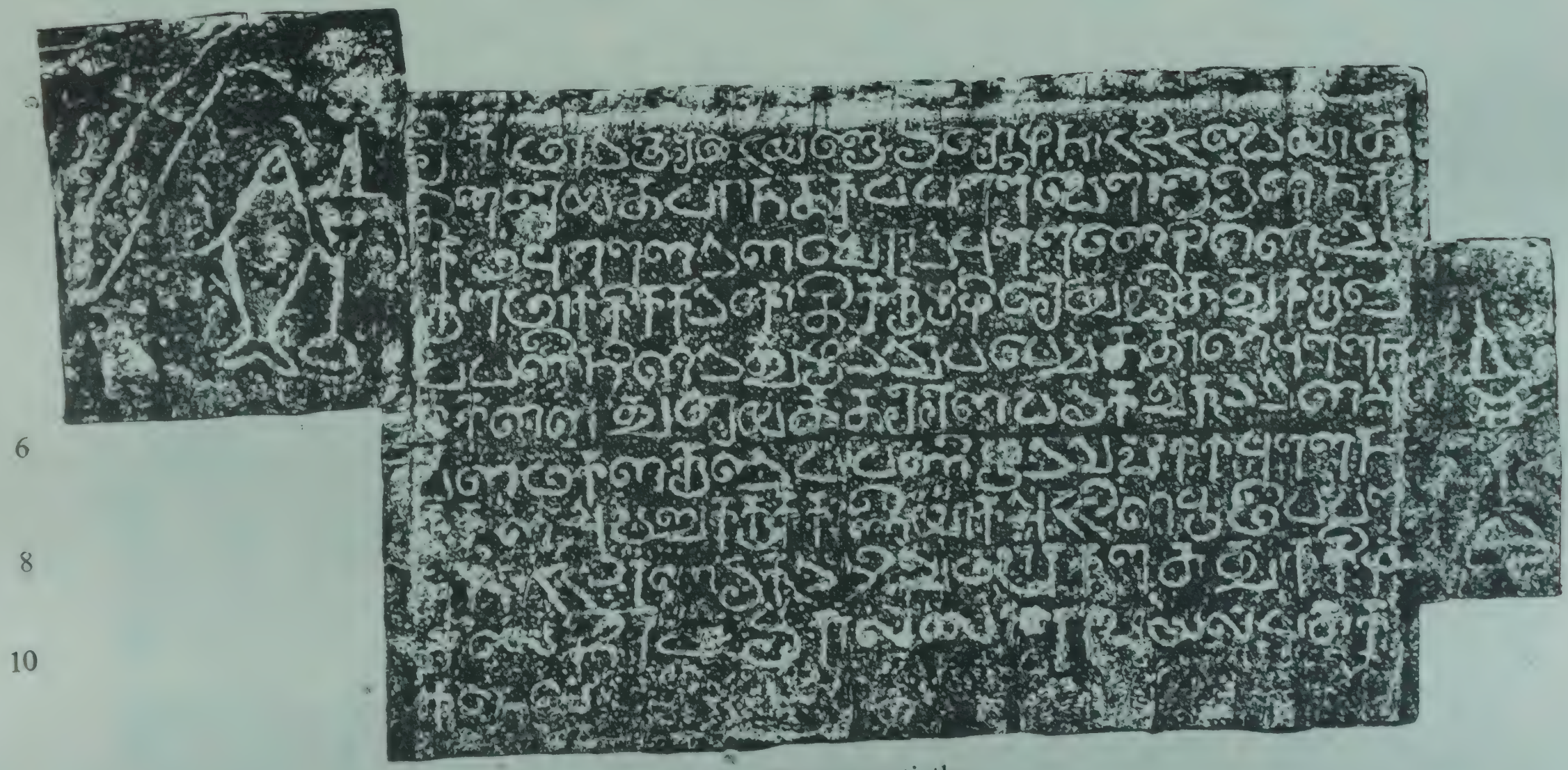
[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, App. B, No. 144. The inscription engraved in characters of the 9th or 10th century reads :—

[1] Perumbaḷḷi-pperuṅguḷan-tiḍal

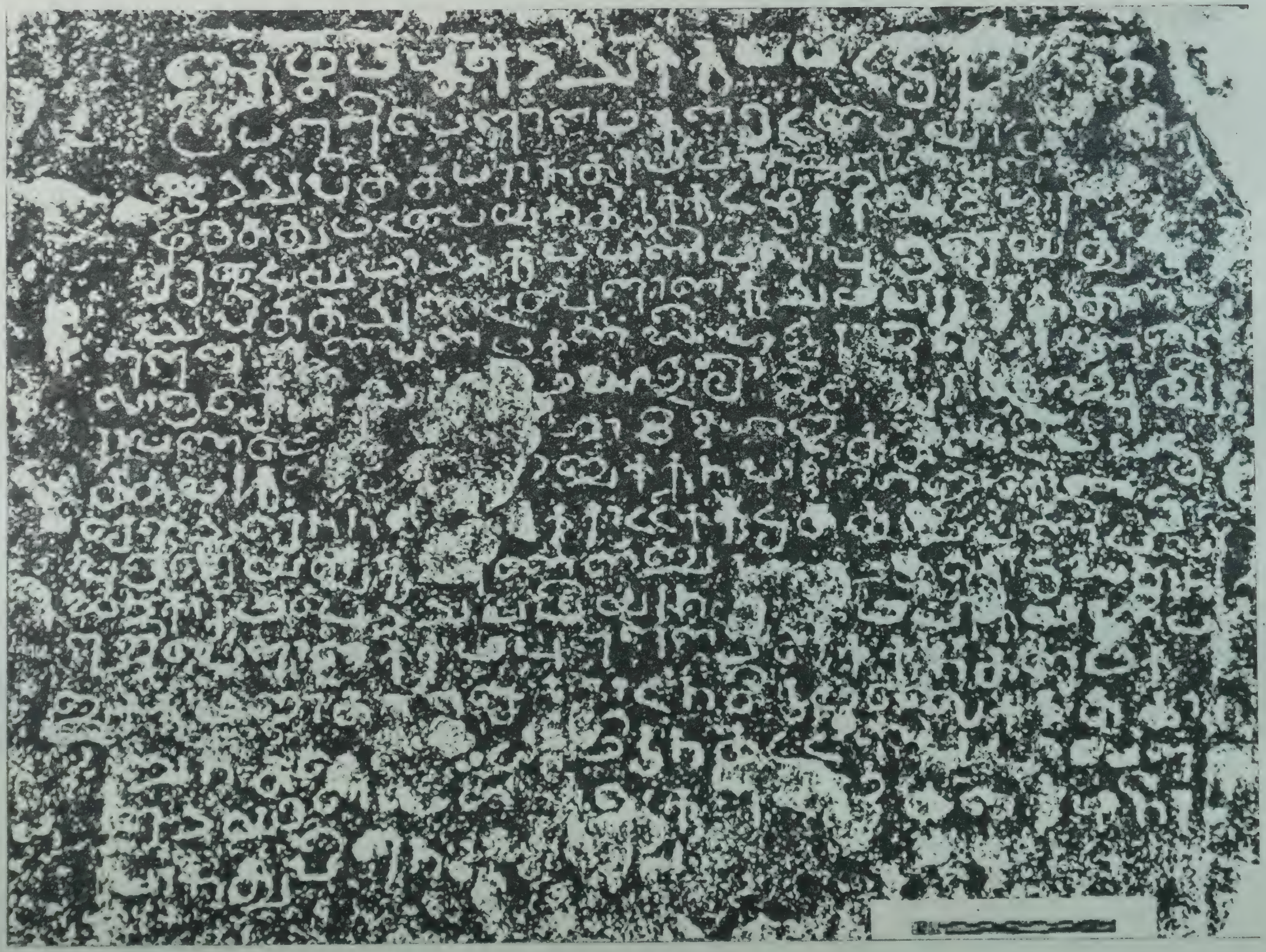
[2] yāḷgal.urṟu . . Vīraśēkharar po . . .

# TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DINDIGUL—PLATE II

## RAMANATHAPURAM INSCRIPTION



Scale : Three-twentieths



Scale: Seven-ninths

6 kkaṉṉa(ṇa)du śeyda tachchaṉ Vaḍugaṅ-Kūṟṟaṉ [|*] a-

7 vaṉ magaṉ kuṟai-ppaṇi muṟṟuvikka Puḷḷa-Na-

8 kkaṉ avaṉukku=kkāṇiy=āga aṭṭiṉa būmi-Ppa(Pa)ḷ-

9 ḷi-nāṭṭ=iraṇḍu kūṟṟilum ūr-kū(ku)ḷattu-kkīḻ-

10 talai-nīr-pāḍu-kāll-orō-vayal padak-

11 ku nel [||*]

## Perumbuḷḷi Inscription

### TEXT

1 Śrī[1] [|*] Kuḻumbūr=ēṟṟukku=ppaṭṭu=kkā . . ta

2 Paḷḷivēḷāṉ magaṉ Iḍavai yāt[tirai] [2]

3 muṟṟuvitta Parāntaka=Ppaḷḷivēḷāṉ=avaṉ [magaṉ Vi][2]-

4 ḷiñattum=Iḍavaiyu(yilu)n=Tirukkuḍamukkilu-mahār[ā]ja[r **Kō**][2]-

5 **Chchaḍaiya-Māṟaṟku**=ppaṇi palavuñ=jeydu [mu][2]-

6 ṟṟuvitta Aṇḍavēḷāṉ-Kuṟumbar-Ādittaṉ-[Pu]-

7 ḷḷa-Ḷa(Ṇa)[kka][2]ṉ=avaṉ magaṉ **Siṁhaḷarāja** . . ḷai e[1]-

8 lāñ=jey[du]...m **Sāḷagrāmat[tu]** . . . Ayi-

9 rāvaṇam=e[nnu=ma][2]hāmadaṁ(da) ? gajat=tīṇḍi=ppaḍu-

10 tta **Vaṟagu[ṇa mahārāja]** [2]ṇukku navā-daśa-gaja[ṁ] koṇḍu

11 śeṇṟu Śenni[lattu][2]-kkāṭṭi=kkuḍuttu=ppaṇi pala-

12 vuñ=jeydu Ku[mara]ṉ=eṉṉu[n] . . mattoḍu sanmāna-

13 saṟkāram peṟṟu=ppiyar na . . . mabāhu-[v]āṉa Pa-

14 ḷḷivēḷā-Ṇakkam-Puḷḷaṉ=ṟaṇakkun=taṉ maga-

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[1] This Grantha letter is engraved in an ornate fashion against the space at the beginning of both the lines 1 and 2.

[2] The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored. They are not clear on the impressions.

15 ṉukkum Jāta .. śe .. āḍan Tirumalaikkuḻ=ttā-

16 ṉun=ta[ṉ magaṉu[1]]m=irund=aṭṭiṉa [būmi] ve[l-]

17 laṟayi[ṉ] . . . ḍu kuḷam-idaṉ [kī][l] nīr-

18 parandu vi[la(ḷai)]nda [vayal][1]

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[1] The letters indicated in brackets are conjecturally restored.

## No. 32—RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADEVA

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

Some years ago, old impressions of a large number of Indian inscriptions were received back from Germany for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. While examining these estampages, I found amongst them two unsatisfactory impressions of a badly preserved stone inscription with 'Rajghat, Benares' written on both of them. A letter bearing the date, 23rd January 1884, was found pinned with the impressions. It was written by a gentleman of Banaras apparently to the address of the then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The two impressions were sent to the Society for study under cover of this letter. It is gathered from the letter that the inscribed stone had been in use as a *Chabūtarā* (i.e. a seat or platform) in a small house apparently in the Rājghāṭ area of Banaras and that, on the demolition of the house for the construction of the Rajghat Road, it was acquired by the writer who was ready to send the stone to Calcutta if the Secretary of the Society so desired. Unfortunately no information is available as to whether the Asiatic Society of Bengal acquired the stone and made any attempt to study the inscription either from the original or from the impressions received. I published a small note on the epigraph in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XI, Part 2, 1954, pp. 92 ff., in the hope that some information might be available as regards the whereabouts of the inscribed stone. But no light has as yet come from any quarter. In the letter referred to above, the name of the signatory looks like Hamschandra ; but it has been suggested to me that he was probably none other than the well-known Bharatendu Harischandra of Banaras.

The internal evidence of the inscription suggests that the stone was originally embedded in the wall of a Śiva temple on the bank of the Ganges in the Rājghāṭ area of Banaras. The writing covers an area about 18¼ inches in length and 8½ inches in height. There are only ten lines, the last of which covers a little less than half the length of the other lines. The letters are between ¼" and ½" in breadth and about ¾" in height.

The **characters** belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. and generally resemble those of the epigraphs of the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras and Kanauj. As will be seen from our discussions below, however, the inscription does not appear to be much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. The **language** is Sanskrit and, excepting a small *namaskāra* passage at the beginning, the whole of the inscription is written in verse. Indeed it contains a small *praśasti* in seven stanzas in different metres. The **orthography** of the record exhibits a tendency to use *anusvāra* instead of class nasals, although final *m* has often been used at the end of the first or second half of stanzas. There is **no date** in the inscription either in the Vikrama Saṁvat which was in popular use in the age and area in question or in the regnal reckoning of any ruler. The record does not mention any king by name, though the hero of the *praśasti* is stated to have been a minister of the king of the country of Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varēndra in the western and northern regions of Bengal.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the passage *Umaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow the seven stanzas of the *praśasti*.

Verse 1 introduces a person who was a member of the council of the hereditary ministers (*maul-āmātya-sabhā*) of the king of **Gauḍa**, whose name is not mentioned. The name of the officer is doubtful, but seems to be Maṅgadēva. He is further stated to have been the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (i.e. minister for war and peace) of his master. Verse 2 speaks of the said officer's son whose name was Chaṅgadēva. He is stated to have received the title 'Rāṇaka of the Kingdom' which, as the epigraph says, was very difficult to obtain. There is little doubt that, like his father, Chaṅgadēva was also a servant of the Gauḍa king who honoured him with the said title ; but the king is not even referred to in the stanza.

Verse 3 introduces Bhīmadēva who was the son of Chaṅgadēva and the hero of the *praśasti*. Like his grandfather, Bhīmadēva is described as the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the lord of the **Gauḍa** country. Verse 4 praises the military exploits and liberality of Bhīmadēva in a vague way. In the first half of the stanza, the poet says that one of the battle-fields, where Bhīmadēva destroyed his enemies' elephant force and which was bristling with arrows, narrated, as it were, the story of his valour and that, because it disliked its repetition (i.e. another battle fought on itself), it failed to appreciate fully his great prowess which was exhibited in battles elsewhere. According to the second half of the verse, in bestowing gifts to the numerous supplicants, Bhīmadēva used the waters of the rivers so profusely that those rivers completely dried up while new streams began to flow on the dry earth. The next stanza (verse 5) refers to one of his significant achievements. It is stated that he saved the kingdom of **Gauḍa-Varēndra** after it had been immersed in the waters of the ocean that was the forces of the king of the **Rāyāri** lineage and the king of **Kaliṅga.** In this connection, the condition of the Gauḍa-Varēndra kingdom, apparently under the rule of Bhīmadēva's master, is compared with that of an old vessel in the state of sinking in waters. Verse 6 refers to the object of the eulogy which is to record the construction of a temple of the god Bhava (i.e. Śiva) by Bhīmadēva on the bank of the Avimukta-nadī. The purpose of Bhīmadēva in building the temple is stated to have been to cause wonder in the minds even of his enemies. The last stanza (verse 7) says that the top of the temple was adorned with a golden jar resembling *āditya-kācha*, probably meaning the jewel called *sūryakānta*.

The inscription raises certain interesting problems. The first of these relates to the date of the record and the second to the identity of Bhīmadēva's master, i.e. the king of Gauḍa or the Gauḍa-Varēndra kingdom, whom he served as the minister for war and peace. The third problem refers to the circumstances leading to the construction of the temple at Banaras by Bhīmadēva far away from the kingdom of Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varēndra and the fourth to the invasion (probably a joint invasion) of the Gauḍa-Varēndra kingdom by the forces of a king of the Rāyāri dynasty and a king of Kaliṅga, from which Bhīmadēva claims to have saved it. The fifth problem is the identity of the two enemies of Gauḍa-Varēndra.

As to the date of the record, the palaeography does not appear to suggest a period earlier than the twelfth century. The form of the initial vowel *i* in our inscription has resemblance with the fourth stage in its final formation as illustrated by Ojha in his charts showing the development of the Dēvanāgarī and Bengali alphabets[1] as well as with its form in his illustrations from two inscriptions[2] of 1264 and 1273 A.D. respectively. R. D. Banerji traced the earliest occurrence of a somewhat similar form of *i* in the Bodhgaya inscriptions of Aśōkachalla, which belong to the thirteenth century.[3] But we know that the Gauḍa-Varēndra country in the western and northern

[1] See Ojha, *Palaeography of India* (Hindi), Plates LXXXII and LXXXIII.

[2] Ibid., Plate XXVII.

[3] *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 89. The letter as found in these inscriptions (above, Vol. XII, Plates between pp. 28 and 29) appears to be somewhat more developed than its form in the inscription under study. As regards the development of the Bengali form of the letter *i*, see also lines 8 and 31 of the Madanpara plate of Viśvarūpasēna (*JAS*, Letters, Vol. XX, 1954, Plate between pp. 216 and 217).

areas of Bengal was conquered by the Turkish Musalmans about the beginning of the thirteenth century while it appears that the Gauḍa-Varēndra ruler served by Bhīmadēva and his father and grandfather belonged to an indigenous royal family flourishing in the area in question before the Muslim conquest. It is extremely doubtful if the Muslim conquerors of the country thought it wise to appoint ministers from among the newly conquered people shortly after their conquest. Moreover the Muslim conquerors of India would have scarcely tolerated the construction of a Śiva temple by their servant, which is stated to have been built to inspire wonder and admiration in the minds of Bhīmadēva's enemies. It may of course be suggested that the names of the masters of Bhīmadēva and his ancestors have not been mentioned in the inscription because they were servants of foreign rulers. But the above considerations lead us to think that the record was engraved before the Muslim conquest of Eastern India though probably not much earlier than the middle of the twelfth century.

The second and third problems are very difficult to tackle. For the middle of the twelfth century, the description ' lord of Gauḍa (or Gauḍa-Varēndra)' seems to suit the ruler of the Pāla dynasty. The Pālas originally held sway over the major part of Bengal and Bihar and they are known to have enjoyed the title *Gauḍēśvara*. With the establishment of the Varman dynasty at Vikramapura in the present Dacca District in the latter half of the eleventh century South-eastern Bengal (called Vaṅga) was permanently lost to the Pāla empire and, shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, Vijayasēna, founder of the Sēna dynasty of Rāḍha in South-East Bengal, occupied practically the whole of Bengal including its western and northern parts. Henceforth Pāla rule was confined to the southern areas of Bihar. The Pāla king Madanapāla was ousted from Gauḍa-Varēndra (i.e. the western and northern regions of Bengal) shortly after the date of his Manahali plate issued from Rāmāvatī (a city probably situated near modern Gaur in the Malda District) in the king's eighth regnal year corresponding to c. 1151 A.D.[1] But the Pāla kings were called *Gauḍēśvara* even when Gauḍa no longer formed a part of their dominions.[2] Madanapāla ruled in the period c. 1144-62 A.D. and is known to have recovered the western part of Bihar which had been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (1115-55 A.D.) who had his capital at the city of Banaras.[3] The Patna-Monghyr region was under Gāhaḍavāla occupation from about 1124 to 1146 A.D. but appears to have been reoccupied by Madanapāla about 1146 A.D. It is not impossible that the Pāla king Madanapāla, who had some success against the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras, was Bhīmadēva's master. Bhīmadēva's presence at Banaras may thus relate to a temporary occupation of Banaras by the Pāla king. Unfortunately there is no indication in the record of Pāla success against the king of the Banaras region. But the reference to the enemies may suggest that Bhīmadēva did not visit Banaras in a private capacity on pilgrimage or was not settled at the holy place after retirement.

In connection with the construction of the Śiva temple at Banaras by Bhīmadēva, minister of the king of Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varēndra, we have also to think of the possibility of the work being done by him without visiting the place. We have instances of kings and queens making grants in favour of distant temples, far away from their dominions in some cases, without moving from their capital and of even ordinary people securing the merit of pilgrimage to holy places through proxies without personally visiting them.[4] It was therefore not altogether impossible for Bhīmadēva to have

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[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 207-08.

[2] See *JBRS*, Vol. XLI, Part 2, 1955, pp. 1 ff.

[3] *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 29 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

[4] See above, Vol. XXX, p. 22 and note ; Vol. XXXI, p. 101 and note 8. For ordinary people performing pilgrimages to distant holy places by proxy, see P. Sreenivasachar, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telingana Districts*, Nos. 50-51 (pp. 142, 152).

built a temple at the great *tīrtha* of Banaras without himself visiting the place. Since Bhīmadēva's presence at Banaras is not easily explainable in the present state of insufficient information, this is probably a better solution of the problem. The absence of any mention of the king of Gauḍa in the inscription may go in support of this alternative. The want of a date in the Vikrama Saṁvat may suggest that the record was drafted in the home province of Bhīmadēva and that of one in the regnal reckoning of Bhīmadēva's master may have been due to the fact that the document was meant for an area which was outside his dominions although the latter system of dating was popular in Eastern India in the early medieval period.

The fourth and fifth problems are also difficult to solve. In the first half of the twelfth century A.D. the mighty Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) extended his dominions up to the river Hooghly and he is also stated to have been a friend of the Sēna king Vijayasēna who sometime afterwards overthrew Pāla rule from the western and northern parts of Bengal.[1] Thus he may have come into hostile contact with the Pālas. But it has to be admitted that there is no reference to war between Chōḍagaṅga and his Pāla contemporary in the records of the Gaṅgas. The allusion to the invasion of the Gauḍa-Varēndra country by the king of Kaliṅga no doubt reminds us of the claim of Gaṅga Narasiṁha I (c. 1238-65 A.D.) to have defeated the Yavanas (Musalmans) of Rāḍhā and Varēndrī and the account, in Minhāj-uddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, of the invasion of Lakhanavatī (the capital of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal comprising Rāl, i.e. Rāḍha, and Barind, i.e. Varēndra or Varēndrī), situated near modern Gaur in the Malda District, by the forces of the Rāī of Jājnagar (i.e. Gaṅga Narasiṁha I) on the 13th of the month of Shawāl in the Hijrī year 642, corresponding to the 14th March 1245 A.D., under Sāmantarāya, the general and son-in-law of the Gaṅga monarch.[2] But it is difficult to think that Bhīmadēva was a servant of Malik Tughril Tughān Khān (1236-45 A.D.) of Bengal as in that case it will have to be believed that his grandfather was appointed as minister for war and peace by the Muslims almost immediately after the establishment of the Muslim kingdom in Bengal. The reference to the council of the hereditary ministers of the Gauḍa king of which Bhīmadēva's grandfather was a member seems to suggest a long-standing kingdom and possibly not a newly founded one.

The identification of the king of the Rāyāri dynasty is equally uncertain. The only person named Rāyāri known to the student of East Indian history is of course king Rāyāridēva Trailōkyasiṁha who was the grandfather of Vallabhadēva Śrīvallabha of an inscription of Śaka 1107 (1185 A.D.).[3] Whether the expression *Rāyāri-vaṁśa-naranātha* indicates Rāyāridēva's son Udayakarṇa Niḥśaṅkasiṁha cannot be determined, although the inscription referred to above describes Rāyāridēva, son of Bhāskaradēva, as *Bhāskara-vaṁśa-rāja-tilaka*. The inscription, however, does not refer to any struggle of Udayakarṇa Niḥśaṅkasiṁha with the king of Gauḍa, though his father Rāyāridēva Trailōkyasiṁha is stated to have come into conflict with the forces of the Vaṅga country. This dynasty probably ruled over the Sylhet region between Bengal and Assam.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Gauḍa or Gauḍa-Varēndra and Avimukta-nadī. Varēndra or Varēndrī (Barind of the Muslim writers) was the name of North Bengal. The earliest reference to Varēndra or Varēndrī-maṇḍala is found in Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita*[4] composed about the end of the eleventh century. But Gauḍa is an ancient

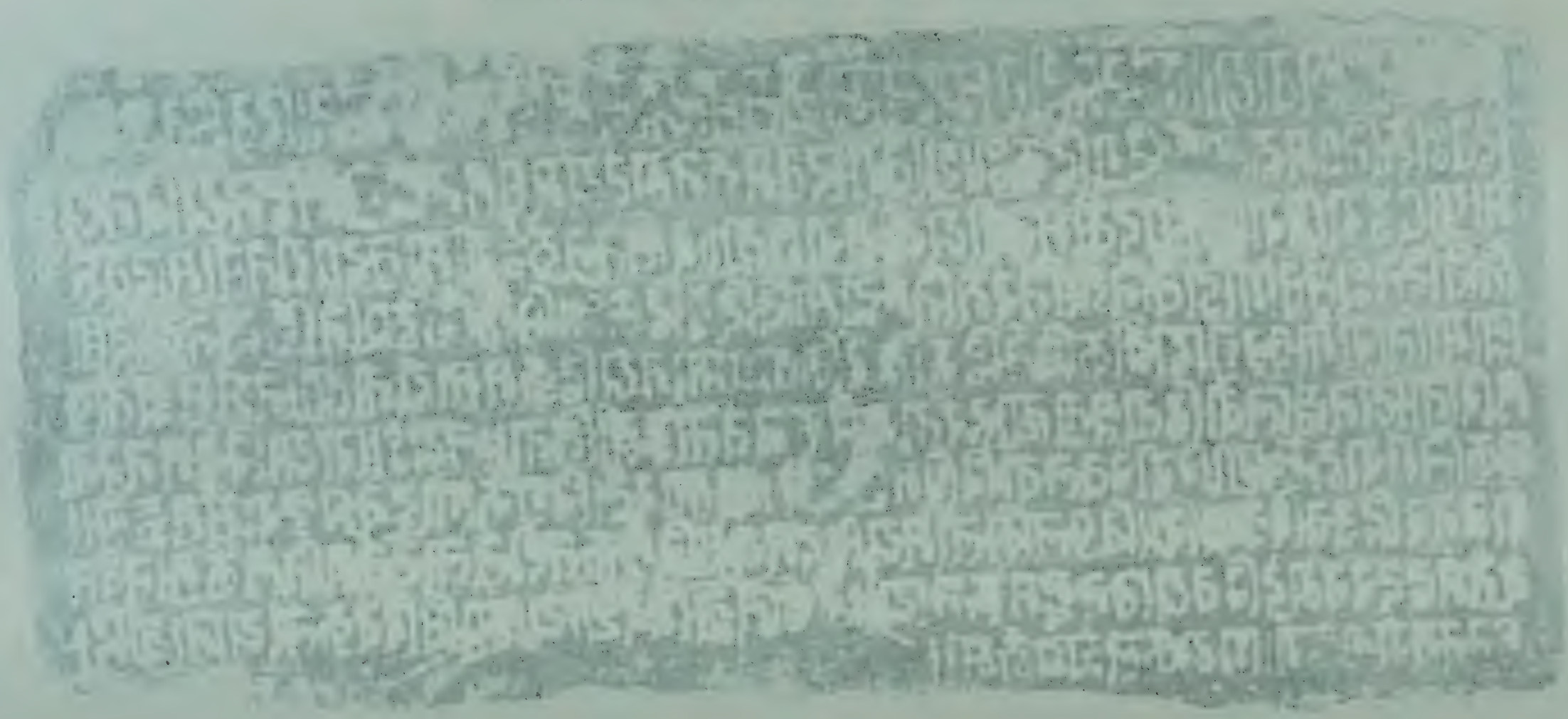
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[1] *JBRS*, Vol. XL, Part 2, 1954, p. 94.

[2] See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 110-11. Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 480; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. II, pp. 48 ff.

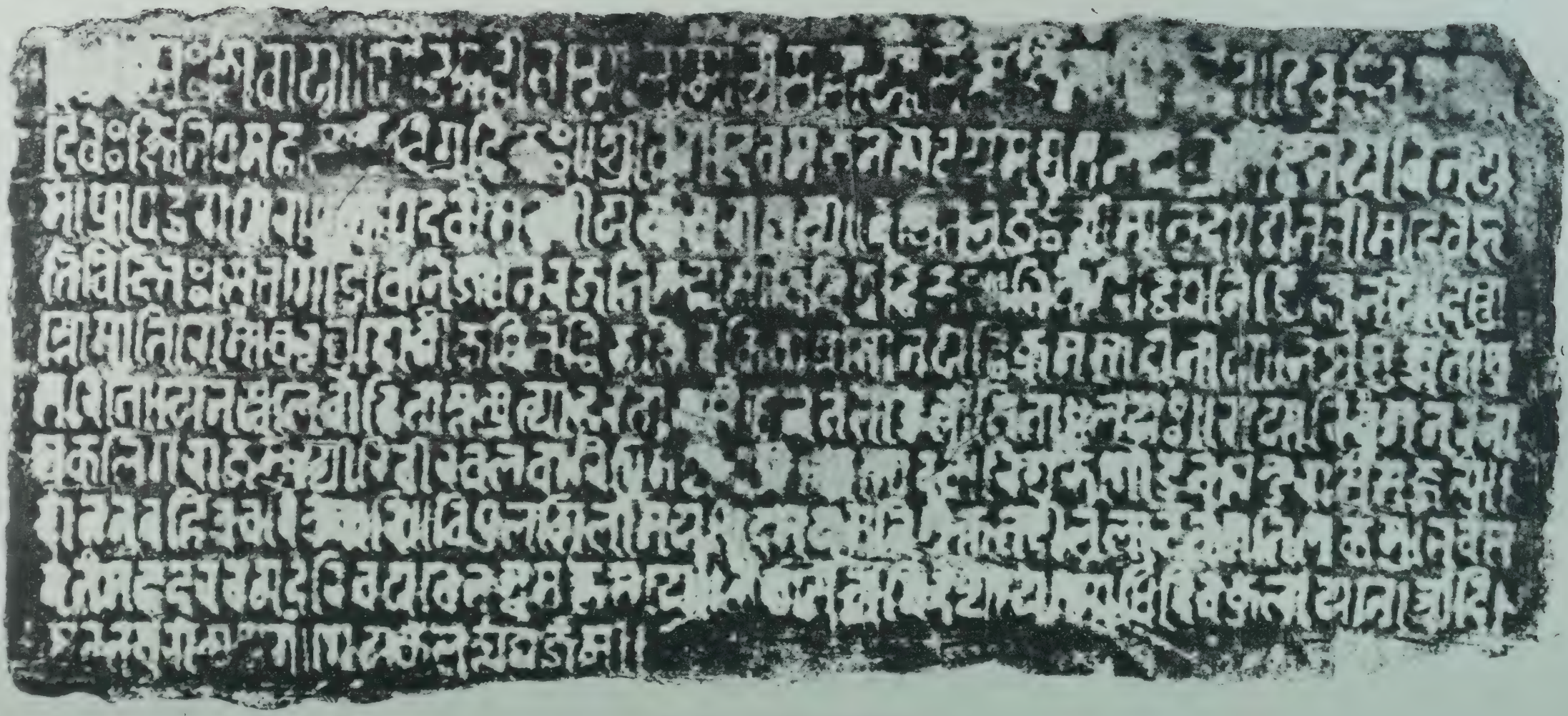
[3] Above, Vol. V, pp. 181 ff.

[4] See I, 30; III, 29; IV, 2; *Kavipraśasti*, verse 1.



(from a Photograph)

# RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADEVA



(from a Photograph)

name used to indicate not only a city and the country around it but also East India in general.[1] In our inscription, it is used in the sense of a territory in the western areas of Bengal. Gauḍa was originally the name of the land between the Padmā and Burdwan. Generally speaking therefore Gauḍa and Rāḍha (Rāl of the Muslim writers) were identical although the latter was originally the name of the land on both the banks of the river Ajay in South-West Bengal. This land as well as its chief city was often also called Rāḍhā. Avimukta was a well-known holy place in the city of Banaras.[2] It was apparently the name of the Rājghāṭ region of Banaras and the Avimukta-nadī was no doubt the Ganges at Rājghāṭ.

## TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 6 *Āryā* ; verse 2 *Gīti* ; verse 4 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 5 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 7 *Anushṭubh.*]

1 [Siddham][4] [|*] [na]maḥ Śivāya || **Gauḍa**-mahībhṛin-maul-āmātya-sa[bhā]yāṁ saṁ[bhā]-
jí[t-ārir=abhūt] | dēva iva[Maṁga[5]]- [ |[6] ]

2 dēvaḥ kshitipa-mahāsāṁdhivigrahikaḥ || [1*] Śrī-Chaṁga[7]dēvam=ajana[ya]d=ayam=atha
tanayaṁ pra[si]ddha-naya-vinaya-

3 m | prāpa durāpāṁ Rā[ṇa]ka-padavīm=a[laghī]yasīṁ sa rā[jya]sya || [2*] [Tasya] tanūjaḥ
śrīmān=udapadyata Bhīmadēva i-

4 ti viditaḥ | sa cha **Gauḍ**-āvanijānēr=ajani mahāsā[ṁ]dhivigrahikaḥ || [3*] Bhinn-āri-dvipa-
nirjji[t=ā]nayad=ishu- |[8]

5 stōm-āti-rōmāṁcha-bhṛid-yuddh-ōrv[v]ī kathitaṁ dvir-ukti-chakitā prāptā na yad-vikramam
| dānāy=āniśam=ujjhu(jjhi)t-āṁvu(bu)-

6 saritō yēna sthalē vāhitās=tat=pratyāharatā [sa]ri[t]-ku[la]-talā[d=u]llāsitā dhūlayaḥ
|| [4*] **Rāyāri**-vaṁśa-naranā-

7 tha-**Kali**[ṁ*]**ga**-rāja-mukhy-āri-vīra-va(ba)la-vāridhi-madhya-[guptaṁ(ptam)[9]] | [yē]n=ōda-
dhāri guru-**Gauḍa**-**Varēn**[**dra**][10]-rājya[ṁ] majjat-pu-||[11]

8 rātana-vahitra-chari[tra-chā]ri || [5*] Vipula-śilāmaya[m] idam=ayam=Avimukta-[na]dī[12]-
lalāṭa-tala-tilakam | Bhava-[bha]-

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[1] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 123 ff.

[2] Often it is identified with Banaras. For this holy place, see the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chapters 181-85. Excavations at Rājghāṭ have yielded seals of the Śiva temple at Avimukta with such legends as *Avimukta*, *Avimuktēśvara*, *Avimuktēśvarasya* and *Avimuktabhaṭṭāraka*. Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, pp. 170 ff.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] Originally I was inclined to read this name differently. But the most probable reading of the damaged letters now appears to me to be *maṁga*. The first letter does not appear to be *ga*.

[6] These *daṇḍas*, which were incised to cover up a little space at the end of the line, are unnecessary.

[7] Originally I was inclined to read the name as *Vaṁga* ; but the first letter looks more like *ch* than *v*.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is redundant (cf. note 6 above).

[9] The reading may also be *luptaṁ*.

[10] The reading is possibly not *narēndra*.

[11] These superfluous *daṇḍas* have a cancellation mark (cf. note 6 above).

[12] The reading may possibly also be *taṭī* meaning 'the bank of a river'.

9 [valnaṁ mahad=arachayad=ari-chaya-chētaś-chamatkṛitay-ē ‖ [6*] [Sarva]-sēvya[m]=idaṁ nyāya[tō]=dhi-dēvakulāyatē | Ādi- |[1]

10 tva-[kā]cha-[pra]tyaya-gāṁgēya-kalaśa-dhvajam ‖ [7*]

[1] This unnecessary *danda* bears a cancellation mark (cf. p. 281, note [1] above).

## No. 33—HOWRAGHAT PLATES OF BALAVARMAN III OF KAMARUPA, YEAR 5

*(2 Plates)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

About the middle of September 1956, I received a circular issued by the Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam on the discovery of a new copper-plate grant of king Balavarman of the Mlēchchha or Sālastambha dynasty of Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyōtisha. The inscription was originally in the possession of Mr. Prakash Chandra Acharya of Uttar Barbil, Howraghat, Mikir Hills, from whom it was secured by Mr. Ganesh Chandra Phukan, Deputy Commissioner, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills, through a gentleman named M. M. Chakravarti. The Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies of the Government of Assam obtained the plates through the courtesy of Mr. Rupnath Brahma, one of the Ministers of the Assam Cabinet. It was stated in the circular that Dr. Pratap Chandra Chaudhury, Deputy Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, was engaged in deciphering the inscription. Dr. Chaudhury has since published the inscription in the *Asam Sāhitya Sabhā Patrikā*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 187-94.

On receipt of the circular, I contacted Dr. Chaudhury and tried to secure the plates on a few weeks' loan for study. Unfortunately the attempt was a failure. My endeavour to secure a set of inked impressions of the inscription also ended equally in a failure. But, thanks to Dr. Chaudhury, in March 1957, I received from him a set of photographs of the inscribed faces of the plates together with one showing the set of the plates hanging from the ring bearing the seal. The photographs were taken after having rubbed chalk over the letters of the writing on the plates. In December 1957, I visited Gauhati. Dr. Chaudhury then kindly allowed me to prepare inked impressions of the plates.

The set consists of three copper plates each measuring about 10″ in length and 6½″ in height. They are strung on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered beneath a bronze seal, its countersunk surface being divided into two parts by a thick demarcating line. The upper one of these two parts bears the figure of an elephant to front, while the following legend in three lines occupies the space beneath the line of demarcation :—

1 Svasti śrīmān Prāgjyōtish-ādhip-ā[nva]-

2 yō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Va(Ba)-

3 [la]varmadēvaḥ [||*]

The seal closely resembles that attached to the Nowgong plates[1] of the same ruler who issued the charter under study. Similar seals are also found with the copper-plate grants of other rulers of the Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyōtisha country. Of the three plates of the set, the second bears writing on both the obverse and the reverse, the other two plates being inscribed only on the inner side. Of the four inscribed faces, the first three contain fourteen lines of writing each while the fourth contains only twelve lines. The engraving of the letters is neat and careful ; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. Some letters here and there are damaged, while most letters in the last line on the inner side of Plate I are more or less completely rubbed off.

[1] *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, Part I, 1897, pp. 285 ff., Plates XXXV–XXXVII. The seal is illustrated in Plate XXXVII. See also P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 71 ff., containing illustration of the inscription on Plate I only.

The **characters** belong to the Gauḍīya or East Indian alphabet of the ninth or tenth century A.D. As regards **palaeography, orthography, language and style,** the inscription closely resembles the Nowgong plates referred to above. With reference to palaeography, it may be pointed out that the difference between *ḍ* and *r* is slight and that the two letters are sometimes indistinguishable. The inscription employs both the Dēvanāgarī and Bengali types of *anusvāra*, the former indicated by a dot or globular mark above the consonant and the latter by a globular mark above a curved or slanting stroke placed at the right side of the consonant; but it is interesting to note that the latter has been almost invariably used only when final *m* is required by the language. This fact seems to support the suggestion[1] that the Bengali type of *anusvāra* developed out of the older sign of final *m*. In our transcript of the inscription, the Bengali type of *anusvāra* has therefore been regarded as a final *m*. Final *t* occurs many times in the inscription and final *n* thrice in lines 28, 38 and 39. *B* is indicated by the sign for *v*. Of the initial vowels, the epigraph uses *a* in lines 4, 14, 22, 25, 26, 28, 31, 44 (twice) and 48; *i* in lines 5, 12 and 15; *u* in lines 11 and 54 (twice), and *ṛi* in line 45. The sign of *avagraha* is once used unnecessarily in line 11. The *daṇḍa* used to indicate the end of the first half of a stanza and the left member of the double *daṇḍa* employed at the end of a verse have in many cases a protrusion about the middle towards the left.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The introductory part in lines 1-36 contains 25 stanzas followed by a description of the donor of the grant in prose. Lines 36-43 contain the donor's order addressed to his subordinates and others in respect of the grant made. This section is also in prose. But the following section in lines 44-52 contains a versified description of the family of the Brāhmaṇa donee and refers to the grant that was made by the king in his favour. This is followed in the concluding section of the record in lines 52-54 by a description of the boundaries of the gift land in prose. The first two of the sections, referred to above, in lines 1-36 are identical with the corresponding parts of the Nowgong plates (lines 1-33) with slight orthographical differences. Another difference is the unnecessary repetition of verse 2 in the present record. There are some passages in the first section in verse, which are undecipherable in either of the two records but can be restored in one with the help of the other. Considerable influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* is noticed in many of the stanzas. Some of the parallel passages have been quoted in the notes on the text of the epigraph.

The **orthography** of the inscription is characterised by the occasional use of the class nasal in the place of *anusvāra* (cf., however, words like *raṁjana* in line 10) and reduplication of consonants like *g*, *ṇ*, *t*, *m* and *v* in conjunction with *r*. Final *m* has often been wrongly conjoined with the following *v* and *ś* has been used for *sh* in several cases. Among other words wrongly spelt, we may notice *tasmiṁ* for *tasmin* in line 9, *chchhattraṁ* for *chhattraṁ* in line 21, *punsān* for *puṁsām* in line 28, *siṁghāsana* for *siṁhāsana* in line 29, *yajūnshi* for *yajūṁshi* in line 45, etc. As regards orthographical differences beween the Nowgong plates and the present epigraph, attention may be drawn to such expressions as *niḥsāraṁ* (line 27) and *jīvitaṁ pu°* (line 28) spelt in the other epigraph as *nissāraṁ* and *jīvitam=pu°* respectively although we have cases like *astaṁ=gatēshu* (line 13-14) and *bhūs=sur-ā°* (line 45) in the present record also.

The **date** of the charter is quoted in line 51 (verse 30) as the fifth regnal year of king Balavarman without any other details; but the occasion of the grant is stated to have been the *Śakr-ōtthāna* festival which takes place on Bhādrapada-sudi 12. The period of Balavarman's reign cannot be definitely determined, although the Tezpur inscription[2] of his great-grandfather is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.D., and, allotting a quarter of a century per generation

[1] *See JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 84-85.

[2] *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 185 ff.

approximately, we may suggest that the year 904 A.D. fell in Balavarman's reign. Thus Balavarman's rule may be roughly assigned to the period 885-910 A.D. and the present inscription to a date about the end of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol which is followed by two *maṅgala* stanzas. Verse 1 prays that the lustre of Rudra (Śiva) may be for the peace of the earth, while verse 2 seeks that the waters of the **Lauhitya**, called a *vāridhi* or sea,[1] may destroy the sin of men. Verse 3 introduces Naraka who was the son (born of the goddess Earth) of Upēndra (Vishṇu) in his Boar incarnation and was a friend of the demons. Verses 4-6 describe the career of Naraka. It is stated that he carried away Aditi's ear-rings and discredited Mahēndra (i.e. her son, the king of the gods) thereby, that he made his abode at the city of Prāgjyōtisha in Kāmarūpa, and that he was killed by Murāri (Vishṇu) with the discus in a battle that was fought at his capital, i.e. Prāgjyōtishapura (Śōṇitapura according to thePurāṇas). Verses 7-8 state how Naraka was succeeded on the throne by his son Bhagadatta whose successor was his younger brother Vajradatta.

Verse 9 introduces **Sālastambha** who is stated to have belonged to the dynasty of Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, and to have become king after a number of rulers of the said family had passed away. In this connection, it is interesting to note that verses 9-10 of the copper-plate grants[2] of Ratnapāla of the third dynasty (i.e. the Brahmapāla family) of the rulers of Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyōtisha offer a different and apparently more reliable account of the pedigree of Sālastambha. According to these, Sālastambha, who was a Mlēchchha king or a ruler of the Mlēchchhas (*Mlēchchh-ādhipati*), obtained the kingdom of the kings of the Nāraka dynasty as a matter of chance (*vidhi-chalana-vaśāt*) and that, Tyāgasiṁha the twentyfirst king of Sālastambha's line having died without leaving an heir, the subjects (*prakṛitayaḥ*) thought that a member of the Bhauma (i.e. Nāraka) dynasty alone was suitable to them and therefore made Brahmapāla their king. This seems to suggest that Sālastambha was really a ruling chief, probably of Tibeto-Burman origin, under the latest ruler of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa and that he succeeded in occupying his master's throne under circumstances which are difficult to determine without further light on the subject. It is clear, however, that Sālastambha's descendants claimed descent from Naraka ; but the claim may have been based either on mere fiction or on a matrimonial relation Sālastambha might have contracted with the rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka family.

Verse 10 of our inscription says that, amongst the descendants of Sālastambha, **Harjara** became king after others like Pālaka and Vijaya had passed away. The names of all the rulers of the Sālastambha family, especially those who flourished between Sālastambha and Harjara or Harjaravarman, cannot be determined. We have seen how the charters of Ratnapāla, who belonged to the third or Brahmapāla dynasty of Prāgjyōtisha rulers, ascribe 21 kings to the dynasty of Sālastambha. Of these, they mention by name only Sālastambha (the founder of the line), Tyāgasiṁha (the last king of the family) and Vigrahastambha who was one of the rulers flourishing between Sālastambha and Tyāgasiṁha. The damaged and fragmentary copper-plate grant[3] of Harjaravarman (second quarter of the ninth century) from Haiyungthal, appears to have quoted the names of most of his predecessors beginning from Sālastambha, although the section cannot be fully and satisfactorily deciphered. According to the reading and interpretation of the said section offered by Pandit P. N. Bhattacharya,[4] Sālastambha was succeeded by his son Vijaya who was followed successively by Pālaka, Kumāra, Vajradēva, Harshavarman, Balavarman

[1] See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 151 and note 3.

[2] See *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 94.

[3] Ibid. pp. 44 ff. Only the middle plate of a set, which originally consisted at least of three plates, has been discovered so far. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory.

[4] Ibid., pp. 51-52.



(son of Harshavarman) and the son of the younger of the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi. Bhattacharya also suggested that Āratha (son of Arathi) was succeeded by Prālambha (father of Harjaravarman), the name of both of whom were read in the Tezpur plates[1] of Vanamālavarman (son of Harjaravarman), Prālambha being represented there as the successor of Śrīharsha (i.e. Harshavarman) of the Sālastambha dynasty. But as we have suggested elsewhere,[2] Vanamālavarman's charters really speak of Sālambha as the successor of Śrīharsha and of his younger brother Arathi as the father and predecessor of Harjaravarman. We have also suggested that Chakra was possibly another name of Sālambha and that the name of Harshavarman's son Balavarman is omitted in Vanamālavarman's record probably because he was succeeded by Sālambha after a short rule. It seems that Balavarman, son of Harshavarman, was overthrown by Sālambha and that the usurper and his descendants did not recognise his claim to the throne. Thus we have the following names of the rulers of the Sālastambha dynasty from Sālastambha to Harjaravarman : (1) Sālastambha, (2) Vijaya, son of Sālastambha, (3) Pālaka, (4) Kumāra, (5) Vajradēva, (6) Śrīharsha or Harshavarman, (7) Balavarman, son of Harshavarman, (8) Chakra *alias* Sālambha, (9) Arathi and (10) Harjaravarman, son of Arathi. It is difficult to determine whether some other kings of the family also ruled between Sālastambha and Harjaravarman and whether their names are either omitted from or undecipherable in the Haiyungthal plate.

Verses 12-25 of the inscription under study describe the three kings **Vanamāla** (verses 12-14), **Jayamāla** *alias* **Vīrabāhu** (verses 15-18) and **Balavarman** (verses 19-25), the donor of the charter, as respectively the son, grandson and great-grandson of Harjara. It is stated in verses 16-17 that Vanamāla, who was a devotee of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva and built numerous palatial structures beautified with paintings, starved himself to death after having bestowed the white umbrella adorned with two fly-whisks (i.e. the insignia of royalty) on his son Jayamāla (called Vīrabāhu in verse 18), while verse 18 states that Vīrabāhu (i.e. Jayamāla) married Ambā (who gave birth to the donor of the grant under study) some time after his accession to the throne. Verse 21 shows that Jayamāla Vīrabāhu installed his son Bālavarman on the throne when in course of time he was incapable of carrying on the administration owing to the attack of an incurable disease. Verse 25 says that Balavarman's ancestral *kaṭaka* or capital stood on the Lauhitya.

King Balavarman of Kāmarūpa, who issued the charter under study, was the second king of that name in the Sālastambha family. Since, however, there was another Balavarman (about the beginning of the fifth century) in the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty of Kāmarūpa[3] and Sālastambha is represented in the records of his successors, even if wrongly, as a descendant of Naraka, Balavarman, donor of the present grant, may be designated as Balavarman III. The king of the same name, who was the son of Śrīharsha or Harshavarman, may be called Balavarman II, while Balavarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty may be regarded as Balavarman I.

The names of the three monarchs mentioned in verses 12 ff., when added to the list of the ten rulers from Sālastambha to Harjaravarman, would give us only thirteen kings of the Sālastambha dynasty. Only two other rulers of this family, viz. Vigrahastambha and Tyāgasiṁha, are known from Ratnapāla's charters referred to above. Thus we know the names of fifteen out of the twentyone rulers of the dynasty. Since Tyāgasiṁha's successor Brahmapāla seems to have ruled about the beginning of the eleventh century, most of the six rulers, whose names are missing, appear to have ruled in the period of about a century intervening between Balavarman III (about the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century) and Tyāgasiṁha (beginning

[1] Ibid., pp. 54 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 149 and note 4.
[3] Ibid. Vol. XXX, p. 66.

of the eleventh century). But a few of them may have also ruled between Śālastambha and Harjaravarman. The name of Vigrahastambha resembles that of Śālastambha and no other ruler of the family is known to have borne a name ending in the word *stambha*. He may therefore have been a son or grandson of Śālastambha and should probably be placed earlier in the genealogy.

The object of the charter is to record the grant of a piece of land, yielding two thousand measures (probably called *Drōṇa*) of paddy, made by *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Balavarmadēva** when he was staying at **Haḍappēśvara**. As we have shown elsewhere,[1] the real name of the capital of the Śālastambha kings was Haḍappēśvara and not Hārūppēśvara as is generally believed. The piece of land was singled out from the locality called **Bappadēva-pāṭaka** which was situated in the *vishaya* or district of **Vārāsē-pattana**. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to the people of the countryside together with the Brāhmaṇas and the employees of the offices of the district as well as to the king's subordinates and officers. The list includes the *rājans* (ruling chiefs), *rājñīs* (queens of the ruling chiefs), *rāṇakas* (smaller chiefs) and officers as well as to the *rājanakas* (minor chiefs or landlords), *rājaputras* (sons of the chiefs) and *rāja-vallabhas* (courtiers), who might be associated with the administration of the area in question at any time. It is interesting to note that the words *rājanaka* and *rāṇaka* are both used in this section of the record, even though actually *rāṇaka* appears to be a modification of *rājanaka* (also spelt *rājānaka* and *rājanyaka*). There was probably some difference in the meaning of the two words as used in early medieval Assam. The land was granted together with the *vāstu* (homestead land), *kēdāra* (low land), *sthala* (high land), *jala* (waters), *gō-prachāra* (pasture land) and *avakara* (probably, mounds) as well as with the income from *hastibandha* (entrapping elephants), *naukābandha* (anchoring boats) and *chaurōddharaṇa* (catching thieves). It was given as it stood within its demarcated boundaries together with the space above it and was exempted from all troubles associated with the *daṇḍapāśa* (police tax), *uparikara* (extra cess or tax on temporary tenants) and *utkhēṭana* (fears or troubles) arising from other causes, and also from the grazing of elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Śyāmadēva-bhaṭṭa. It is stated (cf. verses 26 ff.) that there was a learned Brāhmaṇa named Garga who belonged to the Aupamanyava *gōtra* and the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the *Yajurvēda*. His son was Gabhishṭhira who was the father of Śyāmadēva, the donee of the charter. The name of the donee's mother was Garbhēśvarikā. Verse 29 states that the king made the grant for the merit of his parents in the **fifth year of his reign.** The occasion of the grant was the *abda-pūjā* performed in connection with the *Śakr-ōtthāna* festival. The passage *tath ātmanaḥ* (i.e. 'also of his own') in this stanza may be taken with *puṇyāya* or with *abda-pūjā*. *Śakr-ōtthāna* means the raising of the banner (*dhvaja*) of Śakra or Indra, which is a festival observed on the 12th day of the bright half of the month of Bhādra[2] although in early times it may have been held on the 8th of the bright half of the months of Praushṭhapada (Bhādra) and Āśvina.[3] The real significance of the expression *abda-pūjā*, literally 'worship of the year or cloud', in this connection is not clear. It may, however, refer either to the anniversary of king Balavarman's birth or accession to the throne, or merely to the 'annual worship' of the Śakra-dhvaja.

The boundaries of the gift land as enumerated in lines 52-54 are : the *stūpa* or mound belonging to Vaikaṅka in the east ; a Śālmalī tree in the south-east ; a Tripatraka tree in the south ;

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX. pp. 150-51.

[2] Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Śakra-*

[3] *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *Śakra-dhvaja*. Cf. *Praushṭhapadē tu ashṭamyāṁ śuklāyāṁ śōbhanē ṛikshē | Āśvinē vāpha Śravaṇēn=āthō uchchhrayēt ||*

a Kadamba tree in the south-west ; a Vētasa tree standing on the border of a piece of cultivated land in the west ; an Aśvattha tree standing on a *stūpa* belonging to Niśi in the north-west ; a Jambū tree in the north ; and a Suvarṇadāru tree in the north-east.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, we have Lauhitya-vāridhi, Kāmarūpa, Prāgjyōtishapura, Haḍappēśvara-kaṭaka on the Lauhitya, Vārāsē-pattana-vishaya and Bappaḍēva-pāṭaka. Lauhitya is another name of the river Brahmaputra. Prāgjyōtishapura, capital of the Kamarūpa country, is supposed by scholars to have been situated near the site of the present town of Gauhati on the Brahmaputra. Kāmarūpa, also called Prāgjyōtisha, was the country around Gauhati. In the seventh century A.D., it extended up to the Karatōyā in the west,[1] although neither the course of the Karatōyā nor the other boundaries of the country in the early medieval period can be determined. The traditions recorded in late medieval works like the *Yōginītantra* can scarcely be regarded as throwing sufficient light on the point.[2] Verse 25 of our record speaks of king Balavarman's ancestral *kaṭaka* (i.e. capital) which is stated to have been situated on the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra. The name of the city is given as Haḍappēśvara-kaṭaka in the prose passage immediately following. This city has been identified with Dah Parbatiya near Tezpur, headquarters of the Darrang District of Assam. The gift land was situated in the locality called Bappadēva-pāṭaka which belonged to the district called Vārāsē-pattana. The location of these places cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, although the name of Vārāsē-pattana reminds us of that of the Barasai range of hills about 50 miles to the south-west of Silchar.

## TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1-4, 9-10, 14, 17, 21-25 *Āryā* ; verses 5-6, 12, 15 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*) ; verse 7 *Indravajrā* ; verse 11 *Aupachchhandasika* ; verses 8, 13, 19-20, 30 *Gīti* ; verses 16, 18 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 26-28 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 29 *Upajāti* (*Vaṁśastha* and *Indravaṁśā*).]

1 Siddham[4] svasti | Bhavatu bhava-timirā-bhiduraṁ tējō raudra[ṁ] praśāntayē jagataḥ | parivarttatē samagraṁ [ka*]lp-ānta-ni-

2 ś-āvasānē[5] yat || [1*] Sura-kari-mada-chandrakitaṁ salilaṁ Lauhitya-vāridhēr=amalam | Kailāsa-kaṭaka-mṛiga-mada-

3 vāsitam=apaharatu duritam=vaḥ[6] || [2*][7] Sura-kari-mada-chandrakitaṁ salilaṁ **Lauhitya**-vāridhēr=amalaṁ | Kailāsa-ka-

4 ṭaka-mṛiga-mada-vāsitam=apaharatu duritam=vaḥ[6] || Pralaya-payōdhau magnām=uddha-ratō vasumatīm=Upēndrasya |

5 Naraka iti sūnur=āsīd=asura-suhṛit=krōḍa-rūpa-bhṛitaḥ || [3*] Trailōkya-vijaya-tuṅga[ṁ*]

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[1] Hiuen-tsang entered the Kāmarūpa country from the west after having crossed the Ka-lo-tu or Karatōyā (cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 185 ff.).

[2] Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 13, note 1 ; cf. p. 17, note 3.

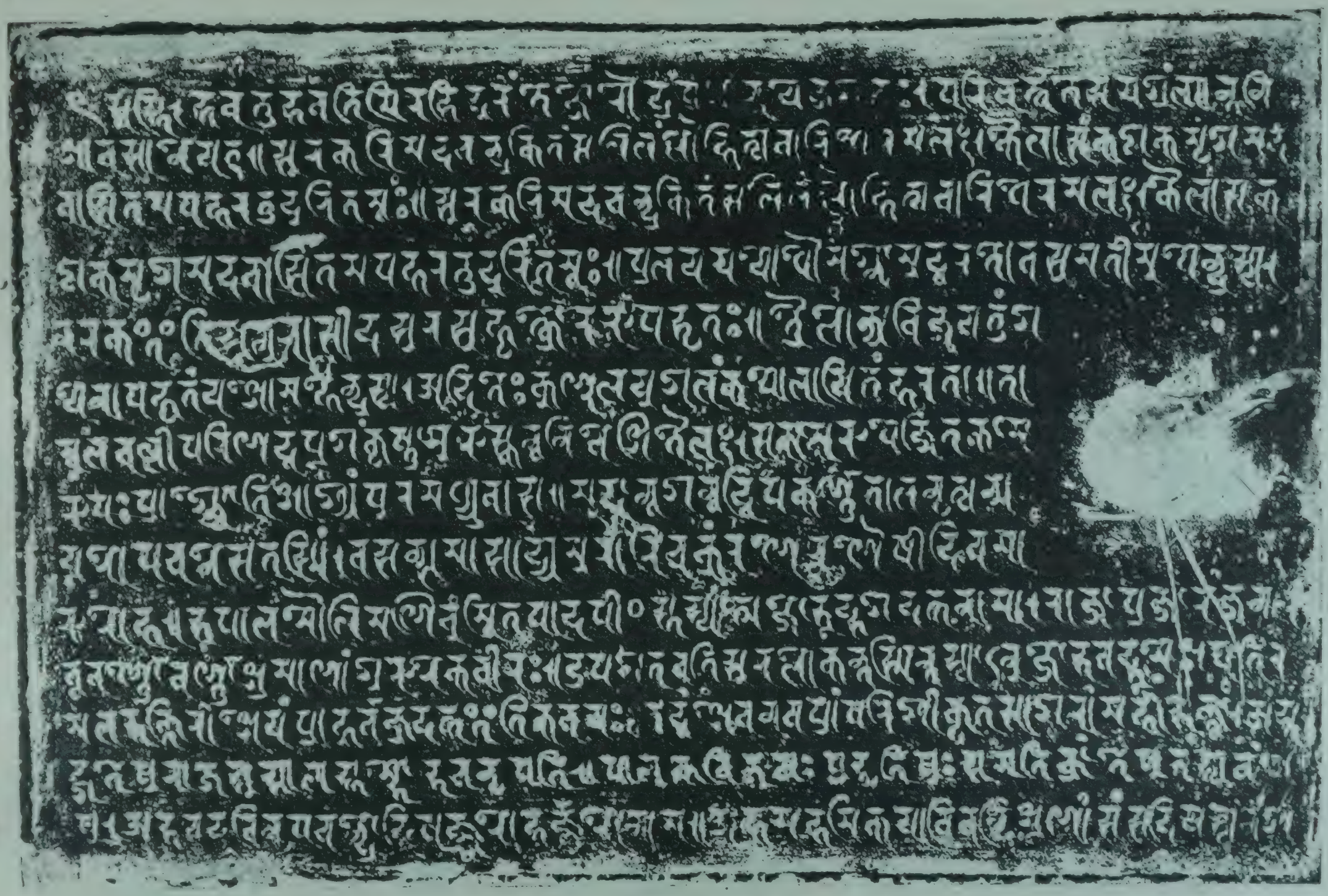
[3] From a set of photographs and impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

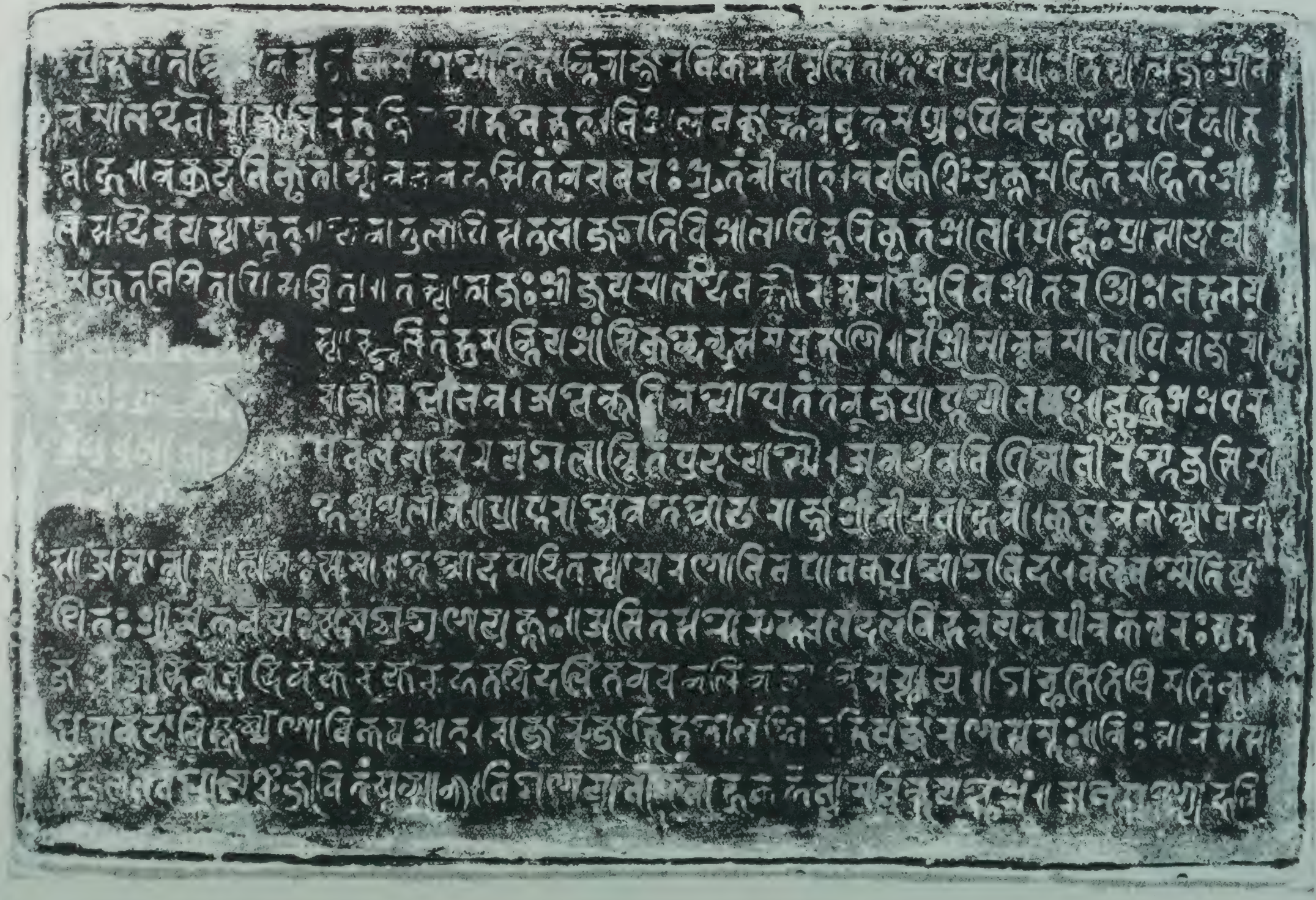
[5] The *aksharas* [*ka**]*lp-ānta-niś-āvasā*° could not be read on the Nowgong plates. The vowel-mark of *nē* is also not clear there.

[6] Read *duritaṁ vaḥ*.

[7] The following stanza is a repetition of verse 2. This was due to an oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver.



Scale : Nine-tenths



6 yēn=āpahṛitaṁ yaśō Mahēndrasya | Aditēḥ kuṇḍala-yugalaṁ Kapō[la-dō*]lāyitaṁ haratā ‖ [4*] Tā-

7 mvū(mbū)la-vallī-pariṇaddha-pūgaṁ[1] kṛishṇ-ā[gu]ru-skandha-nivēśit-ailam | sa Kāmarūpē jita-Kāma-

8 rūpaḥ Prāgjyōtiśā(sh-ā)khyaṁ puram=adhyuvāsa ‖ [5*] Mad-āndha-gandha-dvipa-karṇṇa-tāla-nṛityan=ma-

9 yūr-ōpavanē sa tasmiṁ(smin) | vasan=samāsādya Murāri-chakraṁ raṇē raṇ-aishī divam=ā-

10 rurōha ‖ [6*] Bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-chumvi(mbi)ta[2]-pāda-pīṭha[s]=tasy=ātmajō=bhūd=Bhagadatta-nāmā | rājā prajā-raṁjana-la-

11 vdha(bdha)-varṇṇō varṇṇ-āśramāṇāṁ gurur=ēka-vīraḥ ‖[3] [7*] Upagatavati sura-lōkan=tasminta(smiṁs=ta)sy=ā'nujō=bhavad=bhūmēḥ | [patir=a]-

12 mala-bhaktir=Īśē yaṁ prāhur=Vajradatta iti kavayaḥ ‖ [8*] Tad-vaṁśē vana-vaprāṁ parikhīkṛita-sāgarāṁ[4] mahīṁ bh[u]ktvā | asta-

13 ṅ=gatēshu rājasu **Sālastambhō**=bhava[n*]=nṛipati[ḥ*] ‖]] [ 9*] Pālaha(ka)-Vijayaḥ(ya)-prabhṛitishuḥ(shu) samatikrāntēshu[5] [tasya] vaṁ[śyē]-

14 shu | abhavad=bhuvi nṛipa-chandrō dvishaj-jvarō **Harjjarō** nāma ‖ [10*] Aham-a-hamikayā vivandiśū(shū)ṇāṁ saṁsadi yasya nakha-[6]

*Second Plate, First Side*

15 prabhā-pratānaiḥ | na muku[ṭa-ma]ṇayō vibhānti rājñā[ṁ] rav[i]-kara-samva(saṁva)-[litā i]va pradīpāḥ ‖[|] [11*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ śrī-**Va-**

16 [na]**māladēvō** rājā chiraṁ bhakti-parō Bhavē=bhūt | viśāla-vakshās=tanu-vṛi[t]ta-[ma]-dhyaḥ pi[naddha]-kaṇṭhaḥ pari[gh-ā]bha-

17 vā(bā)hu[ḥ*][7] ‖ [12*] Na kruddhaṁ vikṛit-āsyaṁ na cha na[8] hasitaṁ na cha vachaḥ śrutaṁ nīchāt | na cha kiñchid=uktam=ahita[ṁ*] mahitaṁ śī-

18 laṁ sad=aiva yasy=ābhūt ‖ [13*] Yēn=ātul=āpi sa-tulā jagati viśāl=āpi bhūri-kṛita-śālā | paṅktiḥ prāsādānā-

19 m=akṛita(kāri) vichitr=āpi sach-chitrā ‖ [14*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ śrī-**Jayamāladēva**[ḥ*] kshīr-āmvu(mbu)rāśēr=iva śīta-raśmiḥ | va(ba)bhūva ya-

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[1] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 64 : *tāmbūla-vallī-pariṇaddha-pūgāsv=ēlā-lat-ālingita-chandanāsu.*

[2] Read *śrita* or some other suitable word in the place of *maṇi-chumbita* to bring this foot in *Vasantatilaka* in line with the three other feet in *Indravajrā.*

[3] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 21 : *rājā prajā-rañjana-labdha-varṇaḥ Parantapō nāma yath-ārtha-nāmā* ; V, 19 : *varṇ-āśramāṇāṁ guravē sa varṇī vichakshaṇam prastutam=āchachakshē.*

[4] Cf. ibid., I, 30 : *sa vēlā-vapra-valayāṁ parikhīkṛita-sāgarām.*

[5] The word *samatikrāntēshu* could not be fully read in the Nowgong plates.

[6] The seven *aksharas saṁsadi yasya nakha* could not be read in the Nowgong plates. Bhattacharya conjecturally restored them as *yad-aruṇa-pāda-nakha.*

[7] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 32 : *Avanti-nāthō=yam=udagra-bāhur=viśāla-vakshās=tanu-vṛitta-madhyaḥ.*

[8] This word is not noticed in the stanza as found in the Nowgong plates.

20 sy=āskhalitaṁ bhramanti yaśāṁsi kund-ēndu-sama-prabhāṇi || [15*] Sa śrīmān=Vana-
mālō=pi rājā [rā][1]

21 rājīva-lōchana[ḥ*] | avēksha(kshya) vinay-ōpētaṁ tanūjaṁ prāpta-yauvanam || [16*]
Chchha(Chha)ttraṁ śaśadhara-

22 dhavalaṁ chāmara-yugal-ānvitaṁ[2] pradāy=āsmai | anaśana-vidhinā vīras=tējasi mā-

23 hēśvarē līna[ḥ*] || [17*] Prāpta-rājyēna tēn=ōḍhā rājñā śrī-**Vīravā(bā)hunā** | kulēna
kāntyā vayasā[3] Amvā(mbā) nām=ātmanaḥ

24 samā || [18*] Tēn=ōdapādi tasyām=araṇāv=iva pāvaka[ḥ*] prayōga-vidā | **Va(Ba)-
lavarmm**=ēti pra-

25 thitaḥ śrīmat-tanayaḥ samagra-guṇa-yuktaḥ || [19*] Asita-sarōruha-chala-dala-nibha-
nayana[ḥ*] pīna-kandharaḥ su-bhu-

26 ja[ḥ] | abhinava-dinakara-kara-hata-vidalita-nava-nalina-kānti-sach-chhāya[ḥ*] || [20*]
Gachchhati tithimati kā-

27 lē sa kadāchit=karmmaṇāṁ vi[pā*]ka-vaśāt | rājā ruj=ābhi[bhū]tō laṁghita-bhishajā raṇa-
staṁbhaḥ || [21*] Niḥsāraṁ saṁsā-

28 [raṁ] jala-lava-lōlañ=cha jīvitaṁ [pu]nsān[4] | vigaṇayya Vīravā(bā)hu[ḥ*] kartavyam=achin-
tayach=chhēśaṁ(sham) || [22*] Atha puṇyē=hani

*Second Plate, Second Side*

29 nṛi[pa]tis=tanayan=tam=udagra-vigrahaṁ vidhivat | kēsari-kiśōra-sadṛiśaṁ siṁghā(hā)sana-
maulitām=anayat || [23*]

30 Ta[d-ana]ntaram=adhigamya prājyaṁ tad-rājyam ājyam=iva vahniḥ | Va(Ba)lavarmm=āpi
didīpē prōchchhā(tsā)rita-sakala-ripu-timi-

31 raḥ || [24*] Abhavaj=jaya-kari-kumbha-skhalit-ōrmmēr=amala-vāridhēs=tasya | Lauhityasya
samīpē tad=ē[va] paitā-

32 mahaṁ kaṭakam || [25*] Tatra śrīmati **Haḍappēśvara**-nāmani kaṭakē kṛita-vasatir=utkhāt-
āsi-latā-marīchi-ni-

33 chaya-mēchakitēna vā(bā)hunā |[5] [v]ijita-sakala-dik-chakravālō dhīraḥ pradhanē bhīrur=a-
yaśasi tīkshṇō ri-

34 pushu mṛidutarō gurushu | satyavāg=avisamvā(saṁvā)dī kṛitv=āvikatthana=sthūla-lakshō

35 mātā-pitṛi-[pā*]d-ānudhyāna-dhauta-kalmaśaḥ(shaḥ) | paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō ma-

36 hārājādhirājaḥ śrī-**Va(Ba)lavarmmadēvaḥ** kuśalī ||[6] || **Vārāsē-pattana-**

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[1] This *akshara* is redundant.

[2] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, III, 16 : *adēyam=āsīt=trayam=ēva bhūpatēḥ śaśi-prabhaṁ chhatram=ubhē cha chāmarē.*

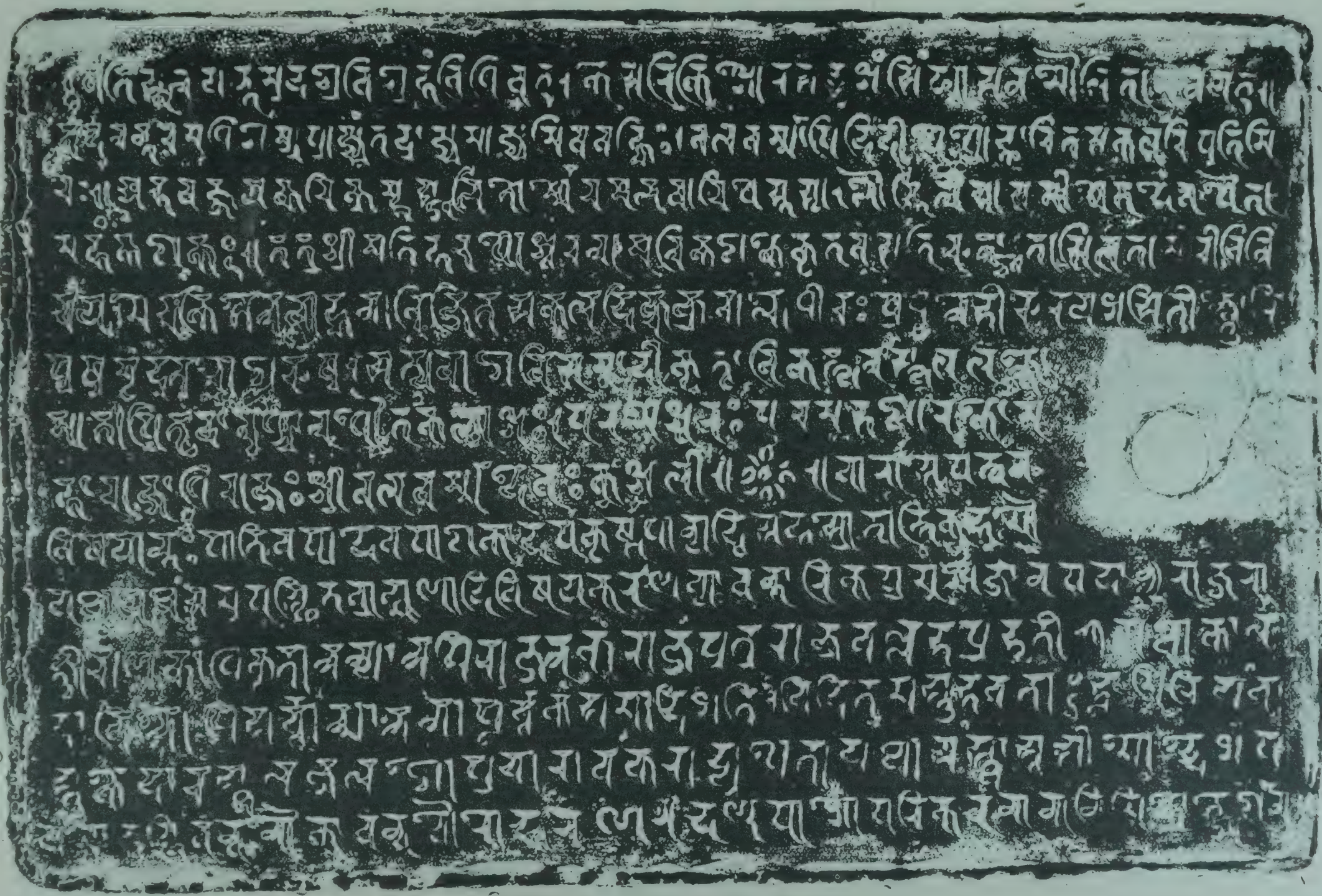
[3] *Sandhi* has not been observed here. Cf. ibid., VI, 79 : *kulēna kāntyā vayasā navēna guṇaiś=cha tais=tair=
vinaya-pradhānaiḥ.*

[4] Read *puṁsām.*

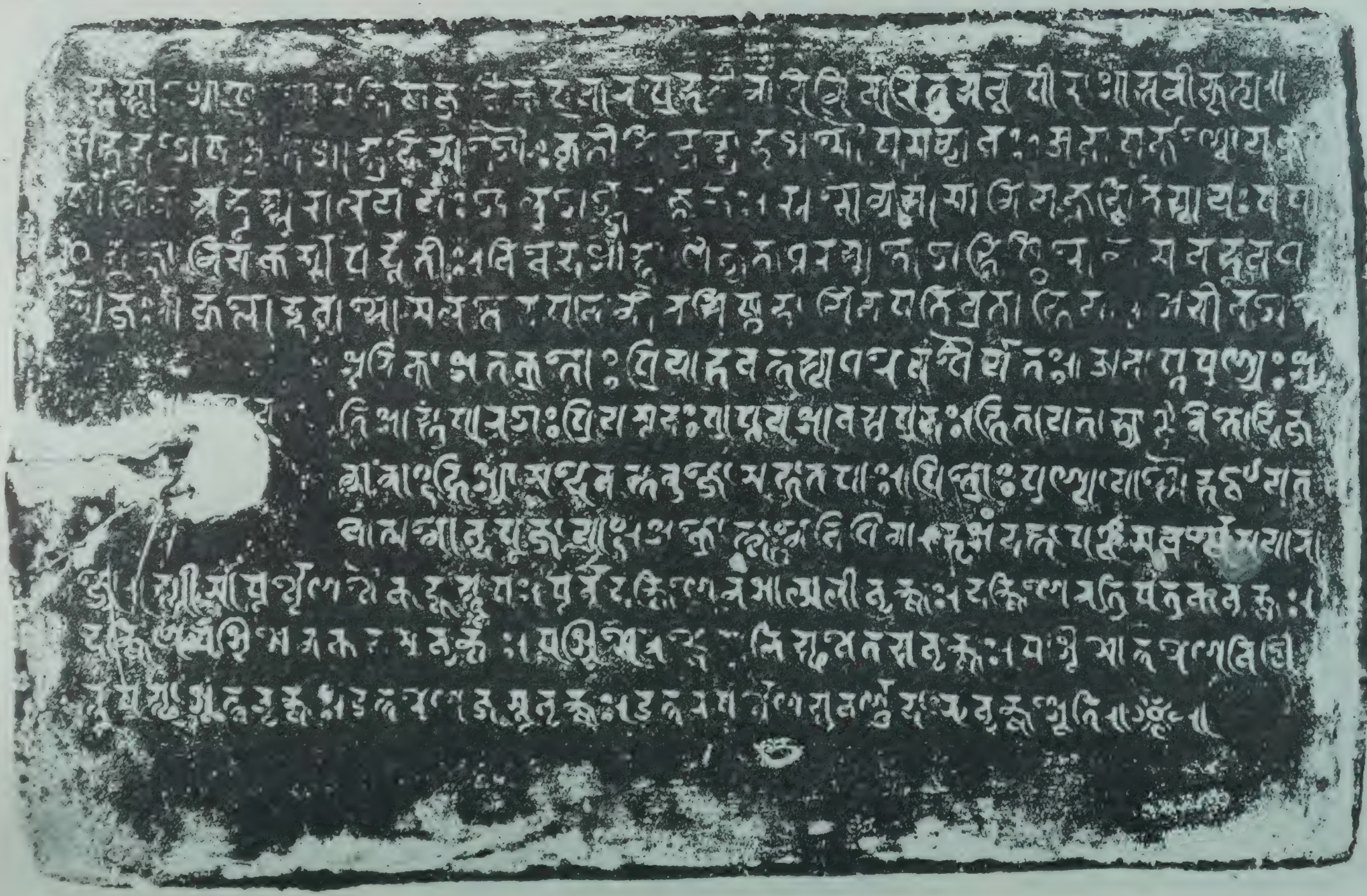
[5] This mark of punctuation and others in the following two lines are unnecessary.

[6] There is a floral design here to indicate the separation of the foregoing introductory part from the grant portion that follows.

ii, b



Scale : Nine-tenths



37 **vishay-āntaḥpāti-Va(Ba)ppadēva-pāṭakād**=apakṛishṭa-dhānya-dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika-bhū-
**mau**

38 **yathā-yathaṁ** samupasthita-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ādi-vishaya-karaṇa-vyavantā(hā)rika-pramukha-
**jānapadān rāja-rā-**

39 **jñī-rāṇak-ādhikṛitān**=anyān=api rājanaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabh[ṛi]tīn yathā-kāla-

40 **bhāvinō**=pi sarvvān=mānanā-pūrvvakaṁ samādiśati l viditam=astu bhavatām bhūmir=iyaṁ
**vā-**

41 **[stu]-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōprachār-āvakar-ādy-upētā yathā-saṁsthā sva-sīm-ōddēśa-[pa]-**

42 **[ṛyantā] has[t]iva(ba)n[dha]-nauk[āva(ba)ndha]-chaurōd[dha]raṇ[ā] | daṇḍapāś-ōparikara-**
**nānā-nimit[t]-ōt[kh]ēṭa[na]-**

*Third Plate*

43 **hasty-a[śv-ōshṭra]-gō-mahish-āj-āvika-prachāra-prabh[ṛi]tīnāṁ vinivārita-sarvva-pīḍā śāsanī**
**kritya** ||[1][||]

44 **Abhūd**=aśēsha-śruti-śāstra-vin=makhaiḥ kṛitī dvijēndrō bhṛiśam=Aupamanyavaḥ | a[v]āpa
**Kāṇvō yaju-**

45 **shāṁ nivāsa-bhūs**=sur-ālayaṁ yaḥ khalu Gargga-saṁjñakaḥ |[| 26*] Ṛichō nu sāmāni yajūnshi-
**(jūṁshi) tasya ya[ḥ] papā-**

46 **ṭha sūktāni cha karmma-paddha**[2]**tīḥ** vivēda śāstrāṇi kṛit-ādhvaras=sutō Gabhishṭhirō **nāma**
**va(ba)bhūva dha-**

47 **rmmajaḥ** || [27*] [K]ul-ōdbhavā sōma-lat=ēva pāvanī Vasishṭha-bhāryi(ry=ē)va pati-vratā hi
**yā** | Śach=īva Garbhē-

48 **śvarikā Śatakratōḥ priy=ābhavat=tasya dhar=ēva dhairyataḥ** || [28*] Avāpta-puṇyaḥ śru-

49 [3]**ti-śāstṛa-pāragaḥ priyamva(yaṁva)daḥ prāpta-yaśā vasu-pradaḥ** | **hitāya tābhyāñ=janitō**
**dvija-**

50 **nmanām(nāṁ) hi Śyāmadēva[s]=tanujō mahā-tapāḥ** || [29*] Pitrōḥ puṇyāy=āsmai Bhaṭṭāya ta-

51 **th=ātmanō=vda(bda)-pūjāyām** | Śakr-ōtthānē vidhinā |[4] **bhṛiśaṁ dattā pañchama-varshē**
**mayā rā-**

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[1] There are traces of a floral design between the double *daṇḍas* to indicate the separation of the foregoing part in prose from the following section in verse.

[2] A superscript *r* sign was incised above this *akshara* ; but it seems to exhibit a cancellation mark.

[3] Four *aksharas* were engraved before the beginning of this line, the second and third of them being partially cut off by the ring-hole. They appear to read *Sāmadēva*, althqugh such a passage does not appear to have been omitted frou the text of the record. For similar marginal writing in some other early mediɛvale records from Assam, see above, Vol. XXIX, p. 145.

[4] This mark of punctuation is redundant.

52 jyē[1] || [30*] ssī(sī)mā [|*] pūrvvēṇa Vaikaṅka-stūpaḥ | pūrvva-dakshiṇēna śālmalī-vṛikshaḥ | dakshiṇēna tripatraka-vṛikshaḥ |

53 dakshiṇa-paśchimēna kadamva(mba)-vṛikshaḥ | paśchimēna kshētr-āli-stha-vētasa-vṛikshaḥ | paśchim-ōttarēṇa Niśi-

54 stūpa-sth-āśvattha-vṛikshaḥ | uttarēṇa jamvū(mbū) vṛikshaḥ | uttara-pūrvvēṇa suvarṇṇa-dāru-vṛikshaś=ch=ēti ||[2]||

[1] Omit either *mayā* or *rājyē* for the sake of the metre. If the words *vidhinā bhṛiśaṁ* are omitted, the metre of the stanza would be *Āryā*.

[2] There is a floral design between the double *daṇḍas* to indicate the end of the writing.

## No. 34—MUDHOL PLATES OF PUGAVARMAN

*(1 Plate)*

P. B. Desai, Dharwar

In May 1949, this set of copper-plates was received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Shri R. S. Panchamukhi, the then Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar. The plates were originally in the possession of a shepherd belonging to a village in the present Mudhol Taluk of the Bijapur District. They were handed over to Shri V. C. Garwad, District Judge at **Mudhol**, who passed them on to Shri Panchamukhi in 1943. Shri Panchamukhi has edited the inscription on the plates in his *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province*, 1941-46, pp. 12 and 69 ff. and plate IV. The epigraph is briefly noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1949-50, p. 2 and registered as No. 7 of Appendix A.[1] I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set comprises **two** copper-plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The rims of the plates are not raised. The first plate is engraved on the inner side only, while the second on both the sides. The plates measure each $5\frac{3}{4}''$ in length, $2\frac{1}{16}''$ in breadth and $\frac{1}{16}''$ in thickness. The ring which is $2\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter passes through a circular hole, $\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick oval seal having a rim. The seal which measures $\frac{7}{8}''$ by $\frac{3}{4}''$ contains in the sunken surface a standing human figure with its right hand raised.[2] The ring and the seal together weigh 9 *tolas* and the whole set weighs 25 *tolas*.

The epigraph is on the whole in a fair state of preservation, although a few letters in lines 1, 7 and 8 are damaged. It contains 12 lines of writing, which are distributed evenly on the three inscribed faces of the plates. Line 8 continues about half the distance, the remaining space being left blank probably due to its narrowness. No punctuation marks are used anywhere in the writing. Some letters are omitted through oversight while engraving, as in lines 1, 6 and 11. The writing contains a few other scribal errors.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabet with archaic traits, having in a majority of instances small hollow boxheads. They may be compared for general resemblance with some records of the early Kadamba family.[3] The initial vowels *u* and *ai* are met with in lines 10 and 7 respectively. Medial *i* and *ī* are not distinguished, both represented by a circle at the top of the letter. *Jihvāmūlīya* occurs once in *brahmaṇaḥ=krama* in line 2.

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[1] The inscription has also been noticed by Dr. D C. Sircar in *Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai Com. Vol.*, 1957, pp. 96-97.

[2] Shri Panchamukhi has tried to identify this figure, not without diffidence, as the deity Hanumān (*Prog. of Kan. Res.*, op. cit., p. 69). But his arguments are far from convincing. Although it is very difficult to ascertain the identity of the figure on account of its badly worn out condition, one may possibly suggest that originally it may have been intended to represent the god Vārāhīdēva in whose favour the charter purports to record a gift.

[3] For example, the Bannahaḷḷi plates of Kṛishṇavarman II (above, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 18) and the Halsi plates of Harivarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 32).

In regard to **orthography** the consonant following *r* is doubled as in *Pūgavarmmaṇā* (line 6) and *bahubhir=vva°* (line 10). An exception may be noted in *°garbha* (lines 3-4). *Anusvāra* is changed to class nasal in *sandhi* in the expression *uktañ=cha* (line 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition excepting one verse each at the beginning and at the end is in prose.

The inscription commences with the expression *svasti*. This is followed by a verse in praise of the lotus-feet of Brahmā, i.e., the Creator, which are described as worthy of being worshipped by the pious persons, brilliant like the shining gold and capable of causing the good as well as bad things of the three worlds. This verse is new and not found in other records.

Next is introduced the victorious prince **Pūgavarman,** the first son of **Śrī-Pṛithivīvallabha-mahārāja** who performed the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* and the *Agnishṭōma, Agnichayana, Vājapēya* and *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. Pūgavarman is said also to have borne the appellation *Raṇashṭātura*. This expression is defective and its correct form may be suggested as *Raṇasthātṛi*[1] which means 'firm in battle'. It is comparable with the name *Yudhishṭhira*.

The object of the epigraph is to register a second[2] gift, apparently of land, in the village of [Maḷa]kēṭaka to the deity Vārāhīdēva by Pūgavarman for securing good results in this world as well as in the next. The gift land was divided into thirty-three shares, to be enjoyed, apparently by different beneficiaries whose names, however, are not specified. The charter concludes with the usual verse extolling the merit of a pious gift.

Not many inscriptions are available for reconstructing the early history of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. For the reign of Pulakēśin I, we have the Bādāmi inscription,[3] dated 543 A.D., which has placed the history of this family on a firm chronological footing. His successor Kīrtivarman is represented through only two charters of his reign bearing identical dates.[4] The present inscription which may be assigned to this dim period of Chālukya history makes a welcome addition to our knowledge.

It must be admitted at the outset that there are some difficulties in ascertaining the famiy to which the issuer of the present charter belonged. But a critical examination of it shows that the difficulties are only superficial. A prominent feature that impresses upon our mind on a perusal of the document is its unconventional nature. The invocation is unusual. The following *praśasti* does not contain the name of the family to which Pūgavarman belonged, as one naturally expects. The other familiar expressions in the Chālukya *praśasti* referring to the Mānavya *gōtra*, the Seven Mothers, etc., are also conspicuous by their absence. All these objections, however, are set at rest if we critically examine the description of the king whose son issued the present grant.

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[1] Shri Panchamukhi's restoration of this epithet as *Raṇāshṭōttara*, i.e. 'one who fought 108 battles', seems to be farfetched. Further, his suggestion on the basis of this restoration that Pūgavarman may be identical with Kīrtivarman is unconvincing. See op. cit., pp. 12 and 70.

[2] This shows that there already existed a gift for the deity made either by this prince or by his predecessor. It was not the renewal of an old grant as assumed by Shri Panchamukhi.

[3] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4 ff.

[4] The two records are the Vaishṇava cave inscription at Bādāmi and the Goḍachi plates. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 346, and above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 59 ff.

This was **Śrīpṛithivīvallabha-mahārāja.** As *Vallabha, Śrīvallabha, Pṛithivīvallabha* and *Śrīpṛithivīvallabha* are all identical, being recognized specially as Western Chālukya appellations and the title *Mahārāja* conveying the status of a paramount sovereign is almost invariably and for the first time applied to Pulakēśin I in all the formal charters of the family,[1] we are fully justified in identifying **Śrīpṛithivīvallabha** of our charter with **Pulakēśin I.** This identification is further strengthened by his description as the performer of *Aśvamēdha, Agnishṭōma, Agnichayana* and other sacrifices ; for, Pulakēśin I, as known from many records of the family, performed all these sacrifices and a few more.[2] The mention of *Aśvamēdha* in this connection is an overwhelming evidence in favour of this identification, since, except for a few Kadamba rulers whose consideration is out of question in the present context, no other monarch in this part of the country is ever credited with such a supreme achievement.

This much about the positive side of the question.

In regard to its negative side, it has to be noted that the non-mention of certain ideas and expressions in the *praśasti* can in no way be cited as contrary evidence. As I have shown elsewhere,[3] the Chālukya *praśasti* was still in the formative stage at this time and not yet standardized. The conventional *praśasti* of the Chālukya house is met with for the first time in the charters of Pulakēśin II, commencing with the Hyderabad grant.

Now who is this **Pūgavarman ?** He was not known previously and is introduced for the first time by the present charter. His description as *agra-sūnu* shows that he was the first and the eldest son of Pulakēśin I. As he is not endowed with royal titles we have to surmise that he was governing the province as his father's deputy and issued the charter in this capacity. This leads to another surmise that Pulakēśin I was ruling at this time. If the identification of [Maḷa]kēṭaka suggested in the sequel is correct, Pūgavarman's authority might have extended over the present Gulbarga District.

It is well-known that Pulakēśin I had two more sons, the elder of whom, viz. Kīrtivarman, succeeded his father on the Chālukya throne. In his Goḍachi plates, Kīrtivarman is referred to as his father's favourite son. In the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgaḷīśa who succeeded Kīrtivarman, it is said that Pulakēśin I had two sons and that Kīrtivarman was the senior. These statements do not preclude the possibility of the existence of yet another son being the seniormost. This possibility is borne out by the present record. The fact that Pulakēśin I was succeeded by Kīrtivarman can be explained on the assumption of Pūgavarman's demise before his father.[4]

Assuming that Pulakēśin I started his independent rule a few years prior to the date of the Bādāmi inscription, we may place the commencement of his reign roughly about 535 A.D.[5] His

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[1] Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, 345 and note 1 ; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 6.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 344 ; above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 8-9, and n. 1. As in the Bādāmi inscription of Ś. 465, the present record also describes the king as *Hiraṇyagarbhasambhūta*, i.e. one who performed the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna.*

[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 60 and n. 10. Some scholars are not prepared to assign the present charter to the Chālukya family (*A.R.Ep* , 1949-50, p. 2). The arguments against this view are set forth in the above discussion.

[4] It is unnecessary to suggest the identity of Pūgavarman with Kīrtivarman, as they connote two distinct names. Contra. Panchamukhi, op. cit., p. 70.

[5] Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 231.

reign ended about 567 A.D. With an approximate margin of a few years before the last date, it may be suggested that the present charter was issued by Pūgavarman about 560 A.D. From his description as *Raṇasthātṛi*, i.e. 'firm in battle', it may be gathered that Pūgavarman assisted his father in the wars which the latter had to wage for the establishment of the Chālukya kingdom.

The name of the deity Vārāhīdēva which means 'lord of Vārāhī,' i.e. god Varāha, is interesting.[1] The roundabout way of naming the god may possibly be explained on the ground that the goddess Vārāhī, who was one of the Seven Mothers, was held in high reverence and enjoyed an independent status, not being considered merely a female counterpart of Varāha. It is well known that the Chālukyas considered themselves specially favoured by the Seven Mothers and their partiality to Varāha or the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu is evidenced by their acceptance of the figure of this god for their family emblem. **This affords the earliest instance of the devotion to the god Varāha in the Chālukya family.**

There is only one **place-name** mentioned in the record and it is Maḷakēṭaka. This village seems to be identical with the present Maḷkhēḍ in the Gulbarga District, Mysore State. Maḷkhēḍ became the renowned capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Dekkan during later centuries and it is mentioned in their records in the Sanskritised form Mānyakhēṭa. It is referred to as Mānyakhēḍa in a record[2] of 993 A.D. In the inscriptions of the locality as well as of the villages near about Maḷkhēḍ, ranging from the 11th to the 16th centuries, the place is spoken of as Maḷikēḍa and Maḷeyakhēḍa.[3] If the above identification is correct, this would be the earliest allusion to the place, indicating its existence at least from the sixth century.

It would be interesting to review here the contents of an early stone inscription which may similarly be attributed to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. The epigraph[4] is incised on a boulder to the left of the images of Durgā and Gaṇēśa near the fourth gate of the fort at Gooty in the Anantapur District, Andhra State. The characters are archaic Kannaḍa of about the sixth or seventh century, the language being an admixture of faulty Sanskrit and old Kannaḍa. It reads as follows :

1 Śrī-[sa]kala-gara-saḷya

2 **Śrī-Vallabha-yuvarājē-**

3 **na** Kāsyapa-vaṁśēna kārā-

4 pithā Bhaṭṭaraki

5 [pra]mā-rūpēṇa keydadu

6 [śrī]-paḍime[5] [||*]

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[1] This reminds us of such names of the gods as Lakshmīdēva, Umānātha, etc.

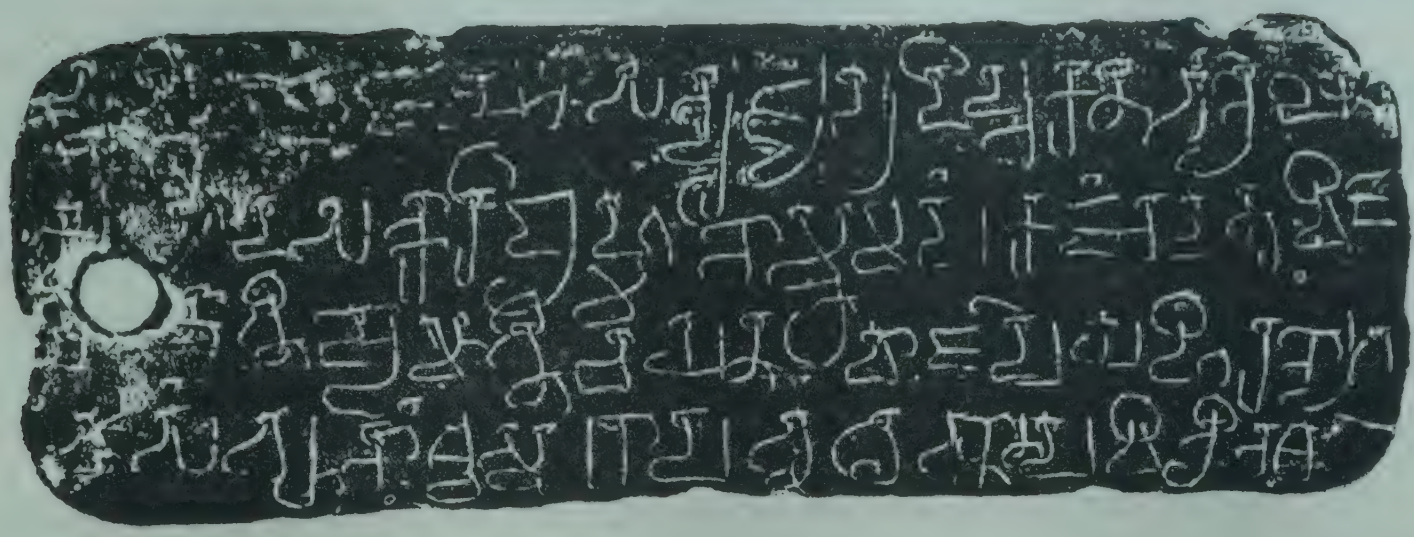
[2] B. K. Coll., No. 170 of 1933-34.

[3] The places were explored by me for inscriptions some twenty years ago. See my *Jainism in South India*, pp. 192 ff. and 325 n. and also *Kan. Sāh. Pari. Patrike*, 1941, December, pp. 6 ff.

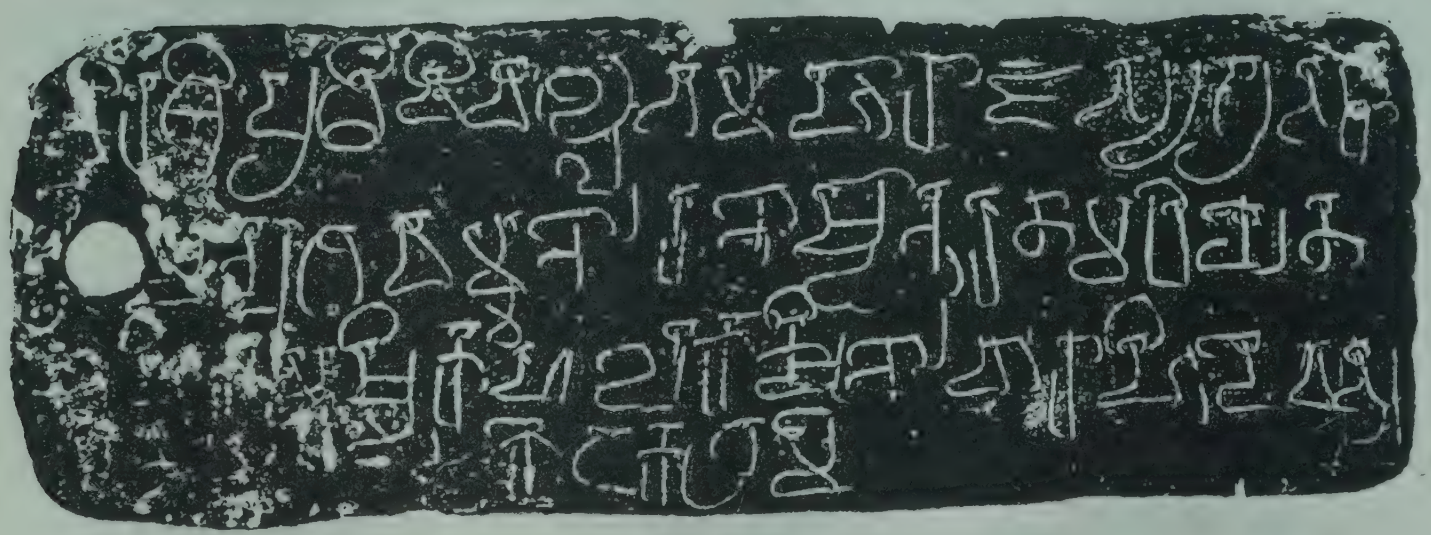
[4] *A.R.Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix A, No. 1.

[5] This may be rendered into Sanskrit as *śrī-sakala-graha-śalyēna Śrīvallabha-yuvarājēna Kāśyapa-vaṁśyēna pramā-rūpēṇa kāritā śrī-Bhaṭṭārikayaḥ pratimā.*

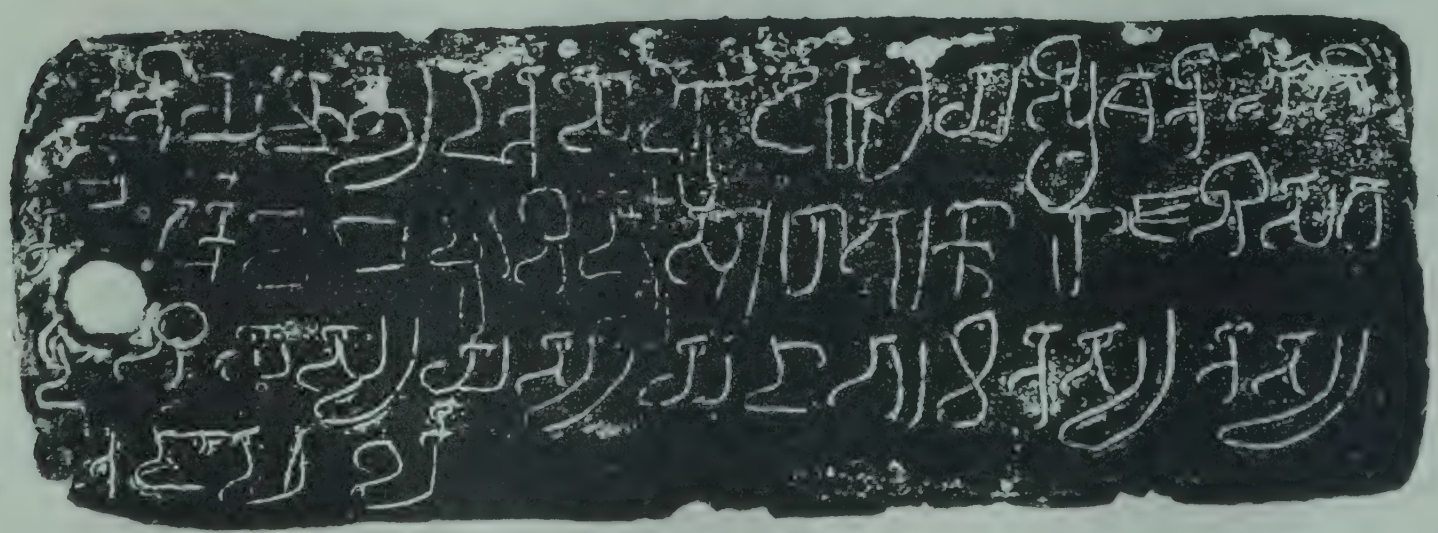
# MUDHOL PLATES OF PUGAVARMAN



*ii, a*



*ii, b*



Scale : Actual

SEAL



(from a Photograph)

"This sacred image of the Supreme Goddess was caused to be made according to the standard form through (*the artist who was*) a descendant of Kāśyapa by the illustrious *Yuvarāja* (i.e. crown-prince) Śrīvallabha, a piercing javelin to all the evil spirits."

As we have noted earlier, *Śrīvallabha* was specially a Western Chālukya appellation. Hence, although the name of the crown-prince who was responsible for the setting up of the image[1] in question, is not specified, it goes without saying that he belonged to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi. It is difficult to surmise who this Chālukya prince could be, as he might be any one from Pulakēśin I to Vikramāditya I. But it is possible to think that this prince might have set up the image of the goddess while he was governing the area of Gooty as the viceroy of the ruling king.

The name of the artist or sculptor who actually shaped the image according to the standards prescribed in the texts on the subject (*pramā-rūpēṇa*) is not mentioned. Instead, it is merely said that he belonged to the lineage of Kāśyapa. This is interesting, for Kāśyapa was a renowned artist (*śilpakāra*)[2] and the present sculptor seemed to take more pride in mentioning the former as his ancestor than disclosing his own name.

## TEXT[3]

### *First Plate*

1 Svasti [|*] ....[4]yati sat-pūjya[ṁ] pradīpta-kana[ka-pra*]bhaṁ(bham |) trailō-

2 kya-sad-asat-kāri Brahmaṇaḥ[5]=krama-paṁkajaṁ(jam || 1)[6] Tad-anu vija-

3 [yi]n=Āgnishṭōm-Āgnichayana-Vājapēya[7]-Hiraṇyaga-

4 rbha-saṁbhūtāṁ(t-Ā)śvamēdh-āpa(va)bh[ṛi]tha-snāna-pavitrita-śa-

### *Second Plate, First Side*

5 [rī]ra-Śrīpṛithivīvallabha-mahārājasya(sy=ā)gra-sū-

6 [nu*]-śrīmat-Pūgava[r]mmaṇā Raṇashṭātura[8]-nāmadhēyēna

7 [ai]hik-āmushmika-phal-[ā]kāṁkshiṇā Vārāhīdēva-sva(svā)-

8 ..[9] [Maḷa]kēṭaka-gr[ā]mē

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[1] The image may be that of Durgā, near which the record is incised.
[2] Śiddhesvara Śāstrī Chitrāv, *Prāchīna Charitrakōśa* (Marāṭhī), p. 122.
[3] From impressions.
[4] There are traces of three worn out letters before this, which may be restored as *śrīma[j]ja*.
[5] This *jihvāmūlīya* is indicated by a sign looking like a big superscript *ma*.
[6] Metre : *Anushṭubh*.
[7] [Read °*pēya-yāji*°.—D. C. S.]
[8] For a correct form of this name see the discussion above.
[9] The two damaged letters here may be *minē*.

*Second Plate, Second Side*

dvitīya[ṁ] mānyaṁ dattaṁ sō[vu]dakaṁ[1] [2]trayas-tri[ṁ]śati(śat )bhāgi-

10 na[ḥ][3] |*] Uktañ=cha [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Saga-

11 [ra-ā*] dibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)m[i][s*]=tasya tasya

12 tadā phalaṁ(lam || 2)[4]

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[1] The intended reading may be either *saḥ-ōdakaṁ* or *s-ōdakaṁ*.

[2] Better supply the word *asya* before this.

[3] Actually the reading is *bhāgina*[*ḥ**] and not *bhāgēna*, as read by Shri Panchamukhi. This gives better sense too.

[4] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

## No. 35—BARLA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PRITHVIRAJA III, V.S. 1234

*( 1 Plate )*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The black stone slab bearing the inscription under study was discovered some years ago by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, at the village of **Bārlā** about 7 miles to the east of the city of Ajmer. Mr. Bhattacharya read a short note on the importance of the date of the epigraph at the Jaipur Session of the Indian History Congress in December 1951 and this note was later published with an illustration of the record in the Proceedings of the Session, pp. 326-28.

The inscription is **fragmentary** as some letters at the end of all the lines are lost. Fortunately however, the number of the lost syllables in most of the lines can be easily determined as the major part of the record is in verse. The right hand side of the inscribed slab of stone is broken away. The extant part measures about $16\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length, 9 inches in height and 1 inch in thickness. The length indicated is that of the central section of the slab since the pieces broken away from the upper and lower right corners have made a sort of angle about the middle of its right side and the length of the top and bottom of the slab is respectively $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There are 13 lines of writing on the stone, of which line 8 is the longest (about $15\frac{1}{3}$ inches leaving a margin of slightly less than an inch in the left) ; but a portion of the slab containing four *aksharas* has broken away from the end even of this line. The number of lost syllables is higher in all the other lines of the epigraph, the loss being generally more considerable in the line that stands at a greater distance from line 8 either above or below it. Thus, amongst lines 1-7, the number of lost syllables is 16 in line 1, and 7 in line 7. Considering the size of the letters (about $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{3}''$), the four lost letters at the end of line 8 appear to have covered a space about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and there was probably a margin of a little less than an inch (as in the left hand side of the slab) beyond the last *akshara* of the line. Thus the length of the inscribed slab was originally a little above 19 inches.

The **characters**, which are neatly and carefully engraved, belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century A. D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary epigraphs discovered in the area in question, such as the Ajmer inscription recently edited in the pages of this journal.[1] The same is also the case with its **orthography** which shows the tendency to use class nasals instead of *anusvāra* and *anusvāra* instead of the final *m* at the end of the halves of verses. The *avagraha* has been used twice in line 5, and *b* has been written by the sign for *v*. The number of errors is small. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its composition exhibits a mixture of prose and verse. There is a short *maṅgala* passage in prose at the beginning of the epigraph in line 1, which is followed by a *praśasti* in 13 stanzas in different metres engraved in lines 1-12. The verses are consecutively numbered, the numerical figures at their end being placed between a double and a single *daṇḍa*. A few sentences at the end of the record in lines 12-13 refer to the author and the engraver of the eulogy, the date of the construction of a step-well which was its main subject as well as a prayer that the said well may last for ever. The **date** is quoted as **V. S. 1234, Chaitra-sudi 4**, which, as will be seen below, is not easily reconcilable with certain known facts of history.

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 178 ff. and Plate.

Out of the 13 stanzas of the eulogy, verse 1 contains the adoration to a deity. Verses 2-4 describe the ruling king and his family, verses 5-6 an officer or a subordinate of the king and his family, and verses 7-9 the hero of the eulogy and his family. The remaining stanzas deal with the **object** of the *praśasti*, which, as already indicated above, is to record the construction of a step-well.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a symbol for the *praṇava*. Next comes the passage *namaḥ Śivāya* which is followed by verse 1 in which the protection of the god Varuṇa is invoked. The invocation to Varuṇa, god of the waters, suits the occasion as the subject of the composition is essentially the excavation of a step-well and we have other instances of the kind in inscriptions recording the construction of wells.[1] Verse 2 introduces the hero named Chāhamāna, the mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna family of Rajputs, as born of Virōchana, i.e. the sun-god. This interpretation of the word *virōchana*, which means both 'the sun' and 'fire', is suggested by the fact that the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* composed by Jayānaka in the last decade of the twelfth century as well as Nayachandra-sūri's *Hammīramahākāvya*, composed a century later, represents the eponymous Chāhamāna as sprung from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*, while the tradition of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Pratihāra, Chaulukya and Chāhamāna families being born from the sacrificial fire-pit of the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Abu was unknown even as late as the fourteenth century.[2] It seems that the damaged second half of verse 2 referred to the Chāhamāna family as originated from the eponymous hero Chāhamāna mentioned in its first half. This is suggested by the first half of verse 3 which introduces the birth of king **Vigraharājadēva** (i.e. Vigraharāja IV or Vīsala) with the word *iha* no doubt meaning 'in this family', and another word which seems to be *kramāt* (i.e. in the regular course of succession), the name of the family being apparently indicated previously.

The extant part of verse 3 suggests that Vigraharāja IV left his throne for his brother's son **Pṛithvībhaṭa** (i.e. Pṛithvīrāja II) after having ruled the earth (i.e. the Chāhamāna kingdom with its capital at Śākambharī) for a long time. It is interesting to note that the inscription passes over Apara° or Amaragāṅgēya, son and successor of Vigraharāja IV.[3] This was probably because Apara° or Amaragāṅgēya was overthrown after a short rule by Pṛithvīrāja II whose successors were reluctant to recognise the former's rule and were eager to represent Pṛithvīrāja II as the direct successor of Vigraharāja IV. An inscription from Dhod is reported to contain a reference to the success of Pṛithvīrāja II against the king of Śākambharī, who seems to have been none other than Apara° or Amaragāṅgēya.[4] Verse 4 states that a later king of the family, named **Pṛithvīrāja** (i.e. Pṛithvīrāja III), succeeded another king whose name was .... ra. This damaged name was no doubt **Sōmēśvara** who was the father and predecessor of Pṛithvīrāja III and the uncle and successor of Pṛithvīrāja II.

The next two stanzas (verses 5-6) speak of a Brāhmaṇa family belonging to the Kauśika *gōtra* and hailing from a flourishing *agrahāra* called Atiśākha. Verse 6 mentions Yaśōrāja who seems to have been the son of Khamadēva or .... khamadēva of this family. The real significance of the introduction of this family is not clear ; but it seems that Yaśōrāja was a subordinate or an officer of the Chāhmāna king and that the locality where the step-well was excavated (i.e. probably the village of Bārlā near Ajmer where the inscription was found) lay within the territory or fief under him.

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[1] Cf. Mandasor inscription (V.S. 1321) in the Gwalior Museum (*A.R. Ep.*, 1953-54, No. 147 of App. B); Mandor inscription of V.S. 742 (ibid., 1956-57, No. 504 of App. B ; *Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department of Jodhpur*, 1934, p. 5), etc.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 179 ; Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 1052-53.

[3] Apara° or Amaragāṅgēya is mentioned in the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*, *Prabandhakōsha* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1078.

[4] Ibid., p. 1089.

Verses 7 ff. describe another family belonging to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, to which the hero of the eulogy belonged. Verse 7 mentions Saḍhadēva of this family and his son Udaya. The damaged last foot of the stanza no doubt mentioned Udaya's son and apparently also the son's wife. Verse 8 states that, from the husband and wife whose names are lost with the concluding part of the previous stanza, was born *Ṭhakkura* Pālhūka. The next stanza (verse 9) describes Pālhūka's good character and qualities while verse 10, most of the syllables in the second foot of which are lost, states that he constructed a step-well by what he had earned by means of trade. This shows that *Ṭhakkura* Pālhūka was a trader by profession, although it is uncertain whether he actually belonged to the mercantile caste as well. Verse 12 states that some money belonging to Rāhaḍa, a brother of Pālhūka's father, was also spent in the construction of the well and that the *Ṭhakkura* (i.e. Pālhūka) became free from his debt to his uncle thereby. The concluding syllables of the stanza are lost ; but it seems that Pālhūka had previously borrowed some money from his uncle Rāhaḍa and that Rāhaḍa or his heirs agreed to forego the realisation of the amount if it was spent in a good cause like the construction of a step-well. Verse 13 mentions the four wives of Rāhaḍa, viz. Dēvamā, Salakhū, Lakshmī and Uttamā. The introduction of these ladies in the narration is difficult to explain ; but it seems that it was they who permitted Pālhūka to spend the amount borrowed from their husband in the construction of the well. Possibly this was done for the merit of Rāhaḍa who might have been dead at the time.

The eulogy is stated to have been composed by Padmanābha, son of *Āchārya* Nē.... The name of the poet's father consisted of about two *aksharas* only and seems to have been something like Nēma. A partially preserved epithet of Padmanābha appears to suggest that he claimed to be a *kavi* or poet. The inscription was engraved by Jayatasiṁha, son of *Paṇḍita* Yaśōdhara. Since this person does not look like an ordinary engraver, it is not unlikely that he only painted the letters on the stone to facilitate the work of the real engraver of the record. If such was the case, the name of the person who actually engraved the *praśasti* on the stone is not mentioned in the record.

The most puzzling information supplied by the inscription under study is its date : **V. S. 1234, Chaitra-sudi 4.** This is the earliest date of Chāhamāna Pṛithvīrāja III so far known. Unfortunately, the date is not satisfactorily verifiable since the name of the week-day has not been mentioned in the epigraph. If, however, the beginning of the Vikrama year in the age and area in question can be determined, the date of our inscription may be calculated, although, unfortunately, the result of such an attempt scarcely solves the mystery of the date of our record. As will be seen below, the latest known date of the father and predecessor of Pṛithvīrāja III is V.S. 1234, Bhādra-sudi 4. This would suggest that the year commenced some time between the months of Chaitra and Bhādra, so that the month of Bhādra was earlier than that of Chaitra. But, even though the Āshāḍhādi and Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama years are not unknown in Rajasthan, the dates in the inscriptions of the Chāhamānas do not support such an explanation.

Let us clear the position by an examination of the following regular and verifiable dates in the records of Pṛithvīrāja III and his immediate predecessors.

1. Ajmer inscription[1] of Vigraharāja or Vīsala IV, dated V.S. 1210(1153-54 A.D.), Mārgaśīrsha-sudi 5, Sunday=November 22, 1153 A.D. The year began before the month of Mārgaśīrsha.

2. Hansi inscription[2] of Pṛithvībhaṭa or Pṛithvīrāja II, dated V.S. 1224(1167-68 A.D.), Māgha-sudi 7, Thursday=January 18, 1168 A.D. The year began before the month of Māgha.

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 289.

[2] Ibid., No. 329.

3. Bijolia inscription[1] of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1226(1169-70 A.D.), Phālguna-vadi 3, Thursday= February 5, 1170 A.D. The year began before the month of Phālguna.

4. Revasa inscription[2] of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1230(1173-74 A.D.), Āshāḍha-sudi 9, Monday=June 10, 1174 A.D. The year began after the month of Āshāḍha.

5. Anvalda inscription[3] of Sōmēśvara, dated V.S. 1234 (1177-78 A.D.), Bhādra-sudi 4, Friday= August 18, 1178 A.D. The year began after the month of Bhādrapada.

6. Phalodi inscription[4] of Pṛithvīrāja III, dated V.S. 1236 (1179-80 A.D.), Prathama-Āshāḍha-sudi 10, Wednesday=June 4, 1180 A.D. The year began after the month of Āshāḍha.

7. Udaipur Victoria Hall Museum inscription[5] of Pṛithvīrāja III, dated V.S. 1244 (1187-88 A.D.), Phālguna-sudi 31, Friday=February 12, 1188 A.D. The year began before the month of Phālguna.

The above dates would show that the Vikrama year commenced between the months of Bhādrapada and Mārgaśīrsha. The year thus appears to have been Kārttikādi and not Chaitrādi, Āshāḍhādi or Śrāvaṇādi. Of the Āshāḍhādi and Śrāvaṇādi Vikrama years prevalent in some parts of Rājasthan,[6] the first does not suit the dates of Nos. 4-6 and the second is equally unsuitable in the case of No. 5. The date of our inscription, viz. V. S. 1234, Chaitra-sudi 4, would thus appear to correspond to the 25th March 1178 A.D.

But this date of the reign of Pṛithvīrāja III is earlier by a few months than the latest known date of his father and predecessor Sōmēśvara, viz. V. S. 1234, Bhādra-sudi 4=August 18,1178 A.D. as found in the Anvalda inscription. Since, however, the inscription under study clearly refers to the death of Sōmēśvara (cf. *tridaśa-pattanaṁ prāptē* in verse 4), its date can scarcely be earlier than the latest date in the records of that king, viz. August 18, 1178 A.D. It is therefore not improbable that V.S. 1234 in the date of our record is a mistake for V.S. 1235. In that case the date of the epigraph would correspond to March 14, 1179 A.D. Thus Pṛithvīrāja III would appear to have ascended the Chāhamāna throne after the death of his father Sōmēśvara between the 18th August 1178 A.D. and the 14th March of the following year, that is to say, sometime about the end of 1178 A.D. or the beginning of 1179 A.D.

It seems that there is some confusion in the minds of the writers on Chāhamāna history about the English equivalent of the date of the Anvalda inscription of Sōmēśvara, viz. V.S. 1234, Bhādra-sudi 4, which is the latest known record of that king. H. C. Ray regards the year as c. 1177 A.D.,[7] while D. C. Ganguly gives the year of the accession of Sōmēśvara's successor Pṛithvīrāja III as 1177 A.D.[8] Although Ganguly does not refer to Bhattacharya's note on the inscription under study,[9] his view seems to have been influenced by the wrong equation of V. S. 1234, the year of Pṛithvīrāja's accession according to the present record, with 1177 A.D.

The only **geographical** name mentioned in the inscription is the *agrahāra* of Atiśākha whence the family of Yaśōrāja hailed. I am not sure about the identification of the locality.

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 344. [2] Ibid., No. 360.

[3] Ibid., No. 380. Another inscription of the time of Pṛithvīrāja III on the same pillar is dated V.S. 1245 (current), Phālguna-sudi 12, Thursday (12th February 1188 A.D.). Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, p. 69.

[4] Ibid., No. 390.

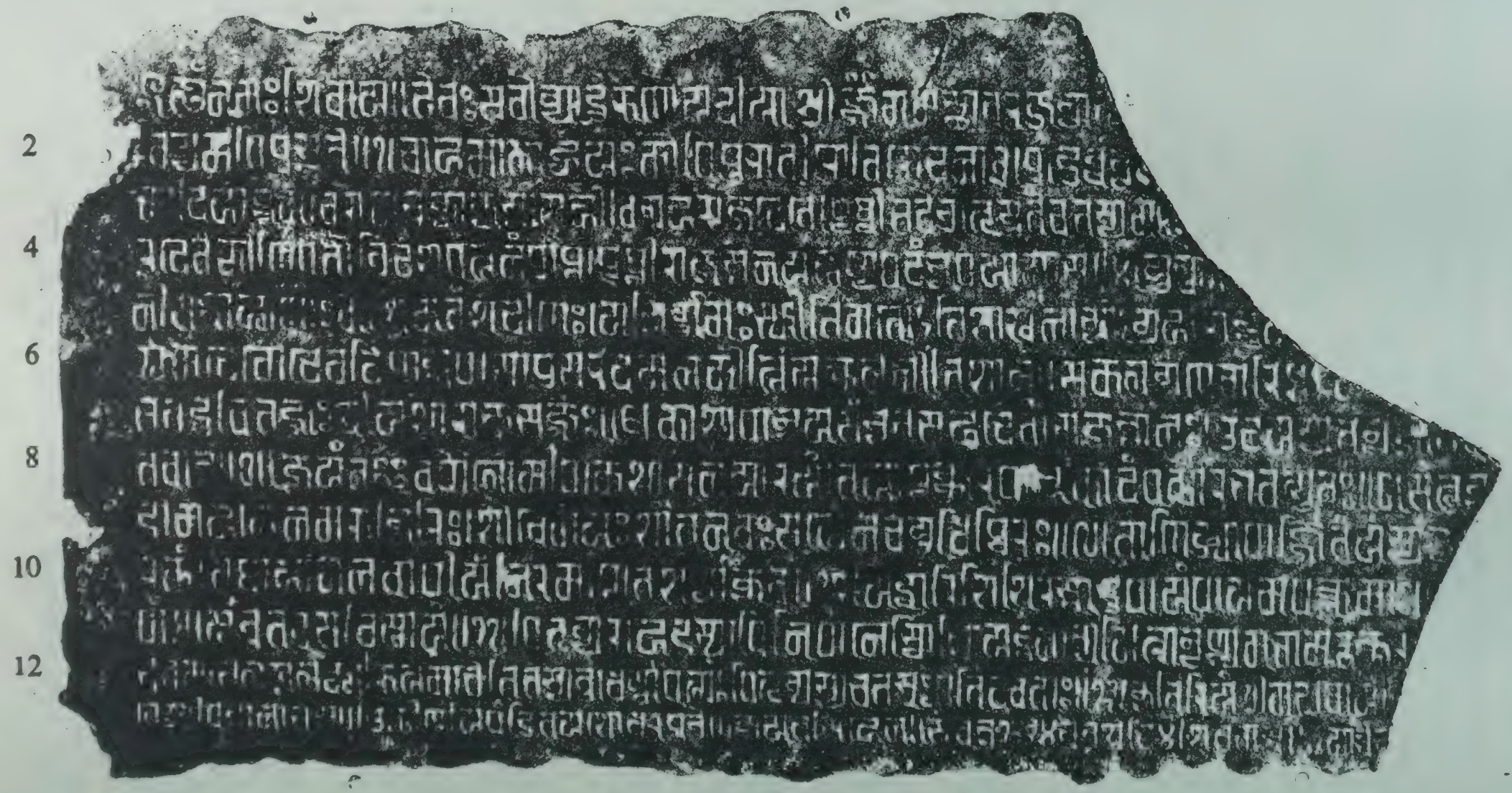
[5] Ibid., No. 412.

[6] See G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India* (Hindi), pp. 169-70.

[7] Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1082. Some other scholars also equate V. S. 1234 with 1177 A.D. (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, p. 49).

[8] *The Struggle for Empire*, 1957, p. 83; cf. pp. 104-05.

[9] Bhattacharya's article was published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 14th Session (Jaipur 1951) in 1953.



Scale : One- half

## TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 5 *Indravajrā* ; verses 2, 7-13 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 3 *Upajāti* ; verse 4 *Āryā* ; verse 6 *Mālinī*.]

1 Siddham[2] [|*] Ōṁ[2] namaḥ Śivāya || Dēvaḥ sa vō=vyād=Varuṇō yadīyā śrīr=jjaṁgama-sthāvara-jannma-h[ē]—[3] [|*] — — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ —

2 ch[i]vyam[4]=api prasūtē || 1 | Chāhamān-āhvayaḥ kō=pi purā vīrō Virōchanāt | prādurvva-(r=bba)bhū[va]. . . . . [5] [|| 2 |*]⏑[6]

3 mād=ih=ōdbhūya chirāya bhuktvā kṛitsnāṁ mahīṁ **Vigraharājadēvē** | **Prithvībhaḷē** bhrātṛi-sutē cha tasya mā — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — [|| 3 |*]. . .. .[7]

4 radēvē kshōṇi-patau tridaśa-pattanaṁ prāptē | **Pṛithvīrājas**=tanayas=tasya padaṁ bhūshayāmāsa || 4 | Yugmāṁ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —

5 nīṁ[8] sadvrā(d-Brā)hmaṇāḥ Kauśika-vaṁśa-dīpāḥ | yan-nirggamaḥ sphītima' ¨='tiśākha-nāmnō='grahārād=vaha — ◡ — — [|| 5 | *] ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡

6 khamadēvō[9] dēva-vipr-ādy-upāsā-prasarad-amala-kīrttis=tat-kulē nītiśālī | sakala-guṇa-garishṭhaḥ — ◡ — — ◡ — —[10] ◡ ◡ [11]

7 bhavad=uchita-jñaḥ śrī-Yaśōrāja-sa[ṁ*]jñaḥ || 6 | Kāśyap-ānvaya-saṁbhūta-Saḍhadēv-āṁgajanmanaḥ | Udayasya tanūjō . . . . . .

8 tavān[12] || 7 | Jayaṁta iva Paulōmī-Pākaśāsanayōr=ayaṁ(yam) | tayōsh=Ṭhakkura-P[ālhū]kō daṁpatyōr=abhavat=sutaḥ || 8 | Satva(ttva)-vṛi . . .

9 drō[13] mahatvē(ttvē)na marud=giriḥ | śauchēna yaḥ Śāṁtanavaḥ satyēna cha Yudhisṭhirah || 9 | Vāṇijy-ōpārjjitaṁ yasya va . . . . .

10 rakaṁ(kam)[14] | tathā hy=anēna vāp=īyaṁ niramāpyata śarmma-kṛit || 10 | Yad-vāri śiśiraṁ svādu pāyaṁ pāyam=apaklamāḥ | . . . . . .

11 pāṁthās=tatra tatra sa-vismayaṁ(yam) || 11 | Pitṛivya-Rāhaḍasy=āpi nipānē=smin=kiyad=dhanaṁ(nam) | vyayitv=ānṛiṇyam=agamat=Ṭhakkurō[15] . . . . .[ ||12 |*]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Ezpressed by symbol.

[3] The intended word is apparently *hētuḥ*.

[4] The intended word may be *sāchivyam*.

[5] The lost *aksharas* may be conjecturally restored as *cha tasmād=anvavāyas=tad-ākhyakaḥ*.

[6] The lost letter was apparently *kra*.

[7] The lost syllables were no doubt *śrī-Sōmēśva*.

[8] It is difficult to determine the implication of this damaged foot of the stanza.

[9] We cannot be sure whether the name is Khamadēva or one or more syllables are lost from its beginning.

[10] The lost syllables may be conjecturally restored as *sūnur=asya praśāntaḥ*.

[11] These two lost *aksharas* appear to have been *sama*.

[12] The damaged fourth foot of the stanza apparently mentioned the names of the son and daughter-in-law of Udaya. The damaged passage may be restored as *amukaḥ amukīṁ pariṇītavān*.

[13] This damaged passage may be conjecturally restored as *sattva-vrittyā Rāmachaṁdrō*.

[14] Apparently the money earned by Pālhūka by means of trade was referred to in this damaged passage.

[15] Read °*maḥ=Ṭhakkurō* which was followed by something like °*yaṁ mahāmatiḥ*.

12 Dēvamā Salakhū Lakshmīr=Uttamā ch=ēti tasya tu | dharmma-patnyaḥ pitṛivyasya chatasraḥ pati-dēvatāḥ || 13 | kṛitir=iyaṁ śrīmad-āchārya-N[ē] . . . . .[1]

13 vēḥ śrī-Padmanābhasya || utkīrṇṇ=ēyaṁ Paṁḍita-Yaśōdhara-putrēṇa Jayatasiṁhēna || **Saṁvat 1234 Chaitra-śudi 4** [||*] ] śivam=astu | sthēyāch=ch=aita . . . . . .[2]

[1] The last of the lost syllables was apparently *ka* which appears to have been preceded by the word *putrasya*. The name of the poet's father was probably written only in two syllables, the first of which was *nē*. This name may have been something like Nēma.

[2] The damaged sentence may be conjecturally restored as *sthēyāch=ch=aitat-kīrttir=ā-chaṁdr-ārkam*.

## No. 36—LAHADAPURA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYACHCHANDRA, V. S. 1230

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The inscription forming the subject of this paper is engraved on a stone slab now preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University at Banaras, U. P. It was copied by me when I visited Banaras in June 1955 with the purpose of examining the epigraphic records in the collection of the Kalā Bhavan. The internal evidence shows that it was raised at a place called **Lāhaḍapura.** I was at first inclined to identify it with the modern town of Laharpur (lat. 27° 42′ 45″, long. 80° 56′ 25″), headquarters of a Pargana of the same name in the Sitapur District of U. P. But I am informed that the inscribed stone was found at Barahpur near Nandganj in the Gazipur District by Mr. Kuber Nath Shukla, now Deputy Director of Education. U. P., who presented it to the Kalā Bhavan.

The inscription is written in ten lines which cover an area a little above 18 inches in length and slightly less than 17 inches in height. The letters, which are boldly engraved, are each about 1 inch in height and a little more than ½ inch in breadth. But some of them, with the signs of vowel-marks, etc., have greater height and breadth. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory, although some of the letters are damaged here and there.

The **characters** belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the twelfth century and resemble those not only in the records of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty of Banaras and Kanauj but also in the contemporary inscriptions discovered in the central area of Northern India and some of the neighbouring regions. The letter *b* has been represented by the sign for *v*. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit which is, however, somewhat influenced by the local dialect. Besides the word *svasti* preceded by the *Siddham* symbol standing at the beginning of line 1 and the numerical figures illustrating two sums given in words in lines 2 and 3, the whole record is written in verse. There are only five stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre. The **orthography** of the record is characterised by the use of *anusvāra* in place of class nasals as well as in that of final *m* at the end of the halves of verses. Double nasal has been used in *vimaṁntā* in line 8 and *s* for *sh* in *°ēsā* in line 3.

The **date** of the record is quoted in verses 1-2 in lines 1 ff. It is the year (i.e. **Vikrama Saṁvat**) counted by the words *kha* (i.e. 0) *agni* (i.e. 3) and *arka* (i.e. 12) indicating **1230** which is also given in figures (line 2). The week-day was **Budha** and the *tithi* the **12th of the dark half of the month of Āśvina.** The figures for 12 are written immediately after the indication of the twelfth *tithi* in words. The date **V.S. 1230, Āśvina-vadi 12, Wednesday,** corresponds regularly to the **5th September 1173 A.D.** The said date is stated in verse 1 to have fallen in the reign of the illustrious **Jayachchandradēva** who was undoubtedly the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name. Gāhaḍavāla Jayachchandra ascended the throne on the 21st June 1170 A.D.[1] The inscription was therefore incised a little above three years after his accession.

The inscription under review is a private document. Its **object** is to record an ordinance issued by the Brāhamaṇas of a village in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom without any reference to royal authority, though the heavy punishment stipulated is stated to have included not only certain

[1] See Bhandarkar's List, No. 345.

kinds of harrassment of the persons guilty of certain crimes but even the death of some of the criminals. This throws some light on the responsibility of the public for the preservation of law and order and attaches a special interest to the inscription. Documents relating to this aspect of early Indian life have been discovered in large numbers in South India ; but epigraphic evidence on the subject is meagre with reference to North India. The inscription under study shows that conditions in the north were practically similar to those prevailing in the South during the early medieval period. In this connection, it is also interesting to note the ancient Indian attitude towards thefts and murders committed in a village, for which often the landlord or the villagers themselves were held responsible for tracing the thief or murderer or otherwise for compensating the aggrieved party.[1]

Verse 2 says that, on the date discussed above, the *Dvijas* or Brāhmaṇas assembled at Lāhaḍapura and drafted the *sthiti* recorded in the inscription and that they made the *saṁvid* in question because they were what is called *vaṭu-ṭuṇṭ-ābhibhūta*. Lāhaḍapura has been referred to as a *grāma* in verse 3 below. But whether the word *grāma* here indicates merely a village or a bigger area with its centre at Lāhaḍapura is difficult to determine. The word *sthiti* has been used in the verse apparently to indicate ' a fixed decision, ordinance or decree ' and *saṁvid* in the sense of ' a mutual agreement or contract '. The nature of our document is thus that of what is called a *sthiti-patraka* in Smṛiti literature, which is a document recording the fixed decision of a corporate body.[2] But the calamity called *vaṭu-ṭuṇṭa* (or °*ṭuṇṭā*), by which the *Dvijas* are stated to have been overwhelmed (*abhibhūta*), is difficult to explain. The word *vaṭu* or *baṭu* means a youngster especially of the Brāhmaṇa class but is also contemptuously applied to adult persons ; but the word *ṭuṇṭa* (or *ṭuṇṭā*) is not found in Sanskrit. The Hindi lexicons, however, recognise the word *ḍhuṇḍh* in the sense of 'a thief, robber or swindler', and it is not impossible that *ṭuṇṭa* in our inscription is a Sanskritised form of it. It may also be suggested that *ṭuṇṭā* is a mistake for *luṇṭā* used in the sense of a robber or robbery in the present context, although it is recognised in the lexicons in the adjectival sense of ' robbing '. Thus a gang of robbers seems to have been operating in the area around Lāhaḍapura and the local people were suffering from their depredations. The learned Brāhmaṇas of the area, probably being the leaders of the local society, therefore assembled to find out a remedy for the menace and they came to a decision which is quoted in the following stanzas of the inscription.

Verse 3 suggests that the unsocial activities were meant for the *parivāda* of the *Dvijas*. The word *parivāda* here appears to be used in the sense of ' ill-repute '. The idea seems to be that the depredations of the unsocial elements were considered by the leaders of the society as conceived in order to put them to shame. It is only another way of saying that the elders responsible for law and order in the village were discredited by the successful operations of the marauders.

Verses 3 ff. contain the text of the *sthiti* or *saṁvid* referred to earlier in verse 2. Verses 3-4 state that the person who would plunder the *grāma* or village (apparently meaning Lāhaḍapura) or would be guilty of a *drōha* (mischief) of any other kind [to its inhabitants], such as the seizure of the cattle (*gō-mahishy-ādi-vēshṭana*) [of the villagers], should be killed at once and his whole property should be confiscated, while his abettor (*upashṭaṁbha-dāyaka*) should be expelled [from the village] and his house [in the village] should be demolished. This shows that the robbers referred to were among the inhabitants of Lāhaḍapura and its immediate neighbourhood. In

[1] Cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, II, verses 271-72.

[2] Cf. Kane, *Kātyāyanasārōddhāra*, v. 254 :

*Chāturvidya-pura-śrēṇi-gaṇa-paur-ādika-sthitiḥ |*
*tat-siddhy-arthē tu yal-lēkhyaṁ tad=bhavēt sthiti-patrakam ||*

See also Bribaspati in *SBE*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 305. For *saṁvid*, see *Manusmṛiti*, VIII, 19 : *yō grāma-dēśa-saṁghānāṁ kṛitvā satyēna saṁvidam | visaṁvadēn=naraō lōbhāt=taṁ rāshṭrād=vinivāsayēt ||*

verse 4, the instantaneous slaughter, as recommended for the culprit, has been indicated by the interesting expression *chakshur-vadha* (i.e. ' slaughter at sight ') in which the word *chakshus* has been used in the sense of 'sight'. The confiscated property of the chief culprit was probably treated as pertaining to the whole village or was more probably assigned to the temple or temples of the locality. This is what was done in South India as we know from a number of inscriptions.[1]

While verses 3-4 speak of the punishment of the principal offender and his abettor, the first half of the next stanza (verse 5) prescribes the punishment for the instigator of the crime. It is stated that the *vimantṛi*, i.e. the adviser of the chief culprit, should be *vārita* ( cf. *vārayan*) and should be treated as an equal of a dog or an ass or a Chaṇḍāla. The causative form of the root *vṛi* may be taken to mean ' to hold captive ' or ' to restrain '. But the injunction that the instigator of the crime should be treated as a dog or an ass or a Chaṇḍāla seems to suggest that he was ostracised and that his movements were restricted. It has to be remembered in this connection that punishment by imprisonment was rather rare in ancient and early medieval India even in cases conducted in the king's courts.[2] Thus, while the chief offender was killed and his whole property confiscated and his abettor was expelled from the locality, his counsellor was permitted to stay in the village although nobody was allowed to have any intercourse with him.

The second half of verse 5, with which the document ends, states that the god Dvādaśārka was the witness [of the *sthiti*] and prays for the success of the same. The name *Dvādaś-ārka* refers to the conception of the twelve Ādityas in a single Sun-god called *Dvādaś-ātman* in the lexicons. Whether it was the name of the Sun-god worshipped at Lāhaḍapura cannot be determined. But the conception of the Sun as a witness of human deeds seems to be quite appropriate as he is called *Lōka-lōchana* (literally, ' the eye of the world ') and *Karma-sākshin* (literally, ' the witness of [all] acts' ) in the Sanskrit lexicons.

The question is now as to the capacity in which the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhaḍapura issued the decree contained in the document under review. Of course the Smṛiti literature makes it abundantly clear that the particular jurisdiction of corporations of every kind was recognised by the ancient and medieval Hindu kings in the fullest measure and that the right of making laws for their corporations and composing disputes was often enjoyed by corporate bodies of farmers, craftsmen, cowherds, money-lenders, members of particular sects, robbers, actors, artisans, etc.[3] No doubt the king of the country was advised to recognise and support the arrangements of and punishments inflicted by the chief of a family or a guild or of a corporation, and to interfere only when a dispute arose between a chief and his subordinates. But cases of grave crimes are stated to have been exclusively reserved for the king. This was, however, theoretical. In actual practice, inferior courts, such as those held by village assemblies, guilds, temple trustees and caste elders, appear to have been conducting criminal cases arising within their jurisdiction side by side with the courts headed by the king and his governors and subordinates without interruption from the government. A large number of South Indian inscriptions are known to prove that criminal cases including those involving homicide were decided by the village assembly or the community to which the accused belonged or the local people in general.[4]

In the present case, the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhaḍapura do not appear to have been members of a corporation of their own community nor do the unsocial elements seem to have belonged to the

[1] Cf. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 234. Considering the punishment prescribed for robbery by the law-givers (Jolly, *HLC*, p. 273; Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, pp. 519 ff.), *chakshur-vadha* does not appear to mean 'blinding the eyes.'

[2] Cf. Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, p. 282.

[3] Jolly, op. cit., p. 293 ; N. C. Sengupta, *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law*, pp. 10-11, 259 ff., 360.

[4] T. V. Mahalingam, op. cit., pp. 225 ff., 235. There is an interesting case, in which the village assembly and its officers as well as the local government officers and the royal army failed to apprehend certain dacoits and ultimately the co-operation of the local people was sought.

same community or corporation. The language of the inscription seems to suggest that the Brāhmaṇas were the members of the village corporation and the unsocial elements belonged to different classes of the local population. The former appear to have been the same sort of corporate body as is called the village Mahājanas in the Kannaḍa inscriptions and the village Mahāsabhā in the Tamil epigraphs. These were generally composed of Brāhmaṇas. The organisation appears to be similar to the village court referred to by Pitāmaha, according to whom such courts could appeal to the city courts which could in their turn appeal to the king.[1]

It may be supposed that the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhaḍapura could not have undertaken the responsibility of preserving law and order in their locality without the king's permission and that, since there is no reference to any royal approval in the record, either the Gāhaḍavāla king specially empowered them to act in the manner described in the inscription or there prevailed a sort of anarchy resulting from maladministration in the region in question and the leaders of the local population had to make their own arrangement for the suppression of unsocial elements. The second of the two alternative suggestions seems to be improbable in view of the fact that in such a case the name of the reigning monarch may not have been prominently mentioned in the document. As regards the first alternative, it may be pointed out that, although in the early medieval period the royal court was regarded as the highest institution for the dispensation of justice, the position of a court like the village assembly was recognised by convention. They automatically enjoyed a sort of relegated authority and did not require special authorisation. It seems that the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhaḍapura who issued the ordinance were also responsible for judging the criminals when caught by the people or the village officers and of inflicting the punishments stipulated in the document.

It may be asked why the Brāhmaṇas felt the necessity for prescribing the said drastic punishments for the crimes in question. The answer seems to be this. There was absence of uniformity and precision in the works of the ancient Indian law-givers in regard to the punishment for most crimes. Crimes were sometimes grouped in categories and a punishment was prescribed for a particular category. Even when various crimes and their punishments were specified, the specification was not exhaustive. Moreover fines and *prāyaśchitta* were often prescribed even for the most heinous crimes.[2] The Brāhmaṇas of Lāhaḍapura apparently felt the necessity to do away with this vagueness and prescribed exemplary punishments for the crimes concerned. This was probably done because the punishments then in vogue in the area were not sufficiently deterrent. Most of the ancient law-givers absolved a Brāhmaṇa from corporal punishment and some of them prescribe for the instigator of a crime double the penalty of the criminal himself.[3] The ordinance of the Brāhmaṇas of Lāhaḍapura shows that they did not find these prescriptions suitable for the preservation of law and order in their area under the prevailing conditions. Above all, the ordinance empowered any of the inhabitants of the village to kill a plunderer and cattle-lifter. This they could not ordinarily do without bringing trouble to themselves. The inscription under study draws our attention to one of the most interesting sources of criminal law in ancient and medieval India even in respect of some of the major crimes which are generally believed to have been dealt with by the kings and their feudatories and governors.

There is only one geographical name in the inscription. This is Lāhaḍapura mentioned in line 3 (verse 2) and apparently referred to as a *grāma* or village in line 5 (verse 3). If the inscribed stone really comes from the Gazipur District of U. P., we are not sure about its identification.

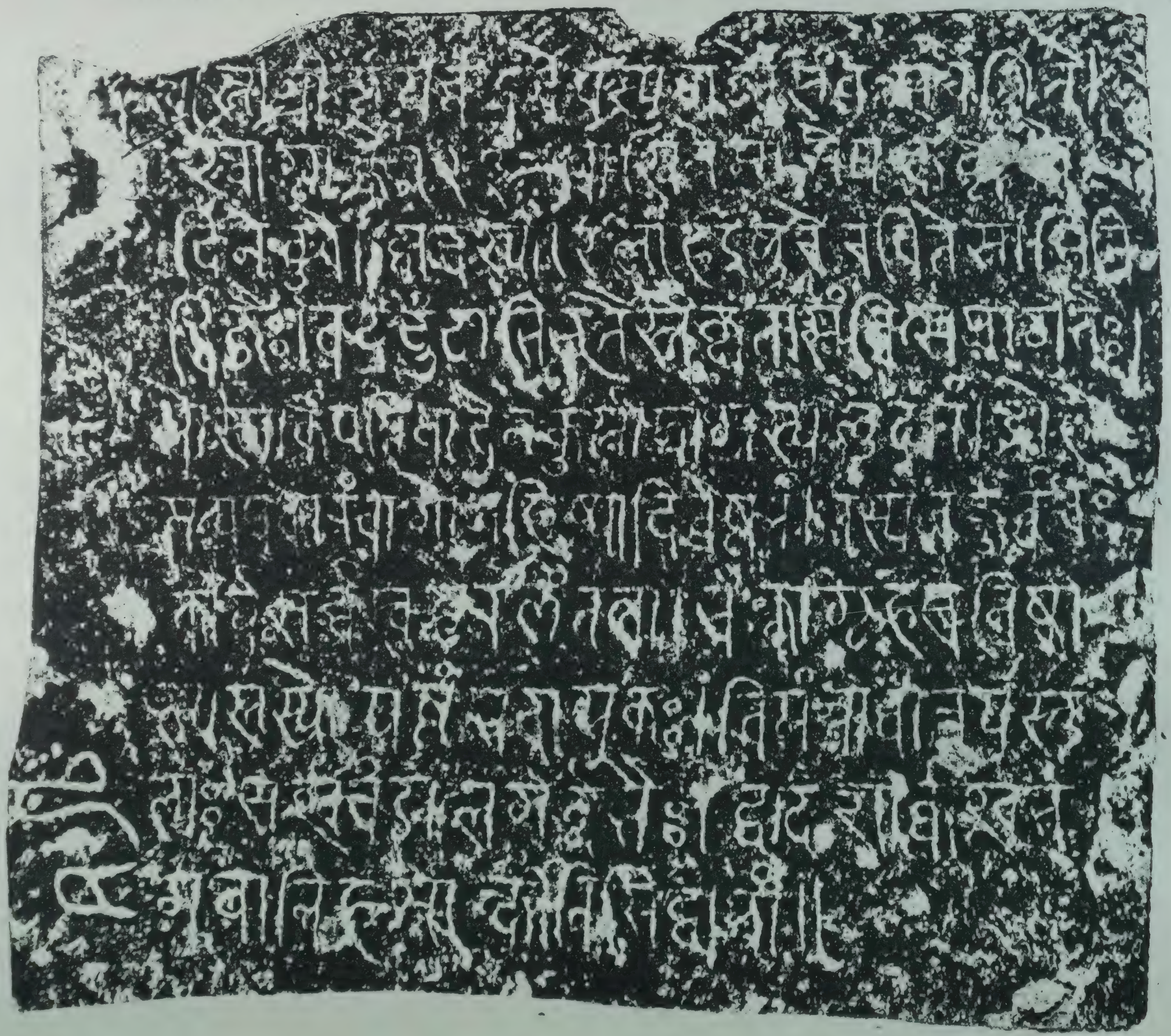
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[1] Jolly, op. cit., p. 290.

[2] See Sengupta, op. cit., pp. 313 ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 314, 318.

# LAHADAPURA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYACHCHANDRA, V.S. 1230



Scale: Two-Fifths

As indicated above, the stone is stated to have been found at the village of Barahpur near Nandganj in the said District. Lāhaḍapura thus may have been the old name of modern Barahpur or the area around that village.

## TEXT[1]

1 [Siddham][2] svasti | Śrī-**Jayachchaṁdradēvasya** rājyē saṁvatsarē mitē |

2 **kh-āgny-arkkaiḥ 1230 Ā[3]śvinē māsē pakshē** [**kṛishṇē**]

3 **dinē Vu(Bu)dhē** || [1*] **Dvādaśyāṁ 12 Lāhaḍayu(pu)rē** rachit=ēsā[4] s[thit]i-

4 r=dvijaiḥ | **vaṭu-ṭuṁṭ-ā[5]bhibhūtais=tai**[ḥ*] kṛitā saṁvit=samāgataiḥ |[| 2*]

5 Yō=smākaṁ pa[r]ivādēna kuryād=grāmasya luṁṭanaṁ(nam) | drōha-

6 m=anya-prakāraṁ **vā gō-mahishy-ādi-**[vē]shṭanaṁ(nam) || [3*] Tasya chakshur-vvadhaḥ

7 kāryaḥ sarvvasva-haraṇaṁ tathā | bhaṁktvā gṛihaṁ [cha] nishkā-

8 lyas=tasy=ōpashṭaṁbha-dāyakaḥ |[| 4 *] Vimaṁ(ma)ntā vārayaṁs=tu-

9 lyaḥ sa śva-Chaṁḍāla-garddabhaiḥ | Dvādaśārkva(rkka)ś=cha bha-

10 gavā[n=i]ha sāksh=īti siddhyatāṁ(tu) || [5*]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Correctly °*rkkair=Ā*°. *Sandhi* seems to have been ignored because the figures were placed between the two words.

[4] Read °*t=aishā*.

[5] The vowel-mark with *ṭ* looks somewhat like *ī*. The word *ṭuṇṭa* or *ṭuṇṭā* is not found in Sanskrit ; but, as indicated above, it has been used here in the sense of ' a robber ' or ' robbery '. It seems to stand either for Hindi *huṇḍh* or Sanskrit *luṇṭā*. The word *vaṭu* may also be read as *vadra* ; but that would scarcely give any sense.

## No. 37—ARASAVALLI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA (III), SAKA 982

*( 2 Plates )*

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

At the end of August 1957, the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, acquired these plates from Shri Manda Narasimham of Śrīkākuḷam. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly entrusted the plates to me for studying and editing in the pages of this journal. The plates were discovered by a farmer while digging in a field in front of his house at Arasavalli in the Srikakulam Taluk, Visakhapatnam District. They were purchased by Shri Bhanumurti Pantulu, a teacher at Śrīkākuḷam. Shri Manda Narasimham, who obtained them from the latter, has published them in the Telugu journal *Bhārati*, May 1954, pp. 449 ff.[1]

This is a **set** of five copper-plates, each measuring about 8.5 inches by 3 inches. On the left side of each plate is a hole, about one inch in diameter, through which passes a circular ring about 3.75 inches in diameter. To this ring is attached a **seal** which is circular in shape and which measures about 2 inches in diameter. In the centre of the seal is the seated figure of a bull together with the other usual emblems found in the seals of the grants of Vajrahasta III. The first plate is inscribed on one side while the remaining four plates bear writing on both sides. The state of preservation of the writing is not satisfactory, specially on the fourth and fifth plates which cover the grant portion. The plates weigh 160 *tolas* while the ring with the seal weighs 58 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the variety called eastern Nāgarī and resemble those found in the other charters of Vajrahasta (III).[2] In respect of orthography, it may be observed that *ñ* is written with the upper part of the symbol separated, cf. lines 6, 11 and 15. *N* is represented by two forms ; cf. lines 1, 4 and 7 for one type and lines 69, 70 and 71 for the other. It is difficult to distinguish between *p* and *y*. The symbol for *v* denotes *b* as well. In most cases, the consonant following *r* is reduplicated.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the text is written in prose and verse.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Vajrahasta (III, 1038-70 A.D.), the son of Kāmārṇava and Vinayamahādēvī. It contains the *praśasti* beginning with *śrīmatām= akhila-bhuvana*, etc., introduced by this king. The text of the inscription upto line 39, comprising the introductory portion, is identical with that found in the other records of the king.[3] It may be pointed out that while the Nadagam, Narasapatam, Peddabammidi, Chicacole and the present plates introduce the ruling king as *śrīmad-Vajrahastadēvaḥ*, the Madras Museum, Ganjam, Chikkalavalasa and the Boddapāḍu plates refer to him as *śrīmad-Anantavarmmā Vajrahastadēvaḥ*. The present inscription does not supply any new historical information.

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[1] The same scholar has again noticed them in English in *JAHRS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 113 ff.

[2] See above, Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff. and Plates ; ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff. and Plates ; ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

[3] Besides the present grant, I have listed eight more records of this king. They are, (1) Nadagam plates, Śaka 979 (above, Vol. IV, pp. 183 ff) ; (2) Madras Museum plates, Śaka 984 (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 94 ff.) ; (3) Narasapatam plates, Śaka 967 (ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.) ; (4) Ganjam plates, Śaka 991 (ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 67 ff.); (5) Peddabammidi plates, Saka 982 (ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 305 ff.) ; (6) Chikkalavalasa plates, Śaka 982 (below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 141ff.) ; (7) Chicacole plates, Śaka 971 (*JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ft.) ; and (8) Boddapāḍu plates, Śaka 982 (*Kaḷingadēśacharitra*, Appendix, pp. 55 ff.).

The grant was issued from Kaliṅganagara, usually identified with Mukhaliṅgam. The record registers the grant of the village Harisavēlli (line 40) situated in Varāhavarttanī (*vishaya*). The gift village is mentioned again as Arisavalli in line 67, along with its adjoining village Māvēṇḍi. Varāha-varttanī occurs in other records of this king as well as of other members of this dynasty and is usually taken to correspond to the area near modern Śrīkākuḷam.

The date of our grant, which occurs in lines 42-43, is expressed in the chronogram, **kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-ābdē**, i.e. Śaka 982, Kārttika, the twelfth day of the first fortnight, Monday It regularly corresponds to Monday, October 9, A.D. 1060. It is earlier than the date of the Peddabammidi plates by two months and nineteen days only. Kārttika śu. 12 is known in the Kannaḍa-Telugu speaking area as *Utthāna-dvādaśī*, i.e., the day on which god Vishṇu is woken up from his long sleep. It is also called *Prabōdhōtsava*. This *tithi* is also known for the end of *Chāturmāsya-vrata* (which begins on the same *tithi* in the month of Āshāḍha) and *Tulasī-vivāha* (the marriage of Vishṇu with the Tulasī plant). The previous day,, i.e. *ēkādaśī*, is called *Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī*.

The details of the grant are given in lines 43 ff. This portion is defective in many places and so it is difficult to make out the purport satisfactorily. As stated above, the inscription registers the gift of the village Harisavēlli which is also called Arisavalli. It appears that the village was originally given by the king to the son and three daughters of Dālamapeggaḍa and his wife Mavanaka. Dālamapeggaḍa is stated to have been the chief minister (*mahāpradhāna*). The names of his son and daughters are given respectively as Mēḍapa-nāyaka, Viddāma, Mēḍama and Pōtama. The subsequent assignment[1] of the gift village was as follows : The village was divided into four parts and one part was given to Śiriyapa-nāyaka, Vajjināyaka, Guṇḍamanāyaka and Nuṁkama-nāyaka who were the sons of Naḍupana-nāyaka, a Kāyastha of Kāśyapa-gōtra, and his wife Paitapā. This part constituted the units called Puṇḍi-niyōga and Pāmchāli-niyōga.[2] This portion was further divided into nineteen shares out of which eighteen shares were taken by Vajji-nāyaka, Guṇḍama-nāyaka and Nuṁkama-nāyaka (mentioned above) while the remaining share was given to Naḍupanāyaka, son of Śiriyapanāyaka.[3] Again the second part of the village was divided into five shares as follows : one share to Guṇḍana and Apētana, sons of Māviraṭṭaḍi of Śūdra-vaṁśa and his wife Viṭṭapā ; one share to Chandēna, son of the younger Dāmaraṭṭaḍi and his wife Sāyapā ; one share to Chāmēna, son of Viṭṭanaraṭṭaḍi and his wife Sarvapā ; one share to Māṁkana and Duggana, sons of Mādiraṭṭaḍi and his wife Chinnapā ; and one share to Kaṭṭana and Viṭṭana, sons of Dugganaraṭṭaḍi and his wife Gavakā. The part, consisting of these five shares, constituted the units known as Gavaḍa-niyōga and Chandrāditya-niyōga.

The record then proceeds to state that the village was divided into *Santāraha-bhāga*, the meaning of which is doubtful. We know that the village was originally divided into four parts. Out of these, two parts have been disposed of as indicated above and the fourth part is accounted for later in the record. Therefore, this corresponded to the third part of the village, which was probably divided into seventeen shares and given to Dāmara-nāyaka and Viṇarāyi-nāyaka, sons of Kāyastha Chaṇḍu-nāyaka of Kāśyapa-gōtra. It appears that the grant was made at the instance of Iddachāhapa and that the recipients in their turn granted some portion to Nūṁkamōja, son of Chīḍumōja. The record next states that king Vajrahasta granted

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[1] The expression *uttara-niyōga* is taken in this sense here, though the word *niyōga* which occurs later in the record seems to have been used in a technical sense meaning ' a unit '. See note 2 below.

[2] The word *niyōga* is suffixed to the proper names here and in similar expressions in the sequel. It is difficult to make out their exact significance. Possibly the portions granted were known by these names at the time of the grant

[3] Probably Śiriyapa-nāyaka was dead at the time and so his son gets only one share while his brothers get eighteen shares.

the village Māvēṇḍi, apparently adjoining the village Arisavalli in whose revenues it was included.[1] The inscription then proceeds to account for the fourth part out of the four parts into which the gift village Harisavēlli was divided. This fourth and last part was divided into eight shares and distributed as follows : two shares to Kāyastha Nūṁkapa : one share each to Kāyastha Sōmanātha and Kāyastha Dāmara ; and one share to Chīḍana of *Chaturtha-vaṁśa* i. e. Śūdra community.[2] These shares constituted the units Raṭṭaḍa-niyōga and Vuṁcha-niyōga. It is not known whether the remaining three shares (out of the eight) were also included in these two *niyōgas*.

In the concluding part the record states that Chirīyapa-nāyaka and Chiḍapōta-nāyaka granted half of the share of Bhadima-nāyaka[3] owned by the latter in the units Puṇḍi-niyōga and Pāṁchāli-niyōga. The grant was made to Pinnamanāyaka and Māvuranāyaka, sons of Apitamanāyaka. It is possible that the donors Chirīyapanāyaka and Chiḍapōta-nāyaka were the sons of Bhadima-nāyaka. But how the latter got shares in Puṇḍi-niyōga and Pāṁchāli-niyōga is not made clear.

The gift-village Harisavēlli, also called Arisavalli, is to be identified with modern Arasavalli in the Srikakulam Taluk, where the plates were discovered. The adjoining village mentioned in the record as Māvēṇḍi is not shown on the maps.

The inscription does not give the usual imprecatory verses at the end. As the recipients of the grant were Kāyasthas and Śūdras and as the record does not state that the gift was free from taxes, it appears to be a *kara-śāsana*.

## TEXT[4]

[Metres : Verses 1, 4, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verses 3, 7, 13 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 5 *Vaṁśastha* ; verses 6, 10 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 9 *Gīti* ; verse 11 *Vasantatilakā*.]

### *First Plate*

1 Siddham[5] svasti [|*] śrīmatām-aṣhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi[naya][6]-dayā-dāna-dākshiṇya-satya-[śau][6]-

2 cha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇāṁ=Ātrē[ya-gōtrā][6]ṇāṁ vimala-vi[chā][6]r-āchāra-pu-

3 ṇya-śa(sa)lila-[pra][6]kshyā(kshā)lita-kali-kāla-kalmasha-mashīṇāṁ [ma][6]hā-Mahēndr-āchala-śi[kha][6]ra-prati-

4 shṭhitasya sa-char-ācharа-gurōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇ-aika-sūtra-dhāra[sya ś][6]śā-

5 ṅka-chi(chū)ḍāmaṇērbhbha(r=bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaḥ prasādāt=samāsādit-aika-[śaṅkha-bhē][6]rī-

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[1] The expression which occurs in this connection is *Māvēṇḍigrāmaḥ Arisavalli-grāmaṁ pravēśya pradattaḥ*. For the interpretation of the word *prāvēśya* or *pravēśa* in this context, see Dr. Sircar's article on Chidivalasa plates of Dēvēndravarman, *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note 1.

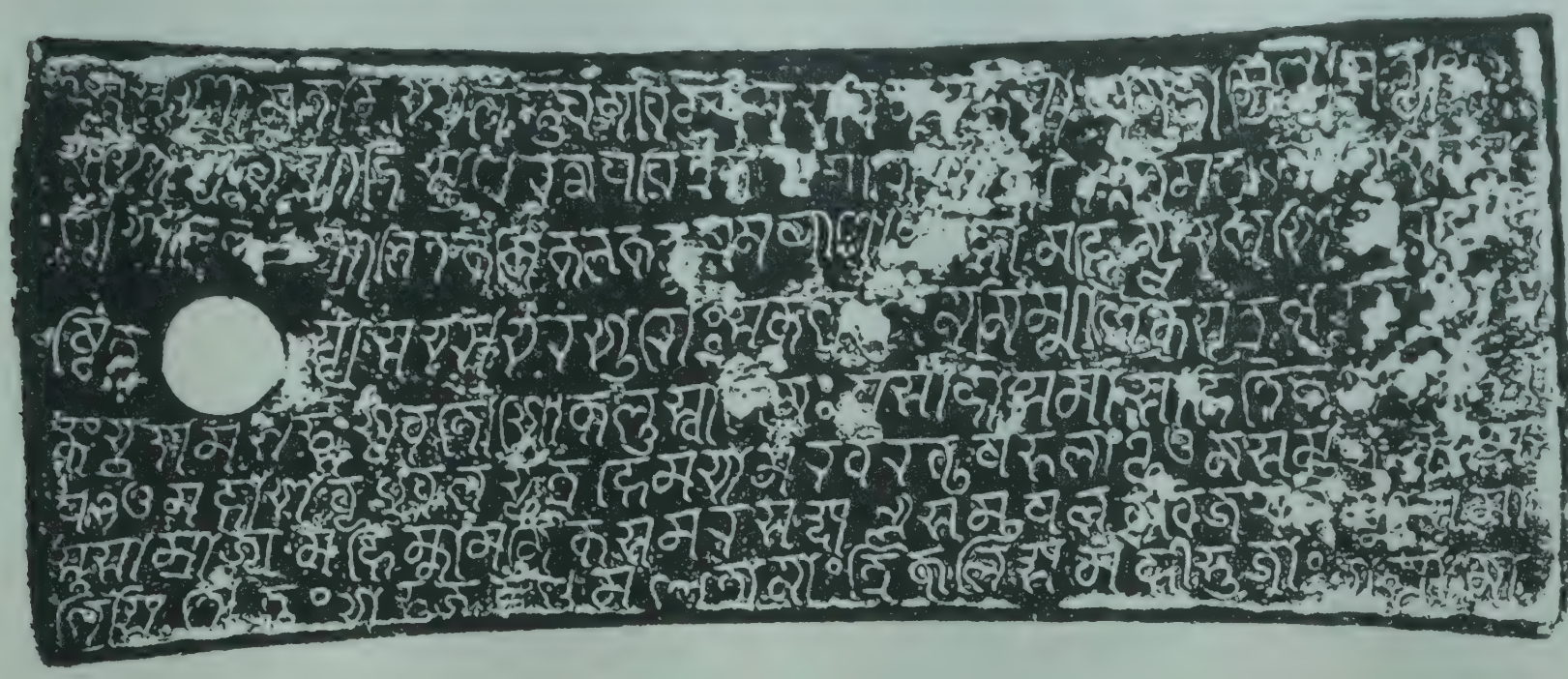
[2] These make only five shares ; the remaining three shares are not accounted for.

[3] Also called Bhaddi-nāyaka.

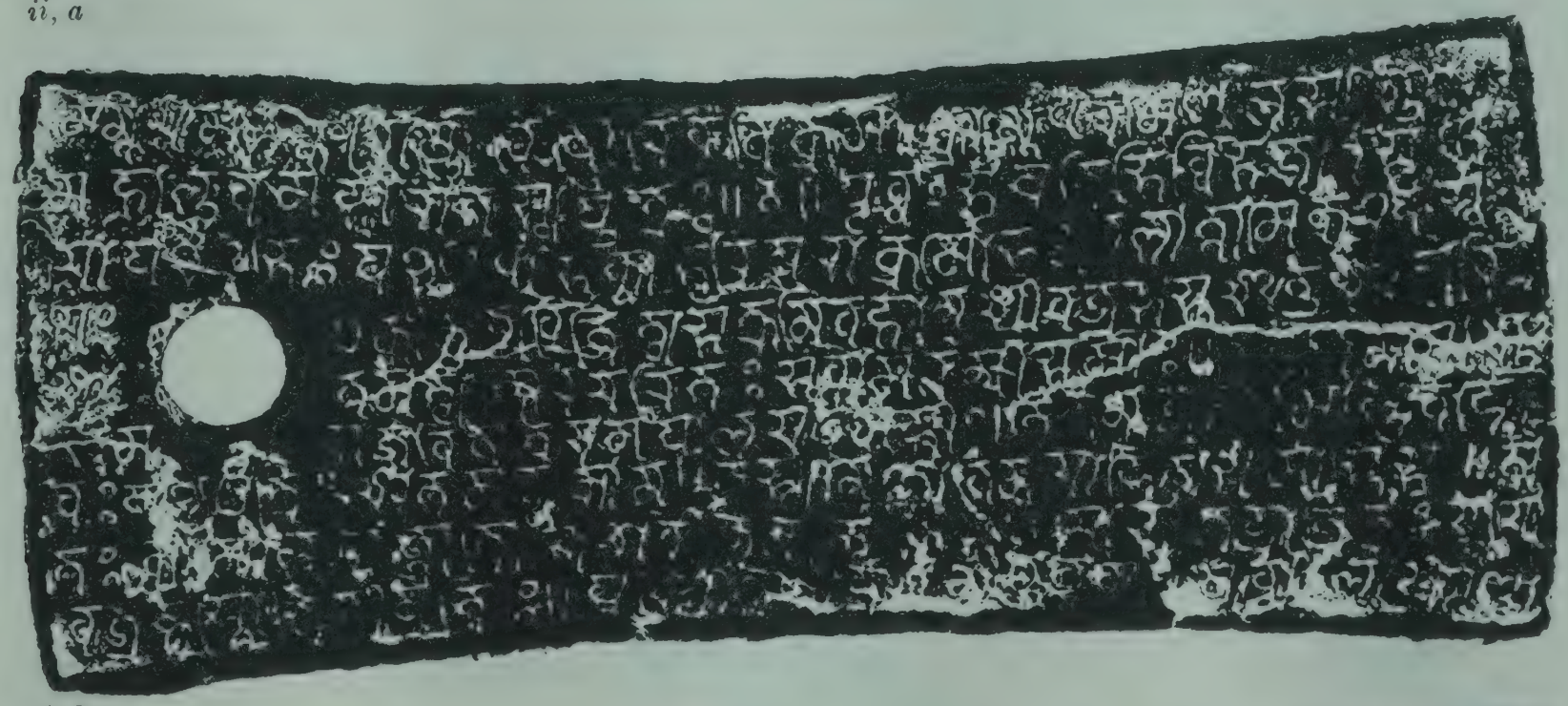
[4] From the original plates and impressions.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

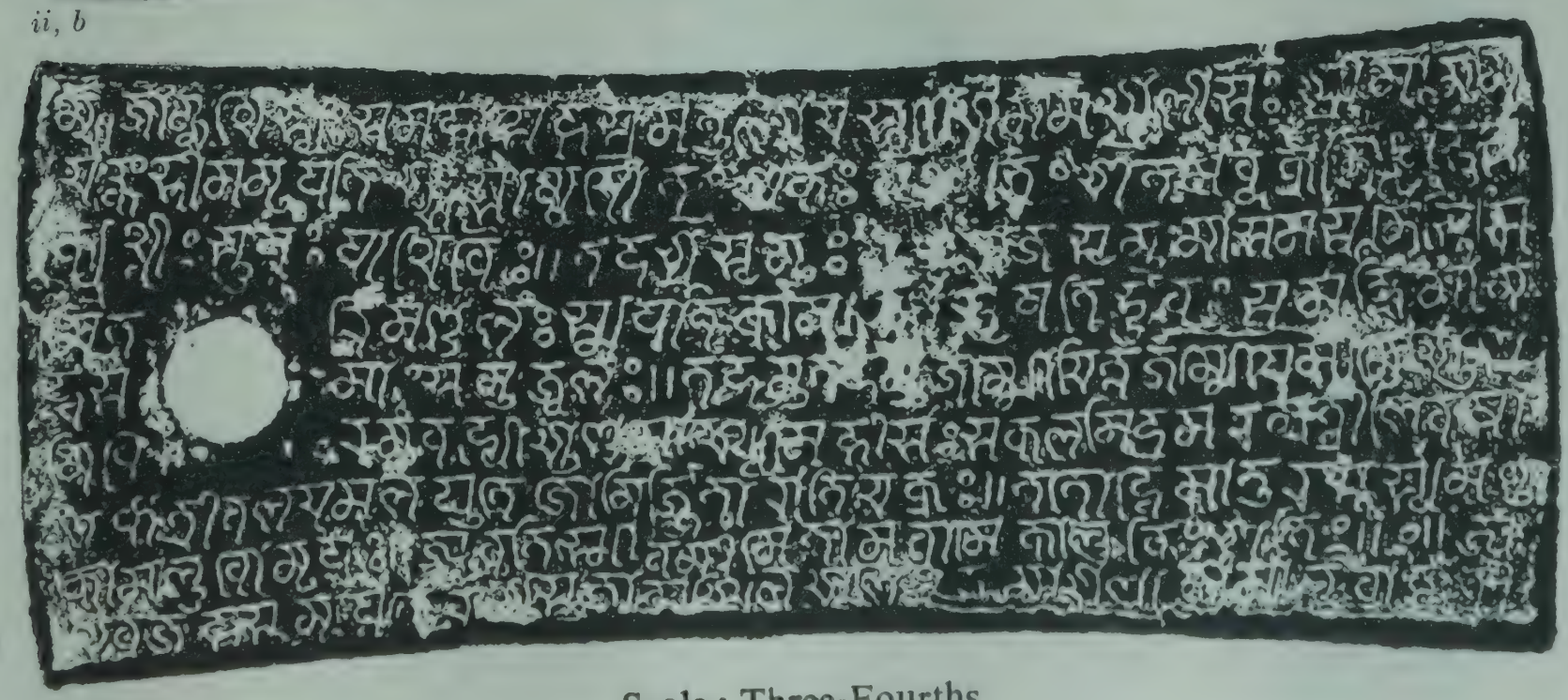
[6] The portion given in the brackets is damaged.



*ii, a*

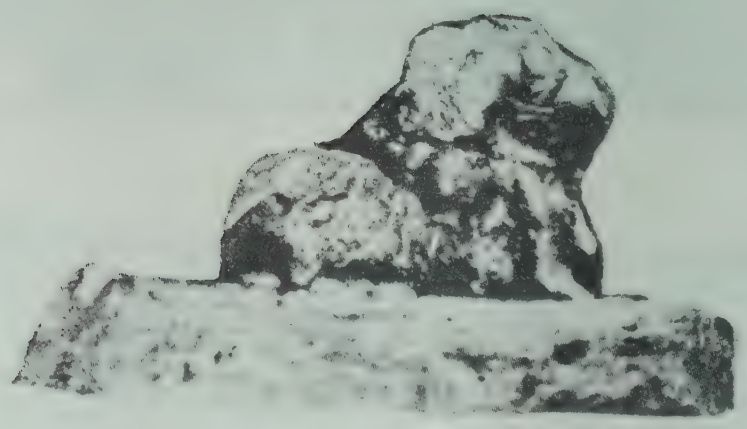


*ii, b*



Scale : Three-Fourths

SEAL



(from a Photograph)

6 pañchamahāśavda(bda)-dhavalachchhatra-hēmachāmara-varavṛishabhalāñchhana-samujva-(jjva)la-sama-

7 sta-sāmrājya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmī-samā-

8 liṅgit-ōtuṁ(ttuṁ)ga-bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ Trikaliṅga-mahībhujāṁ Gaṅgānā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

9 m=anvayam=alaṅkarishṇōr=Vishṇōr=iva vikram-ākrānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Guṇa-

10 mahārṇṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ ||0|| Pūrvvaṁ bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya vasu[dhā]

11 yā pañchabhiḥ pañchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhuja-va(ba)lāt=tām=ēka ēva sva-

12 yaṁ(yam | ) ēkīkṛitya vijitya sa(śa)tru-nivahāna(hān) śrī-Vajrahastaś=chatuśchatvāri[ṁ]-

13 śatam=atyudāra-charitaḥ sarvvām=arakshīt=samāḥ || [1*] Tasya tana[yō] Gu-

14 [ṇḍa]marājō varsha-trayam=apālayata mahīṁ(hīm) ||( | )tad-anujaḥ Kāmārṇṇavadē-

15 vaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān || [2*][1] tasy=ānujō Vinayāditya[ḥ*] samās=tisra[ḥ] || Ta-

16 taḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj=jātō jagatī-kalpa-bhū[ruhaḥ] | yō=rājad=rājitaḥ(ta)-chchhāyō

17 Vajrahastō=vanīpatiḥ ||[3*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

18 n=gajānn a(n=a)rthibhyaḥ samadāt=sahasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇī[ḥ |*] saḥ(sa) śrīmān=Ani-

19 yaṅkabhīma-nṛipatir=Ggaṅg-ānvay-ōtaṁ(ttaṁ)śa(sa)kaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān=samabhuna-

20 k=pṛithvīṁ stutaḥ pārthivaiḥ || [4*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ [Su]rarāja-sūnunā samas=samastāṁ sa(śa)-

21 mit-āri-maṇḍalaḥ [|*] sma pāti Kāmā[rṇṇava]-bhūpatirbhbhu(r=bbhu)vaṁ samṛiddhi-mān=a-

22 rddha-samāṁ samujva(jjva)laḥ || [5*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmō(nmā) Chittajanm-ōpamānō guṇa-

23 nidhir=anavadyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō mahīśaḥ(śaḥ | ) sakalam=idam=arakshat=trīṇi varshā-

24 ṇi dhātrī-valayam=alaghu-tējō-nirjjit-ārāti-chakraḥ || [6*] Tatō dvē(dvai)māturas=tasya Madhu-

25 kāmā[r]ṇṇavō ṇripaḥ || ( | ) avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdā(bdā)mē(n=ē)kāṇṇa(n-na)-vīṁśatiṁ(tim) ||0|| [7*] A-

26 tha Vajrahasta-nṛipatēr=agra-sutād[2]=akhila-guṇi-jan-āgra[2]gaṇya[ḥ |*] Kāmārṇṇavāt=kav-ī-

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[1] The metre is faulty ; cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 71, note 14.

[2] There is an *ā-mātrā* attached to this *akshara* which seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

*Third Plate, First Side*

27 ndra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrttiḥ ‖ [8*] Śriya iva Vaidumvā(mb-ā)nvaya-payaḥ-payōnidhi-

28 samudbhavāyāś=cha [|*] yaḥ samajani Vinayamahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta iti tanayaḥ

29 ‖ [9*] Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-saṁkhyāṁ yāti Śāk-āvda(bda)-saṁ[ghē] dinakṛiti Vṛishabhasthē Rōhiṇī-bhē su-

30 lagnē [|*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē Sri(Sū)rya-vārē tritīyāṁ yuji sakala-dharitrīṁ

31 rakshituṁ yō=bhishiktaḥ ‖ [10*] Nyāyēna [yatra] samam=ācharituṁ tri-varggē mārggē-

32 ṇa rakshati mahīṁ mahita-pratāpē [|*] [nirvyā]dhayaś=cha niraghāś=cha nirāpada-

33 ś=cha śaśvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūtima[ttya]ḥ ‖ [11*] [Vyā]ptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśa

34 sā dik-chakravālē śasi-pradyōt-āmalinēna [yasya] bhuvanaḥ(na)-prahlāda-sampādinā [|*]

35 saindūrair=atisāndra-paṅka-paṭalai[ḥ*] kumbha-[sthalī]-paṭṭakēśvā(shv=ā)limpanta(nti) punaḥ pu-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

36 naś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān ‖ [12*] Anurāgau(gē)ṇa guṇinō yasya vakshē(kshō)-mukhāvja(bja)-

37 yō(yōḥ) [|*] āśī(sī)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=anukūlē virājita[ḥ*][1] ‖0‖ [13*] Kaliṅganagarāt= paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-

38 paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhipati-śrīmad-Vava[2]jrahastadēva[ḥ*] kuśalī

39 samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadān=samāhūya samājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu bhavatāṁ

40 Varāhavarttanyām |[3] Harisavēlli-grāmaḥ |[3] chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinnaḥ sa-jala-stha-

41 laḥ sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjjitam=ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvan=mātā-pitrōr= ātma-

42 naḥ puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē [3]| **kara-vasu-nidhi-Śāk-āvdē(bdē)** |[3] Kārttika-māsa-prathama-paksha-dvāda-[4]

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

43 syāṁ(śyāṁ) Sōmavārē |[3] Kāśyapa-gōtr-ōtpannaḥ Kāyastha-varish[ṭh]aḥ mahāpradā-(dhā)-

44 niḥ(naḥ) Dālamapeggaḍas=tasya bhāryyā Mavanaka-nāmā tayōḥ pū(pu)trōḥ(trō) Mē-

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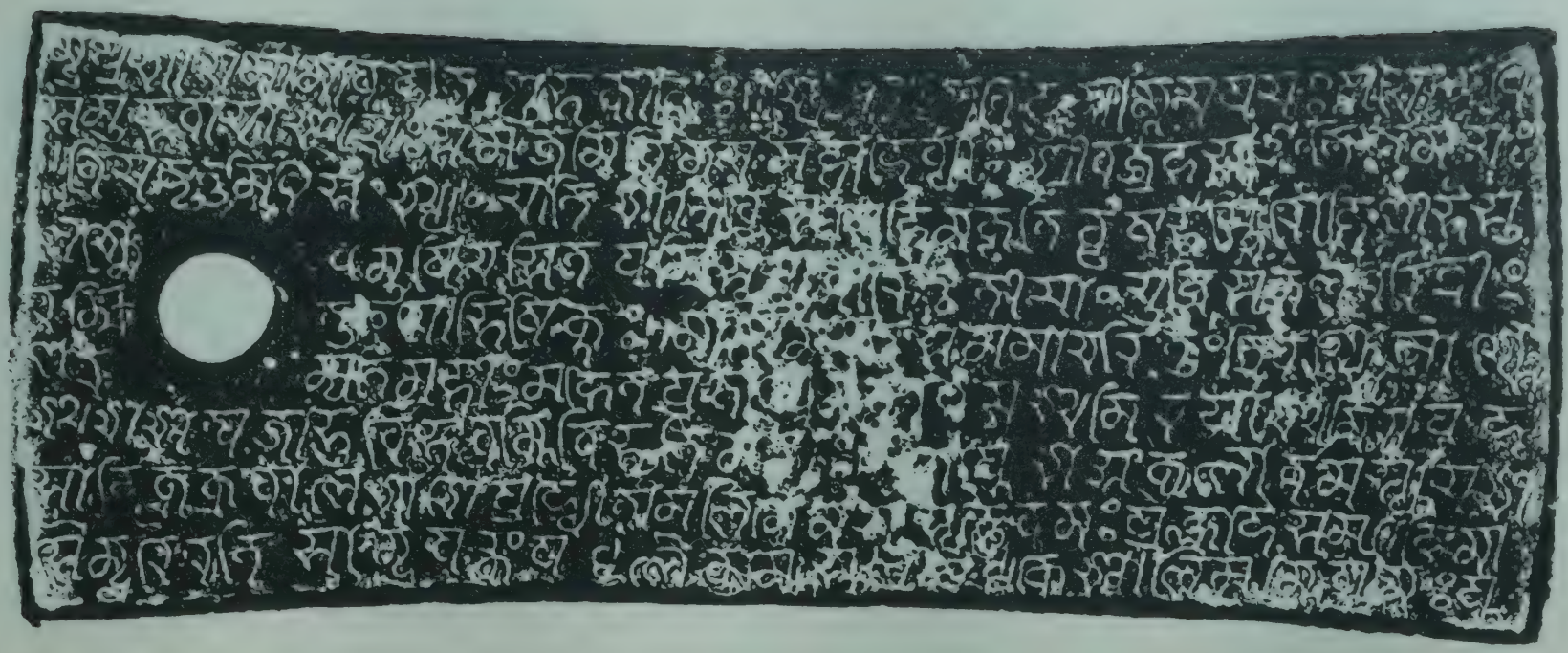
[1] Cf. *nisarga-bhinn-āspadam=ēka-saṁstham=asmin=dvayaṁ Śrīś=cha Sarasvatī cha* (*Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 29).

[2] One *va* is redundant.

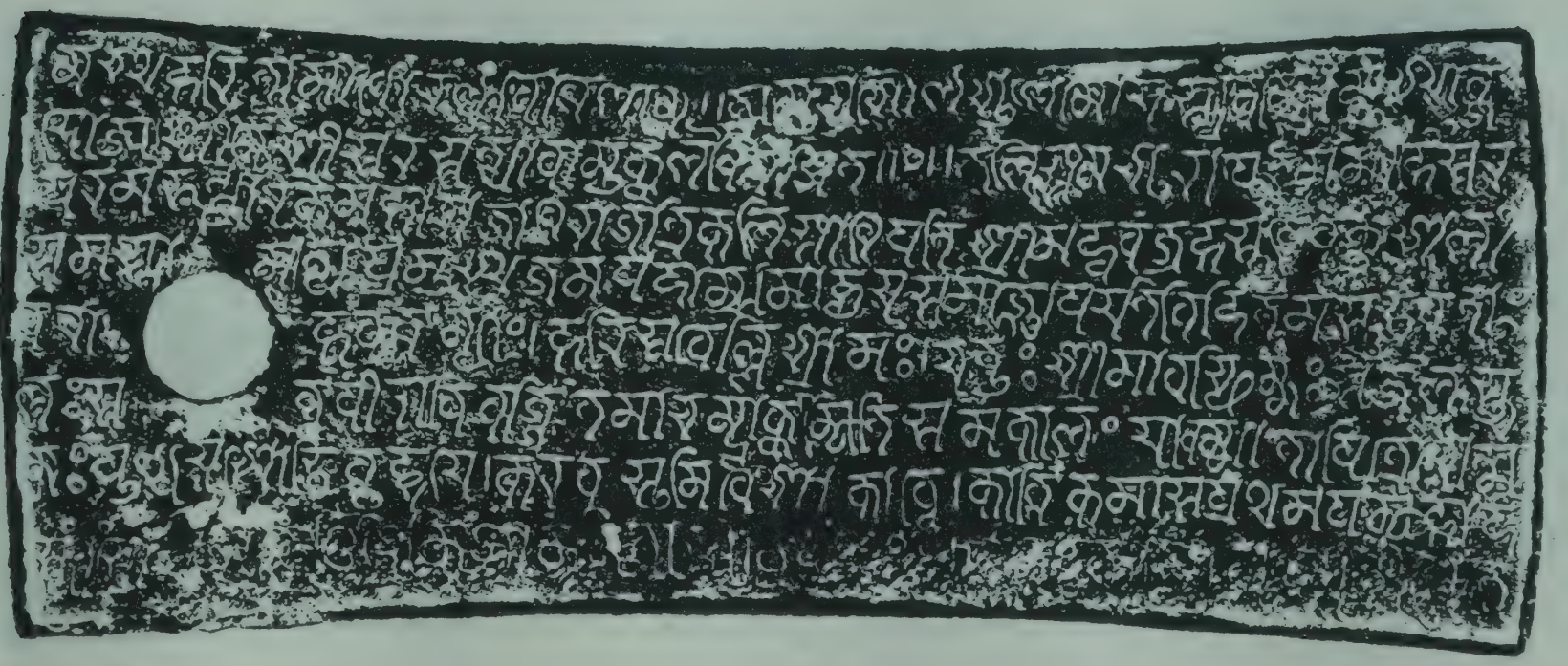
[3] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[4] This plate contains one more line of writing after this, which is erased. The engraving is not deep as it is elsewhere and the reading seems to be the continuation of this line with *syāṁ Sōmavārē Uśiki-grāma-nivāsī*....

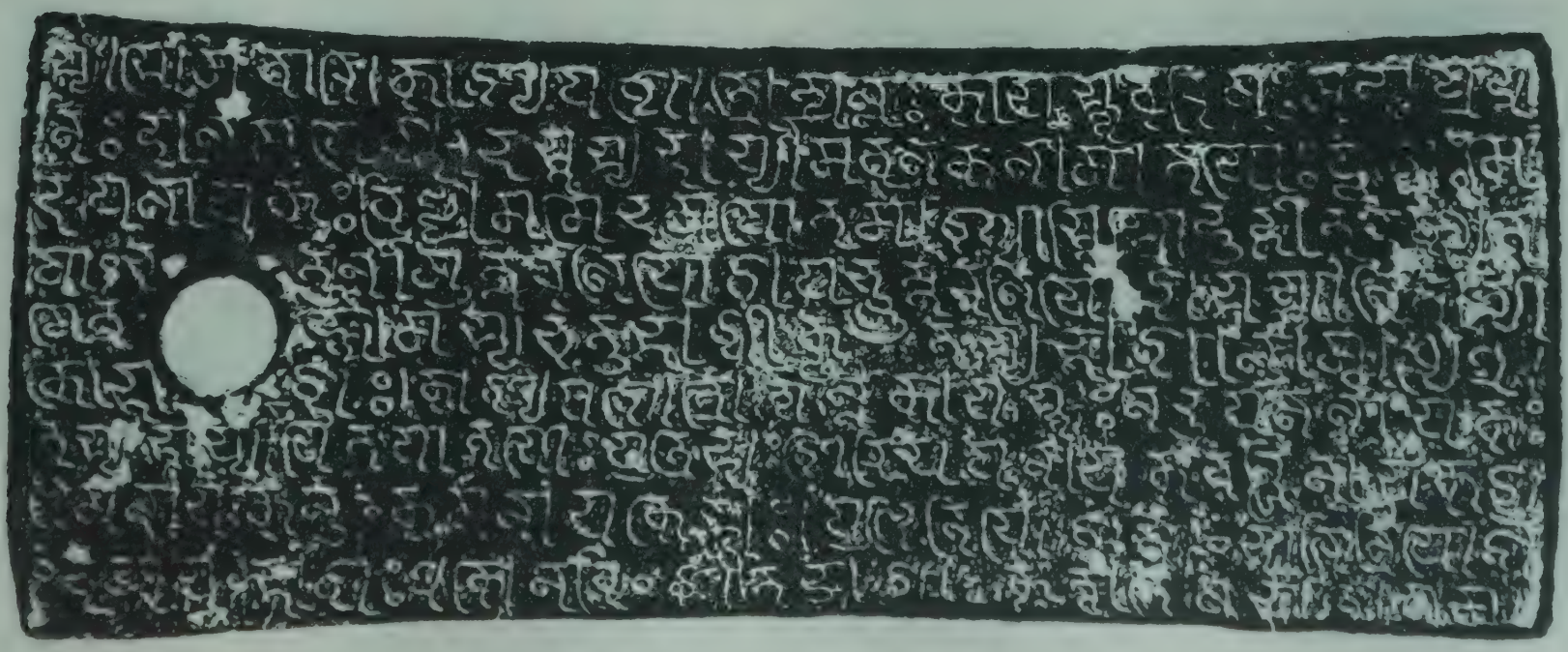
*iii, a*



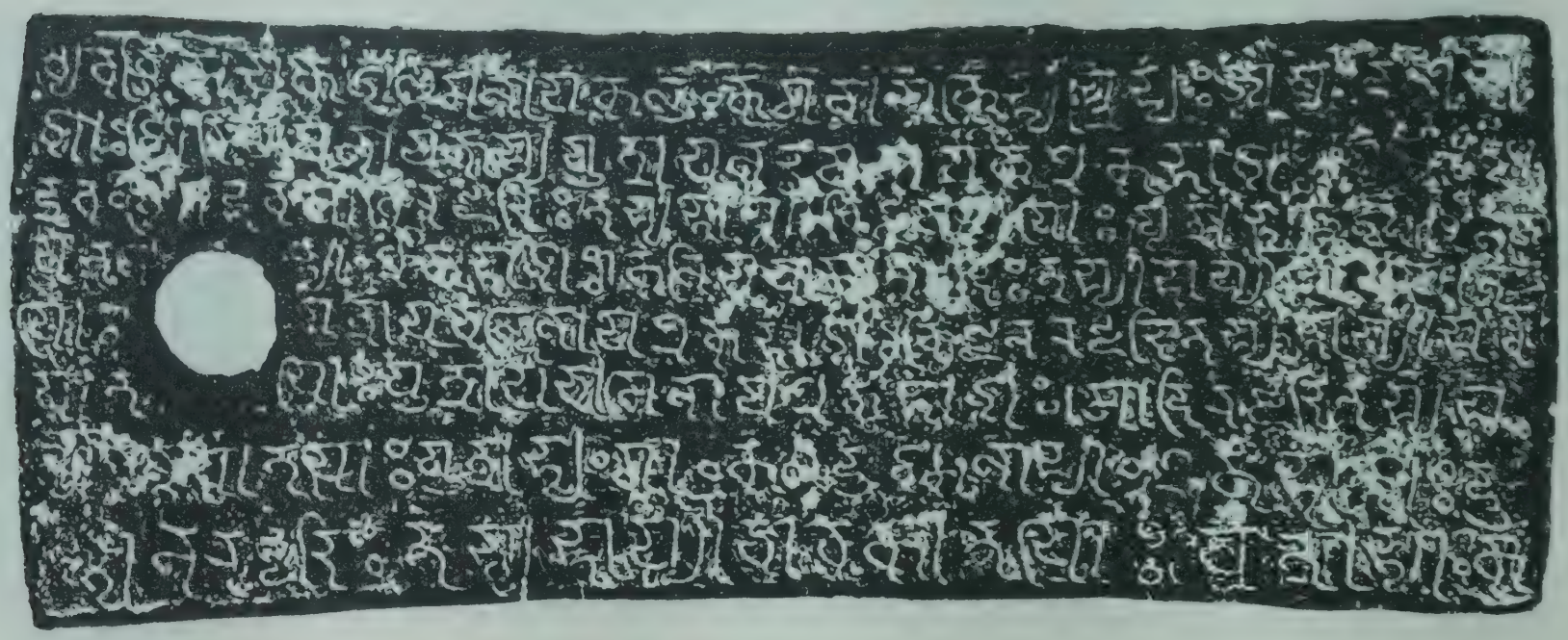
*iii, b*



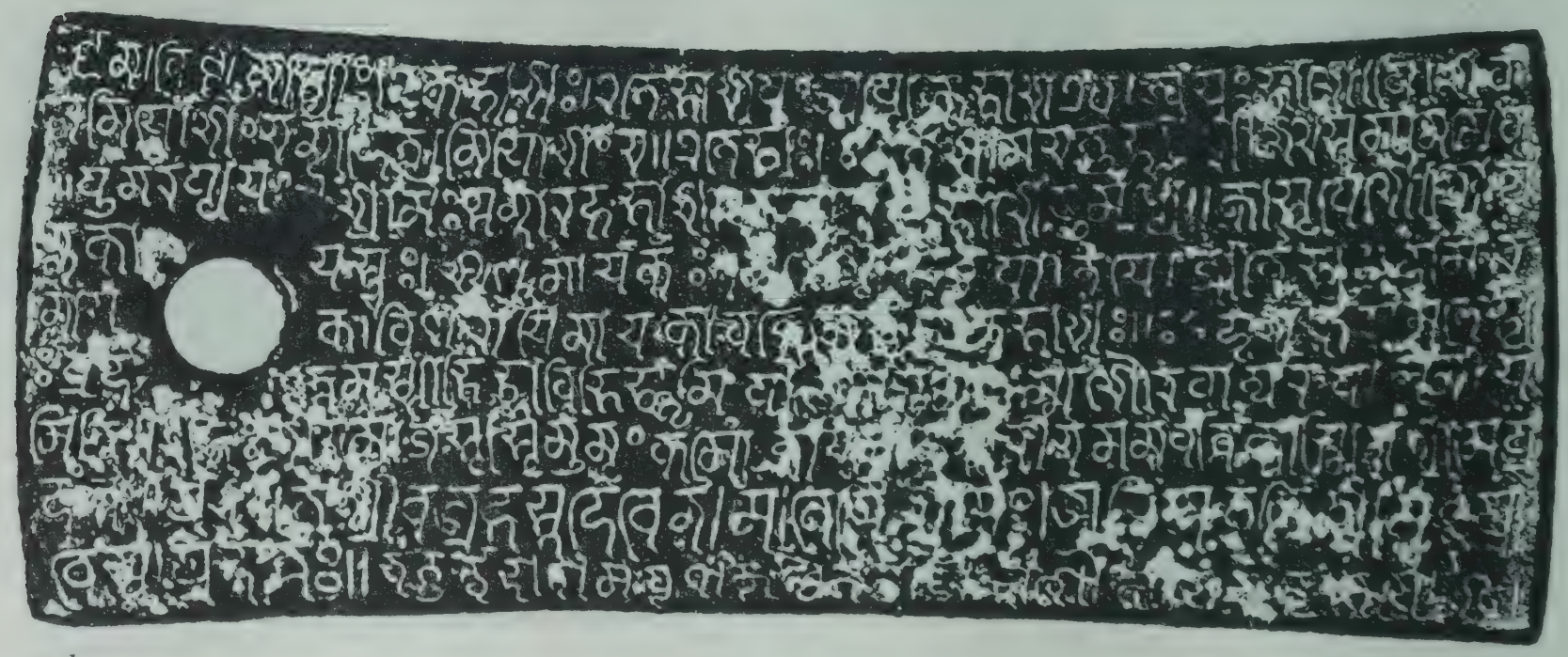
*iv, a*



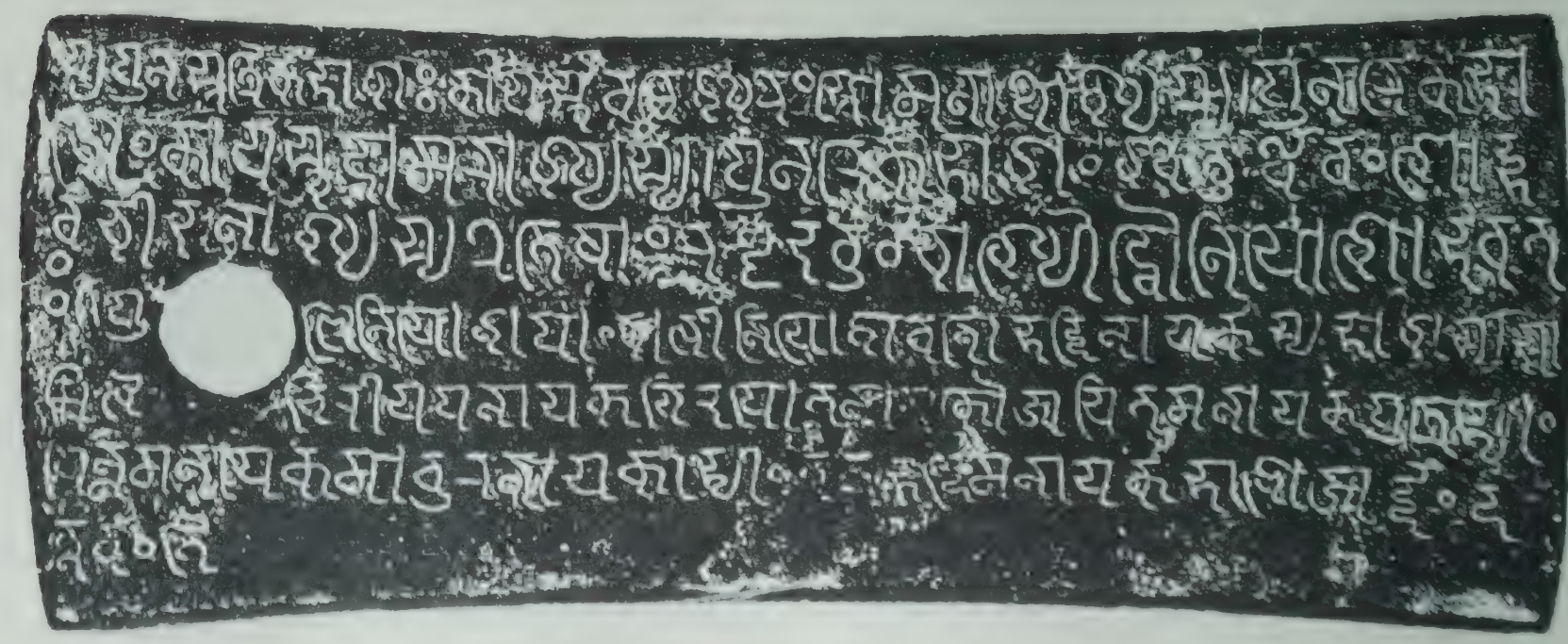
*iv, b*



*v, a*



*v, b*



45 ḍapa-nāyakaḥ Viddāma-Mēḍama-Pōtam-ākhyās=tisrō duhī(hi)taraś=cha tē-

46 shāṁ chaturnnā(rṇṇā)m=uttara-niyōga(gō) yachchhu[1]ttara-niyōga[ḥ*] sammānitā-(ta)vyā-

47 m=ētad[2]-grāmasya chatur-bhāgīkṛitasya bhāgānām=madhyē ē-

48 kō bhāgaḥ |[3] Kāśyapa-gōtr-ōtpanna-Kāyasthaḥ Naḍupana-nāyakaḥ

49 tasya bhāryyā Paitapā tayōḥ putrēbhyaḥ Śiriyapanāyaka-Vajjināyaka-Gu-

50 ṇḍamanāyaka-Nuṁkamanāyakēbhyaḥ |[3] Puṇḍi-niyōga[ḥ*]- Pāṁchāli-niyōga-

51 ṁ(ḥ) cha [|*] ayaṁ bhāgaḥ ēk-ōna-viṁśati-bhāgāḥ kṛitvā(tās)=tēshu bhāgēshu ma-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

52 dhyē Vajjināyaka-Guṇḍamanāyaka-Nuṁkamanāyakēbhyas=tribhyaḥ[4] ashṭādaśa-bhā-

53 gāḥ Śiriyapanāyakasya putrāya Naḍupanāyaka(kāya) ēka-bhāgaḥ | punaḥ Śu(Śū)-

54 dra-vaṁś-ōdbhava-Māviraṭṭaḍiḥ(ḍis)=tasya bhāryyā Viṭṭapā tayōḥ pū(pu)trābhyāṁ Guṇḍana-A-

55 pētanābhyāṁ ēka-bhāgaḥ | kaniya(nīyān) [Dāmaraṭṭa]ḍiḥ(ḍis=)tasyā(sya) bhāryyā [Sā]yapā ta-

56 yōḥ putrāya Chandēnāya ēka-bhāgaḥ[|*]Viṭṭanaraṭṭaḍi(ḍis)=tasya bhāryyā Sarvva-

57 pā tayōḥ putrāya Chāmēnāya ēka-bhāgaḥ | Mādiraṭṭaḍi(ḍis)=tasya bhā-

58 ryyā [Chi]nnapā tayōḥ putrābhyaṁ(bhyāṁ) Māṁkana-Dugganābhyāṁ ēka-bhāgaḥ [|*] Du-

59 [gga]naraṭṭaḍiḥ ta(ḍis=ta)sya bhāryyā Gavakā tayōḥ putrābhyāṁ Ka-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

60 ṭṭana-|[3] Viṭṭanābhyāṁ(bhāym)|[3] ēka-bhāgaḥ | ētē bhāga(gāḥ) paṁch=āpy=ēka-bhāga ēva | ayaṁ bhāgō=pi | Gava-

61 ḍa-niyōgaṁ(gaḥ) Chandrāditya-niyōgaṁ(gaḥ) cha [iti] [|*] grāma-chaturbhbhā(r-bbhā)gāś=cha samānamē(nā ē)va

62 || punar=apy=ayaṁ grāmaḥ santārahabhāgā[ḥ kṛitvā(tās)=tēshu] bhāgēshu madhyē || Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtr-ōtpa-

63 nna-Kāyasthaḥ(stha)|[3]ś=Chaṇḍu-nāyakaḥ tasya....[5] pā | tayōr=jjātēbhyaḥ(tābhyāṁ) |[3] Dāmara-

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[1] Read *yaś=ch=ō°*.

[2] Read *°vya etad°*.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[5] The two letters after *sya* may be read as *bhāryyā*. The *akshara* preceding *pā* seems to be *rva* and there is only one letter before that. The proper name may be restored as Sarvapā.

64 nāyaka- |[1] Viṇarāyināyakāv[2]=a[trē(tr=ai)kaika]-bhāgaḥ || I[ddachāha]pa-matēbhya-

65 ḥ[3] pradattam=asmābhirbhbhā(r=bbhā)vibhirbhbhū(r=bbhū)mipālai[r=Manunā[4] Dha]-rmma-gauravāt=para(ri)pālanīya

66 m=iti || [Ēbhiḥ Chī]ḍumōjasya sūnu(navē) Nūṁkamōjāya...[5] richa manavarttik[6]-āsmin grāmē pra-

67 data(ttaḥ) || paśchāta(śchāt) śrī-Vajrahastadēvēna |[1] Māvē[ṇḍi]-grāmaḥ |[1] Arisavalli-grāmaṁ prā-

68 vēsya(śya) pradattaḥ || chaturttha-bhāgam=ashṭadhā kṛitvā tatra dvau bhāgau Kāyastha-Nūṁkap-ākhya-

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

69 sya [|*] punas=tatr=aika-bhāgaḥ Kāyastha-varēśvaraṁ(ra)-Sōmanāth-ākhyasya | punar=ēka-bhā-

70 gēṁ(gaḥ) Kāyastha-Dāmar-ākhyasya | punar=ēka-bhāgaṁ(ga)ś=cha turttha-vaṁś-ōdbha-

71 va-Chīḍan-ākhyasya ētēshāṁ Raṭṭaḍa-Vuṁch-ākhyau dvau niyōgō(gau) bhavata-

72 ḥ || Puṇḍi-niyōga-Pāṁchālī-niyōgavatō Bhaddināyakasya bhāgasya svā-

73 mitvē(nau) Chirīyapanāyaka-Chiḍapōtanāyakau Apitamanāyaka-putrē(trā)bhyāṁ

74 Pinnamanāyaka-Māvuranāyakābhyāṁ tatra Bhadimanāyaka-bhāgē arddaṁ(rddhaṁ) da-

75 ttavaṁtai(tau) [||*]

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[1] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

[2] Read *nāyakābhyām=*.

[3] The intended reading seems to be °*matēna*.

[4] Read °*lair=Manun=ōkta*.°

[5] About three *aksharas* are lost here.

[6] The expression *manavartika* is possibly the same as Telugu *manuvṛitti*, *manuvarti* or *manōvarti* interpreted by Brown as 'maintenance, support or allowance'. It occurs also in the Boḍḍapāḍu plates of Vajrahasta III which are being edited in this journal.

# No. 38—SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630

(*2 Plates*)

G. S. Gai, Ootacamund

These plates were discovered by me in December 1945 in the course of my official tour in search of inscriptions in the Shiggaon Taluk of the Dharwar District in the present Mysore State. They were found in the house of one Dr. Faruqui at Shiggaon, the headquarters of the taluk. It was through the kind efforts of my friend Dr. K. G. Kulkarni, who was then Medical Officer at Shiggaon, that I was able to secure the plates. They are registered as No. A 49 in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46. The inscription on the plates is edited here for the first time.

The **set** consists of five copper-plates, each measuring 10.5 inches by 5.25 inches. To the left margin of each plate is a hole ·75 inch in diameter, through which passes the ring about 3.5 inches in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured by a **seal**, the countersunk surface of which bears the figure of a standing boar facing proper right. The seal is rather oval in shape and measures about 1.65 inches by 1.5 inches. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing.[1] The first, fourth and fifth plates are incised on one side only while the second and third plates have writing on both sides. This is a rare case of two consecutive plates being engraved on one side only. Apparently this was done in order to prevent the writing being exposed, if the second side of the fourth plate had been used. In such cases, a blank plate is often used at the end. The plates, together with the ring and seal, weigh 329 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to what is known as the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period and the region to which the grant belongs. They resemble the characters of the other known grants of the king.[2] In respect of **orthography**, the following may be observed ; the sign for *jihvāmūlīya* is used in line 48 and that for *upadhmānīya* in lines 16, 23, 25 and 27 ; *nha* is written for *hna* in *chinha*, lines 19 and 24 ; *lhā* for *hlā* in *pralhā*°, line 36. Dravidian *ḷ* is found in lines 43 and 45 and *ḻ* in line 31. Final *m* occurs in line 40. The **language** is Sanskrit and except the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the text of the record is in prose. Sandhi rules have not been observed in some cases. The construction known as *sati saptamī* is used in passages like *Vanavāsīm=āyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē* (line 32).

The inscription belongs to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka* Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The text giving the genealogy of the family, from Pulakēśin I to Vijayāditya, is identical with that found in other records of the king as well as those of his successors.[3] The plates are issued when the victorious camp was at Kisuvoḷal. The **object** of the record is to register some grant made by the king when he had gone to Banavāsi in order to see the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The grant was made, at the request of Chitravāhana, to the Jaina monastery, which was caused to be constructed by Kuṁkumadēvī at Purigeṛe.

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[1] The state of preservation of writing is not satisfactory in many places and the fourth plate has suffered much damage in the lower part so that lines 57-59 of the text cannot be read satisfactorily.

[2] Cf. Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. and plates ; ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. and plates ; cf. also the Kendur plates of Kīrtivarman II, above, Vol. IX, pp. 200 ff. and plates.

[3] Cf. Above, Vol. X, pp. 14 ff. ; ibid. Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff. and ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 200 ff.

The details of the **date** on which the grant was made are :—**Śaka-varsha 630** (specifically mentioned as expired), **eleventh regnal year, Āshāḍha, paurṇamāsī.** The date is not verifiable, since the week-day is not given. Fleet has shown, on the strength of the Aihoḷe inscription,[1] that the month Śrāvaṇa of Śaka year 619 current (A.D. 696) was the first month of the first year of this king.[2] Accordingly Āshāḍha of Śaka 630 current would fall in the eleventh regnal year and not of the expired Śaka year as mentioned in the record. The date mentioned in the record would fall on Monday 20th June, A.D. 707.[3]

The inscription under study is interesting in more than one respect. The grant was issued when the royal camp was at the place called Kisuvoḷal. This place has been identified with modern Paṭṭadkal in Hungund Taluk, Bijapur District. It occurs as Kesuvoḷal in the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa[4] and as Paṭṭadakisuvoḷal in later records.[5] Paṭṭadkal, together with Bādāmi and Aihoḷe, formed the metropolis of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi and it was specially at Paṭṭadkal that the festival of *paṭṭa-bandha* (fillet-binding, i.e. coronation) was being celebrated. It may be pointed out that Kisuvoḷal is called a *sthāna* in our inscription whereas Vātāpi, i.e. Bādāmi is styled as *adhishṭhāna* in some of the early records.[6] Some of the other grants of Vijayāditya have been issued from Rāsēnagara,[7] Karahāṭanagara,[8] Ēlāpura,[9] Kuhuṇḍinagara,[10] and Raktapura.[11] The last name Raktapura also occurs as the place of royal camp in the Kendur plates of Kīrtivarman II, the grandson of Vijayāditya.[12] While editing the Kendur plates, Prof. K. B. Pathak suggested the identification of Raktapura with modern Lakshmēśvar in the Shirahatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Fleet also was inclined to hold the same view.[13] This view is, however, not correct. We know that the ancient name of Lakshmēśvar was Puligeṟe, Purigeṟe, Pulikara, or Purikara. In the inscription under study itself the forms Purigeṟe, Pulikara and Purikara occur. We have to identify Raktapura with Kisuvoḷal from where the grant under consideration was issued. In fact Kisu° or Kesu-voḷal in Kannaḍa means 'red city' (*kisu* 'red', *voḷal*∠*poḷal* 'city') and it is quite clear that Raktapura is only a Sanskrit rendering of the Kannaḍa name.

In line 32 of the inscription under study it is stated that Vijayāditya had gone to Vanavāsi in order to see the Ālupa king and lines 32-36 inform us that the name of this Ālupa ruler was Chitravāhana and that he belonged to the Pāṇḍya lineage. The early history of the Ālupa rulers is still shrounded in obscurity.[14] We know from the Sorab plates[15] of the Chālukya king

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 284.

[2] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 370, note 5.

[3] See *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 18.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 17.

[5] *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province*, 1941-1946, p. 54.

[6] *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 1, 2 and 4. For a discussion of the terms *sthāna* and *adhishṭhāna* meaning celebrated centres of religion, see Introduction to the same volume, pp. iii-v.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 125.

[8] Above, Vol. X, pp. 146 ff.

[9] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 425.

[10] *An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1934-35, App. A, C. P. No. 22.

[11] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 21 ff.

[12] Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 201 ff. A few stone records of Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya and Vikramāditya found at Lakshmēśvar are also issued from the city of Raktapura. Fleet has pointed out that these records, which are in the nature of copper-plate grants, were put on stone sometime later in the 10th century A. D. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 368, 373 note 1, and p. 376.

[13] *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 304 note 6.

[14] The Halmiḍi inscription of Kadamba Kākustha dated *circa* 450 A.D. mentions one Aḷapa (*Mys. Arch-Rep.*, 1936. p. 73) and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Maṅgalēśa (*Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 17) refers to an Āḷuka. We do not know whether they belonged to the early Ālupa or Āḷupa dynasty.

[15] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff ; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 571.

Vinayāditya, dated in A.D. 692, that he made a grant at the request of Guṇasāgara-Āḷupēndra's son Chitravāhana who was in the possession of Eḍevoḷal district in Banavāsi province. Further a stone inscription from Kigga in the Koppa Taluk of the Kadur District in Mysore State[1] states that when Āḷuarasa Guṇasāgara was ruling Kadamba-maṇḍala i.e., Banavasi province, he, (his) queen and (his son) Chitravāhana made some grant. On the assumption that the Chitravāhana mentioned in the Sorab plates and the Kigga inscription was one and the same person, Hultzsch suggested that Guṇasāgara was the governor of the Banavāsi province in or immediately before the time of Vinayāditya and that his son Chitravāhana succeeded to the governorship of Banavāsi.[2] This view is supported by our inscription in which it is stated that Vijayāditya had gone to Banavāsi to meet Chitravāhana which shows that Chitravāhana was in possession of the Banavāsi province. There is no doubt that this Chitravāhana was the same as his namesake mentioned in the Sorab plates referred to above.[3] The grant under consideration discloses, for the first time, that this Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana continued in his office during the time of Vijayāditya also till A.D. 707 at least, the date of the present grant. We also learn, for the first time, that this Chitravāhana belonged to the Pāṇḍya lineage.[4]

It is stated that Vijayāditya made the grant, at the request of Chitravāhana, to the Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kuṁkumadēvī at Purigeṛe. The relation that existed between Kuṁkumadēvī on the one hand and Vijayāditya or Chitravāhana on the other is not specified in the record. This Kuṁkumadēvī is mentioned in another contemporary record of Vijayāditya[5] dated A.D. 705, which likewise does not specify the relationship between them. But we know from a late record[6] found at Guḍgēri in the Dharwar District and dated in A.D. 1076 that Vijayāditya had a sister named Kuṁkumamahādēvī and that she caused to be constructed a Jaina monastery called Ānesejjeyabasadi at Purigeṛe. Since Vijayāditya was her brother and since the grant to the Jaina monastery caused to be erected by her was made at the request of Chitravāhana, it is tempting to suggest that she might have been the wife of the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana. The expression *sva-hṛidaya-pralhādana-kāriṇyā* applied to Kuṁkumadēvī in lines 36-37 might refer to Chitravāhana. Thus he might have been related to the king as brother-in-law. And the way in which Vijayāditya's visit to Banavāsi is described might lend further support to this view ; cf. *Ālupēndraṁ drashṭuṁ Vanavāsīm=āyātavati Vijayāditya-vallabhēndrē* in line 32. This suggests that the king had gone to Banavāsi as if to pay a courtesy visit to his brother-in-law and not in the capacity of an over-lord. It is interesting to note that the actual camp of the king at the time was at Kisuvoḷal and that the king appears to have gone to Banavāsi to pay a personal visit to Chitravāhana. It is also likely that the Ālupa ruler Chitravāhana was an elder relative of the king since he figures in the grant of Vinayāditya dated A.D. 692 referred to above.

The Jaina monastery which was caused to be constructed by Kuṁkumadēvī at Purigeṛe and in respect of which the king made the grant might have been the same monastery as the one called Ānesejjeyabasadi in the Guḍgēri inscription referred to above.

The gift-village was Guḍḍigeṛe, stated to be the centre of Jaina religion specially for the teaching of Sūrasta branch of Mūla-saṁgha. Guḍḍigeṛe is modern Guḍgēri which is about 6 miles west of Lakshmēśvar (ancient Purigeṛe). Its Sanskritised name is given as *Dhvaja-taṭāka* in the Guḍgēri inscription mentioned above.

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[1] *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 38.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

[3] Chitravāhana of the Sorab plates is called Chitravāhana I by Hultzsch in view of another Chitravāhana (II) found in later records. See above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

[4] Some Āḷupa kings of a later date trace their descent from the lunar race. See ibid., pp. 21-23

[5] *An. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1934-35, App. A., No. 22.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 35 ff.

Lines 41-46 of the record mention the boundaries of the gift-village Guḍḍigeṟe. They were as follows : in the south, the lake called Vēṇṇē ; in the south-west, Mākulika hill ; in the west, the lake Kupēra ; in the north-west, the Kōḍi lake and the road leading to the Tapavi lake ; in the north the Puḷivūra lake and the junction of Virayā[1] and the highway of the Purikara town ; in the east, the field including the village of Iṭṭakā ; in the north-east the lakes Matkuṇa and Arasi, including the boundary field ; and in the south-east, the row of stones starting from Lakaviraya.

Lines 46-59 give details of further gifts of land and villages, apparently made to the same Jaina monastery mentioned in line 38 of the inscription. The details of the boundaries of the gift villages Uḥpaṭṭi and Pāṭaḷi are as follows (lines 46-50) : with the highway of Alaguṇḍi as boundary, as far as the northern road of the main monastery ; then from the south of that high road up to the Kuruṁkellā lake-bound, excluding the Sammagāra and chāṇḍāla street and including the vegetable and marshy ground, and from the road of the Sūralivirāṇa garden up to the boundary of Siggalli.

The next gift to be made was the group of fields of Nēṟilika to the north of the village and up to the northern road of Guḍḍigeṟe village. Then the village Maraguṇḍi, situated to the north of Vanavāsi town, was granted with all privileges. Likewise was granted the Kaḥpūr village in Kundavūr District. The boundaries of this village were (lines 53-56) ; in the west, the Suvarṇa tree on the eastern bank of Pagaravirayā ; in the north-west the limit of Suṁkuviraya ; in the north, the lake called Mahishivāsa ; in the north-east, up to the fine[2] tamarind trees : in the south-east, the Pūli lake ; and in the south, up to Pagaṟavirayā.

Lines 60-62 state that the grant should be protected by the future kings. This is followed, in lines 62-67, by the usual imprecatory verses.

## TEXT[3]

*First Plate*

1 Svasti [ | *] Jayaty=āvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇōr=vvārāhaṁ kshōbhit-ārṇṇavaṁ(vam) [|*] dakshiṇ-ōnnata-daṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [||*]

2 Śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Manavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāritī-putrāṇāṁ sapta-lōka-mā-

3 tṛibhis=sapta-mātṛibhir=abhivarddhitānāṁ Kārti(rtti)kēya-parirakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paraṁ-parāṇāṁ bhaga-

4 van-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āśēsha-mahī-

5 bhṛitāṁ Chalukyānāṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇōr=aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛita-gātrasya

6 śrī-Pulakēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya sūnuḥ parākram-ākrānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-

7 para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kīrtiḥ śrī-Kīrtivarmma-pṛithivīvallabha-mahā-

8 rājas=tasy=ātmajas=samara-saṁsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harshavarddhana-parā-

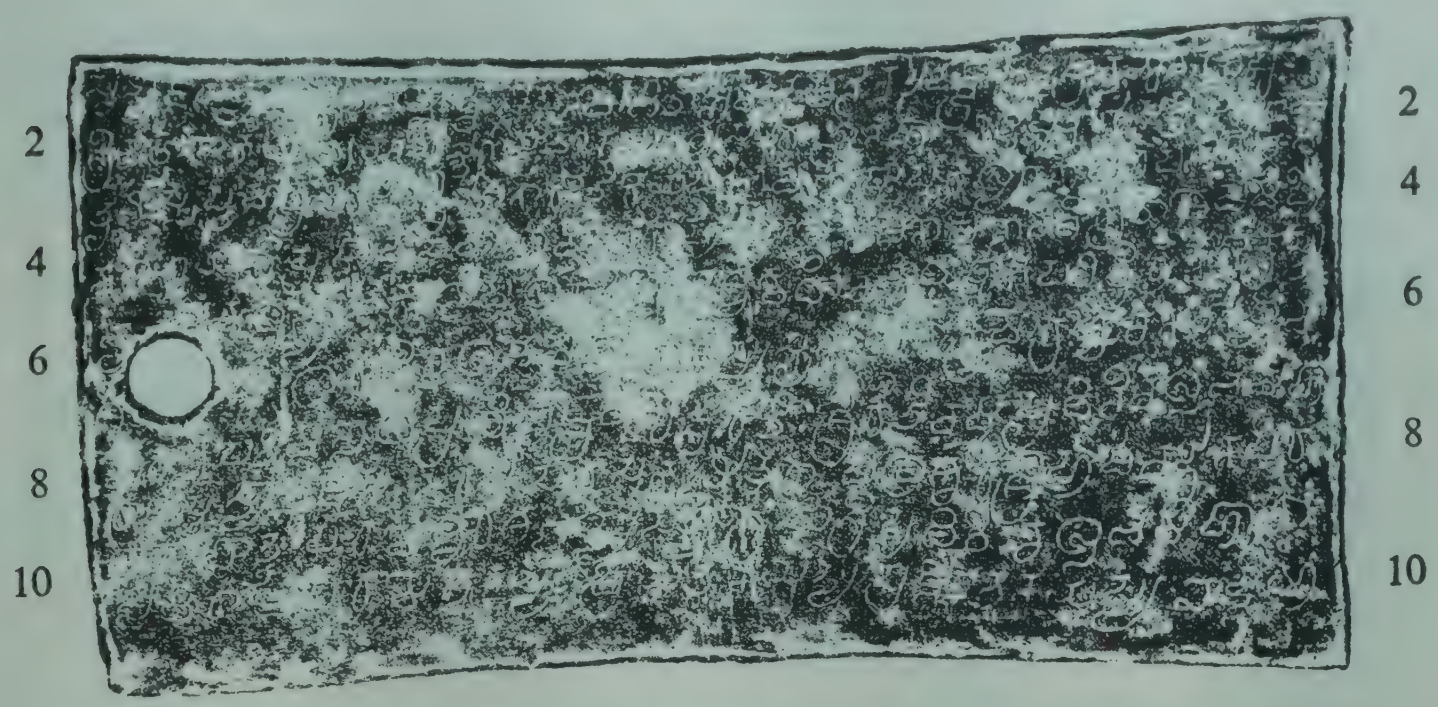
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[1] This word seems to indicate a stream. We have a Lakaviraya in line 45, Pagaravirayā in lines 53 and 56 and Suṁkuvirayā in line 54 of this inscription. They may represent the names of the streams. The word *viraya* is not found in the lexicons.

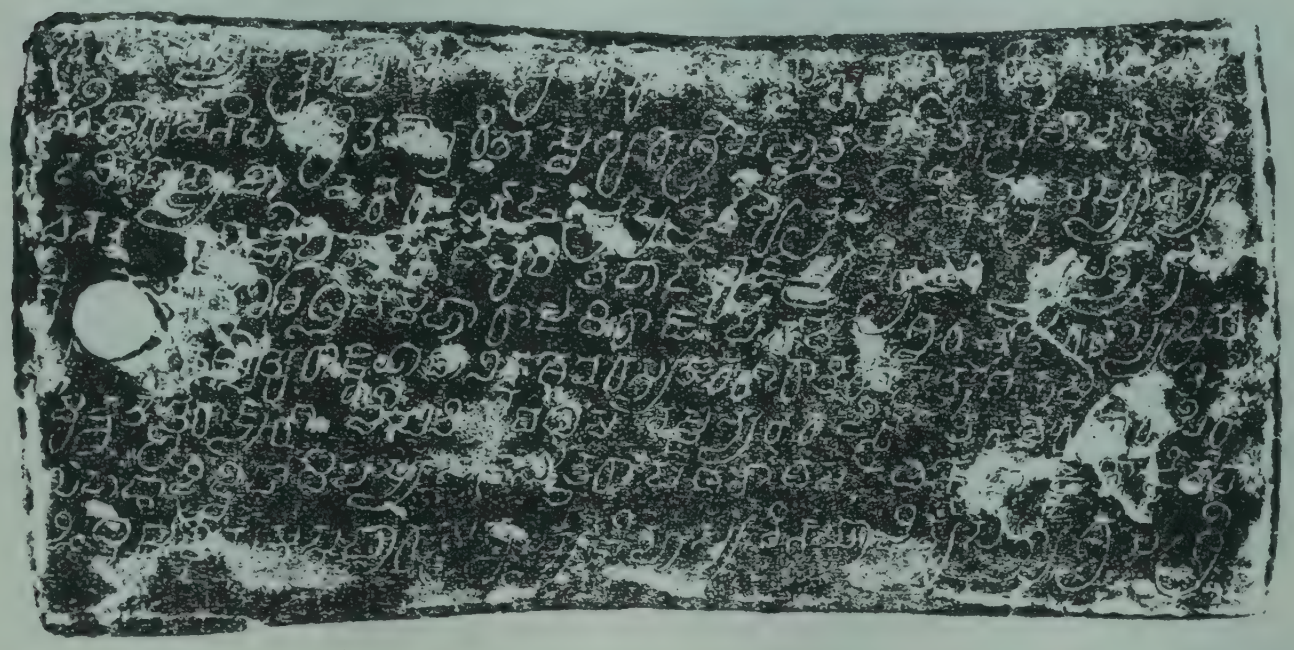
[2] The word *śārdūla* is taken here in the sense of 'fine, excellent' ; the alternative meaning would be 'tamarind trees infested with tigers'.

[3] From the original plates and impressions.

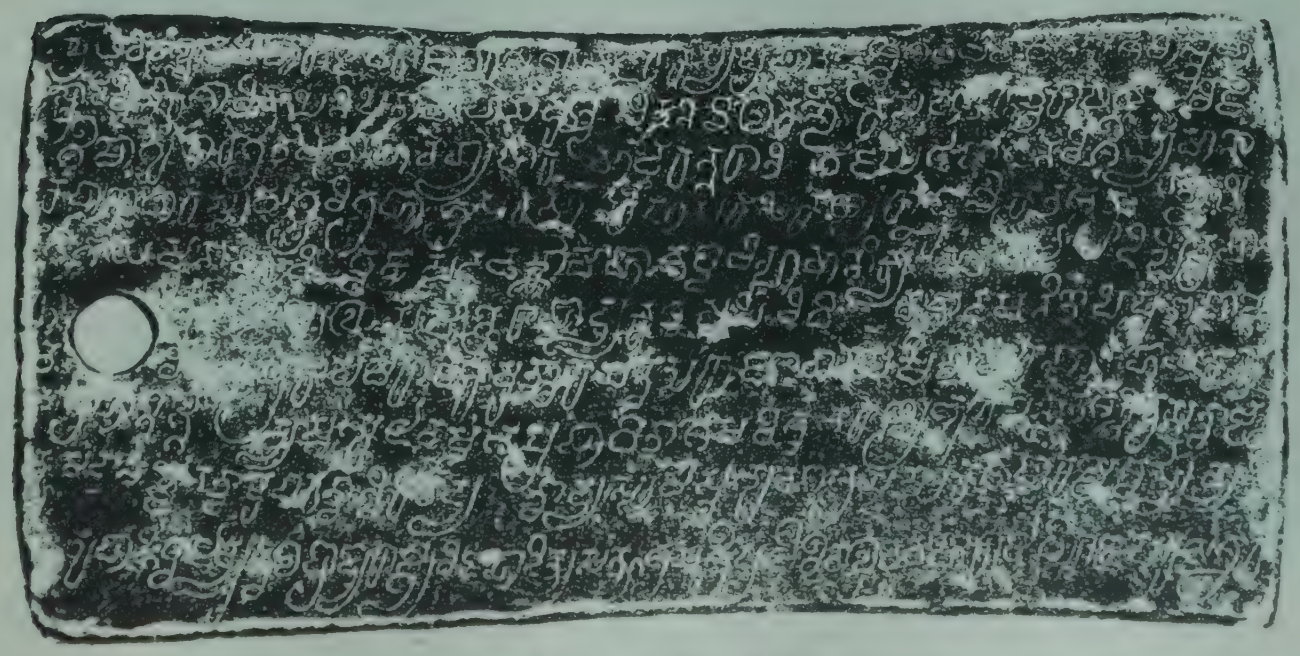
SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630—PLATE i



*ii, a*

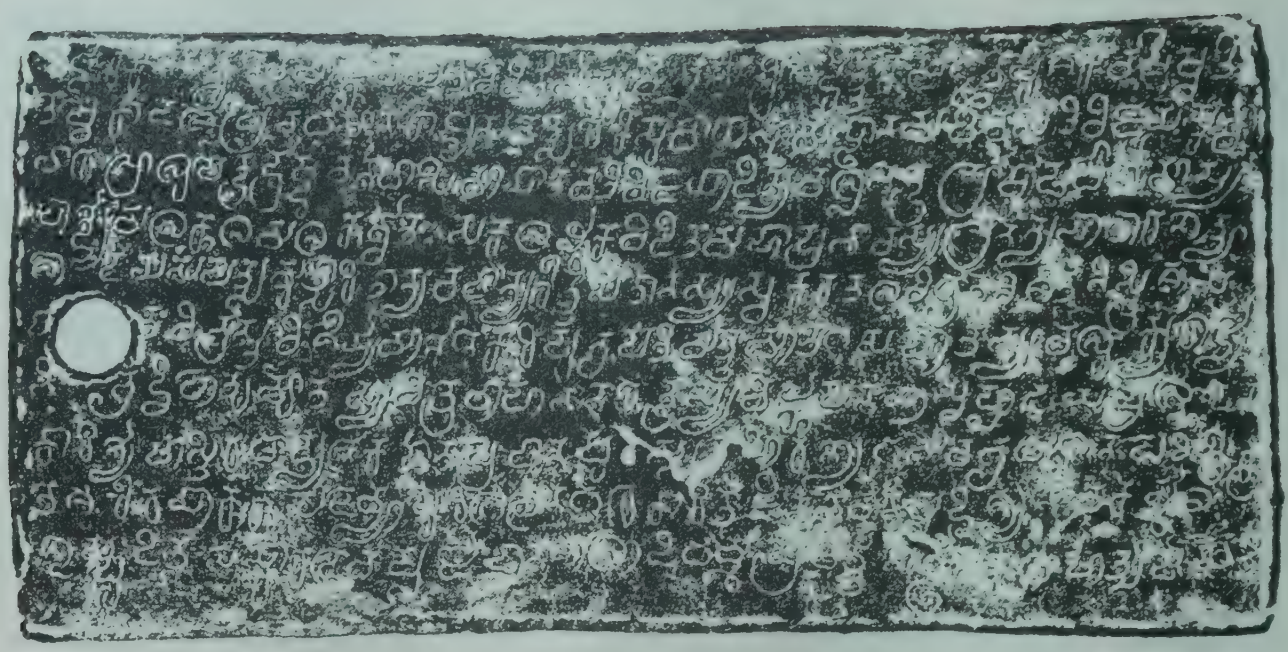


*ii, b*

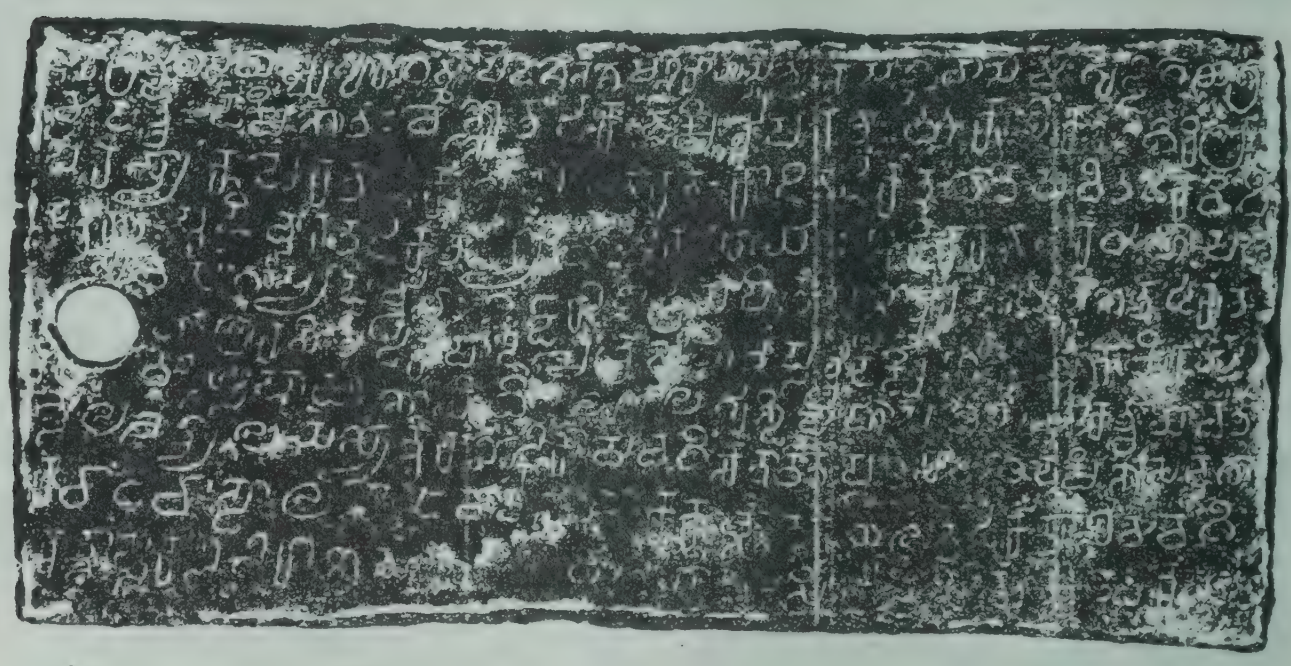


Scale : One-half

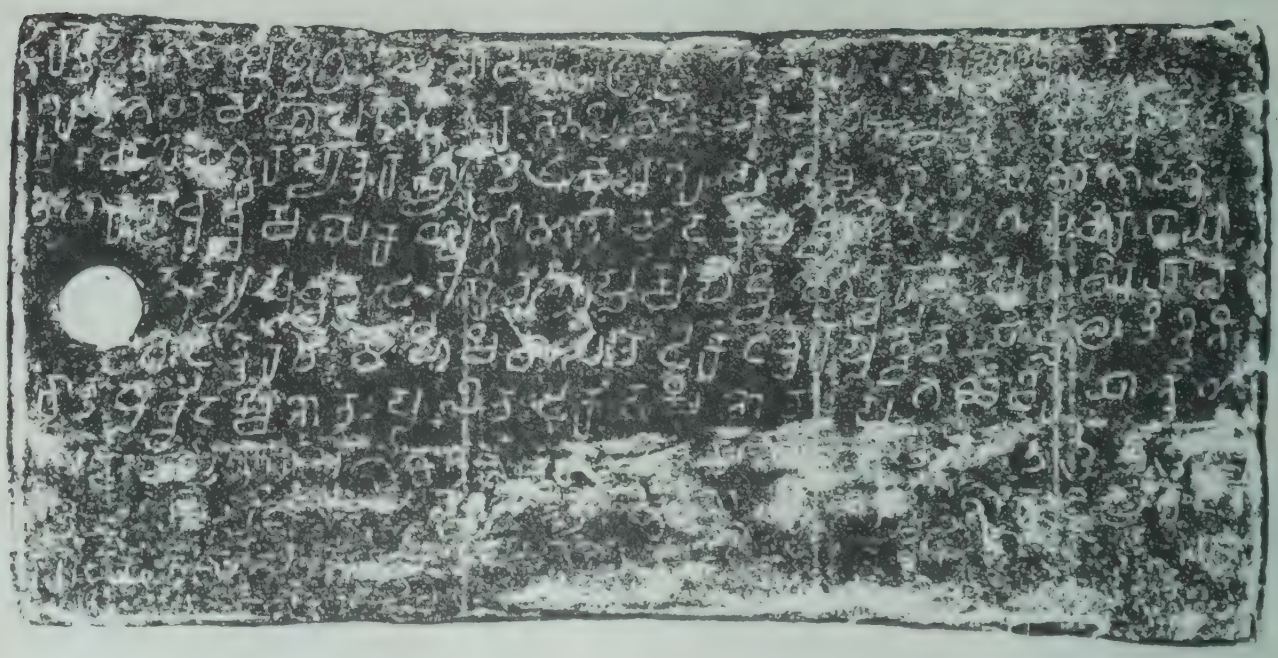
*iii, a*



*iii, b*



*iv*



9 jay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabdasya[1] Satyāśraya-śrī-pṛithivī-vallabha-mahārā-

10 jādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayasya prajñāta-nayasya khaḍga-mā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

11 tra-sahāvasya Chittrakaṇṭh-ābhidhāna-pravara-tura[ṁ]gamēṇ=aikēn=ē(ai)v=ōtsāri(di)t-
āśēsha-viji-

12 gīshōr=avanipati-tritay-āntaritāṁ sva-gurō[2] śriyam=ātmasātkṛitya prabhāva-kuliśa-

13 dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraḷa-Kaḷabhra-prabhṛiti bhūbhṛid-adabhra-vibhramasy=ūnany-ā-

14 vanata-Kāñchīpati-ma[3]kuṭa-chumbita-pād-āmbujasya Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-

15 śrī-pṛithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priya-

16 sūnōḥ=pitur=ājñayā Bāli(lē)nduśēkharasya Tārakārātir=iva daityabalam=atisa-

17 muddhataṁ trairājya-Kāñchīpati-balam=avashṭabhya karadīkṛita-Kamē(vē)ra-Pārasīka-

18 Siṁhaḷ-ādi-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-Ōttarāpatha-nātha-mathan-ōpārjjit-ōrjjita-pā-

19 ḷidhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-chinha(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

20 pṛithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ātmajaś=śaiśava ēv=
ādhigat-āśēsh-āstra-śā-

21 strō dakshiṇ-āśā-vijayini pitāmahē samunmūlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-saṁhatir=uttarāpatha-viji-

22 gīshōr=gurōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghaṭā-pāṭana-viśīryyamāṇa-

23 kṛipāṇa-dhāras=samagra-vigrah-āgrēsaras=san=sāhasa-rasikaḥ=parāṅmukhīkṛita-
śatru-maṇḍalō

24 Gaṁgā-Yamunā-pāḷidhvaja-paḍaḍhakkā-mahāśabda-chinha(hna)-māṇikya-mataṁgaj-ādīn=
pitṛisāt

25 kurvvan=paraiḥ=palāyamānair=āsādya katham=api vidhi-vaśād=apanītō pi pratāpād=ē-

26 va vishaya-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja iv=ānapēkshit-āpara-sāhāyakas=
ta-

27 [d*]-avagrahān=nirggatya sva-bhuj-āvashṭaṁbha-prasādhit-āśēsha-viśvaṁbharaḥ-
prabhur=akhaṁḍita-śakti-trayatvāch=chha-

28 tru-mada-bhañjanatvād=udāratvān=niravadyatvād=yas=samasta-bhuvan-āśrayas=sakala-
pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti-

29 hētu-pāḷidhvaj-ādy-ujva(jjva)la-prājya-rājyō **Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-pṛithivīvallabha-**
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-

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[1] Read *śabdas=tasya*.

[2] Read *gurōḥ*.

[3] This *akshara* is partly damaged.

*Third Plate, First Side*

30 bhaṭṭārakaḥ sarvvān ēvam=ājñāpayati viditam astu vō smābhiḥ[1] triṁśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhatēshu **Śaka-varshēshv**-atī-

31 tēshv ēkādaśē pravardhamāna-**rājya-saṁvatsarē** Kisuvoḷal-nāma-sthānam=adhivasati vijaya-skandhā-

32 vārē Ālupēndraṁ drashṭuṁ Vanavāsīm āyātavati **Vijayāditya**-vallabhēndrē **Āshāḍha**-paurṇamāsyāṁ

33 Pāṇḍy-āmala-kulam=alaṁkurvvataḥ sakala-lōka-vidita-mahāprabhāvasya **ananya-sā**-dhāraṇa-tyā-

34 g-ōdaya-saṁpat-samutsārit-ānya-vadānya-kīrtti-santānasya sva-karatala-vidhṛita-niśita-nistriṁśa-saṁ-

35 [ghā]ta-vitrasta-viśīryyamāṇ-ānēka-ripu-nṛipati-matta-mātaṁga-saṁghātasya **Chalukya**-rājy-ā-

36 bhivṛiddhi-hētu-bhūtasya Chitravāhana-narēndrasya vijñāpanayā sva-hṛidaya-pralhā(hlā)dana-

37 kāriṇyā hasti-rath-ādy-anēka-dāna-pradāna-puras sara-hiraṇyagarbh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrīkṛi-

38 ta-śarīrayā Kuṁkumadēvyā Purigeṛe-nagarē kāritaṁ Jina-bhavanam=uddiśya nava-karmma-kha-

39 ṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskāra-dēva-pūjā-dāna-śāl-ādi-dharmma-pravarttan-ārtthaṁ sakal-ārhat-samaya[2]-ti-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

40[3] laka-śrī-Mūlasaṁgh-ōdgha-Bhū[4](Sū)rasta-dharmm-ōpada(dē)śēna(n=ā)śēsha-nikāya-samāna-satr-āvāsam(sō) Guḍḍigeṛe-grā-

41 maṁ(mō) dattaḥ [|*] dakshiṇataḥ[5] Vēṇṇē-taṭākaṁ dakshiṇ-āparataḥ[5] **Mākulika**-giri[ḥ] a-

42 parasyāṁ Kupēra-taṭākaṁ[5] apar-ōttarataḥ Kōḍi-taṭākaṁ tathā Tapavi-taṭāka-vi(vī)dhī-(thī)

43 uttarataḥ Puḷivūra-taṭākaṁ tasy-ādhō Virayāyāḥ Purikaranagara-mahāpatha-

44 sya cha saṁgamasya[6] pūrvvataḥ[7] Iṭṭakā-padra-sahitaṁ[8] pūrvv-ōttarataḥ Matkuṇa-taṭā[9]kaṁ ta-

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[1] ***Sandhi*** has not been observed here.

[2] There are faint traces of some letters engraved previously in the place of these seven *aksharas*.

[3] This line also has some traces of previous writing which has been effaced.

[4] The *akshara* seems to have been first written *bhu* and then corrected to ***bhū***.

[5] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[6] The letter *ma* was first omitted and then inserted between *ga* and *sya*. Read *saṁgamaḥ*.

[7] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[8] A word like *kshētram* seems to have been omitted here.

[9] This letter seems to have been originally written as *ṭṭa*.

45 thā Arasi-taṭākaṁ pāḷi(li)-kshētra-sahitaṁ pūrvva-dakshiṇataḥ Lakavirayaṁ

46 mū[laka[1]]molle pāshāṇā(ṇa)-vīdhiḥ(vīthiḥ | ) Alaguṇḍi-mahāpathaṁ sīmaṁ(māṁ) kṛitvā yāvat

47 mūla-chaityālayasy-ōttara-khā(vā)ṭikām=avadhīm(dhiṁ) kṛitvā[2] tataḥ pūrvvasmādpa-(t=pa)thō dakshiṇaṁ(ṇataḥ) savaṁ(mma)gā-

48 ra[3]-vāṭa-chāṇḍāla-vāṭa-varjaṁ sa-śāka-kachchhaṁ Kuruhkella-taṭākaṁ(ka)-pālī(li)m=ava-dhī[ṁ](dhiṁ)

49 kṛitvā Sūralivirāṇa-patha(thā)d=ūrāmāt yāvat Siggalli-sīm-āntaṁ tataḥ Kemgala-ta-

*Fourth Plate*

50 ṭāk-āntaṁ dattaḥ Uḥpaṭṭi-grāmō (maḥ) Pāṭali-padraś=cha | Nēṛilika-padrasy=ōttarasyāṁ diśi

51 Guḍḍigeṛe-mahāpatha(thā)d=uttaraḥ sa-sīm-āntō Nēṛilika-kshētra-rāśir=ddattaḥ tathā

52 Vanavāsi-nagarasy=ōttarasyāṁ diśi Maraguṇḍi-nāma-grāma[ḥ*] | sa-bhōgō dattaḥ

53 tathā Kundavūr-vishayē Kaḥpūr-nnāma-grāmaṁ(mō) datta[ḥ*] paśchimataḥ Pagaṛavira-yāyāḥ(yā)

54 tasya(syāḥ) pūrvva-taṭē Suvarṇa-plakshaṁ paśchim-ōttarataḥ Suṁkuviray-āva-

55 dhiḥ[4] uttarataḥ Mahishivāsa-taṭākaṁ uttara-pūrvvataḥ sā(śā)rdūla-tintinī(ḍī)-

56 k-āntaṁ pūrvva-dakshiṇataḥ Pūli-taṭākaṁ dakshiṇataḥ Pagaṛaviray-āntam

57[5] [ity-ādi][6]-prakārā Pulikara-nagara .. [7]maṇḍala .....[8]

58 [padra]-mahāpatha .....[9] taḥ suvarṇa-plaksha-tintini(ḍī)k-ādi- praka[ṭita]-

59 .....[10] vāsa .....[11] paṭṭaṇa.....[12]

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[1] The upper parts of *la* and *ka* have suffered damage by the lower portion of the ring-hole which seems to have been made after the engraving of these letters.

[2] These two words are redundant.

[3] The word *sammagāra* in Kannaḍa means 'a worker in leather, a shoe-maker' and is to be derived from Sanskrit *charma-kāra*.

[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[5] This and the following two lines are badly damaged and the engraving also is rather indifferent. This portion apparently continues the description of the boundaries.

[6] The reading is not certain.

[7] Two *aksharas* are lost here.

[8] About eight letters are indistinct here.

[9] About five letters are indistinct here.

[10] About four letters are damaged at the beginning.

[11] About four letters are lost here.

[12] About thirteen letters are lost here.

*Fifth Plate*

60 tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyaiś=cha rājabhir=āyur-aiśvaryy-ādīnāṁ vilasitam=achi-
rāṁśu-chaṁ-

61 chalam=avagachchhadbhir=ā-chandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇava-[sthiti-sama-kālaṁ ya]śaś=chichī-
shubhiḥ sva-datti-ni-

62 rvviśēshaṁ paripālanīyaṁ(yam) [|*] uktaṁ cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna ||
Bahubhir=vvasu-

63 dhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā

64 phalaṁ(lam) || Svaṁ dātuṁ sumahach=chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pālanaṁ(nam) [|*]
dānaṁ vā pālanaṁ v=ēti dā-

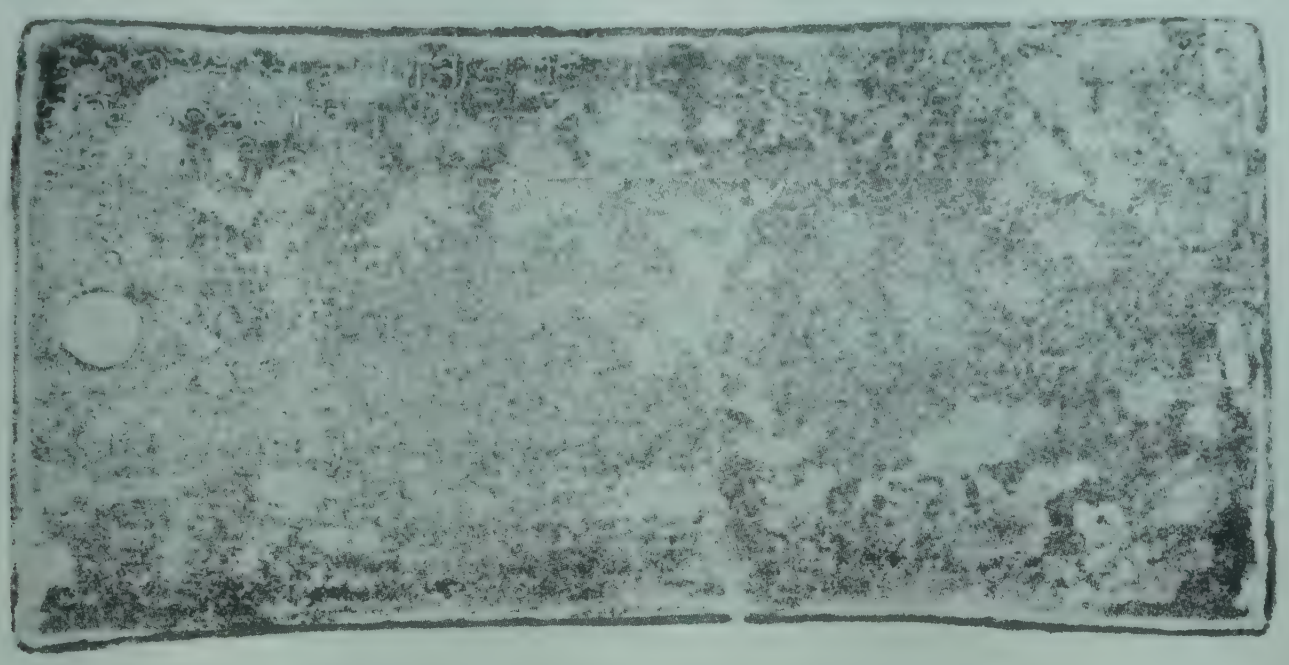
65 nāchchhrē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālanaṁ(nam) || Dēva-svaṁ tad=visha[ṁ] ghōraṁ na vishaṁ visha-
m=uchyatē [|*] visham=ē-

66 kākinaṁ hanti dēvasvaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ(kam) || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta
vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*]

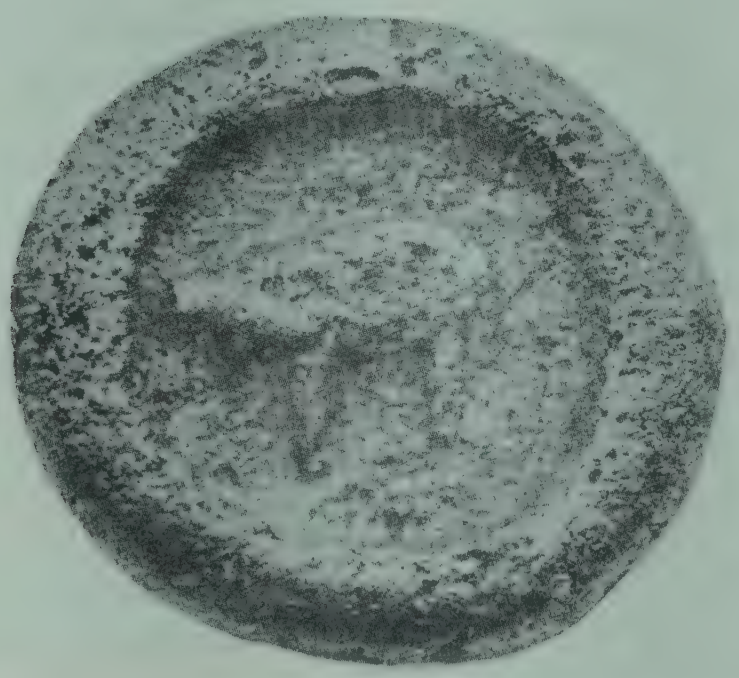
67 shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyaṁ jāyatē krimiḥ ||

# SHIGGAON PLATES OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 630—PLATE II

*v*



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

## No. 39—SONEPUR INSCRIPTION OF BHANUDEVA

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The inscription under publication is written in eight lines engraved on a slab of stone lying in front of the temple of the goddess Khamēśvarī (Khambēśvarī or Stambhēśvarī) at **Sonepur** which was formerly the headquarters of the State of that name but now belongs to the Bolangir District of Orissa. It was briefly noticed by B. C. Majumdar[1] and B. Misra[2] but has been recently edited by K. B. Tripathi[3] with a translation but without any facsimile. Majumdar and Misra assign the inscription to the twelfth century A.D. The epigraph is edited in the following pages since, in our opinion, it has not been correctly deciphered and interpreted.

The inscribed area on the stone slab measures about two feet in length and one foot in height while individual *aksharas* in the record are about one inch and a quarter high. The **characters** are Gauḍīya with certain characteristics of the Oriya alphabet. The sign for medial *i* is of the Oriya type ; but *m* and *s* are written in the Bengali fashion. In *Sūnapūra* in line 2, the letter *s* shows a cursive and peculiar form (cf. also the shape of the same letter in *saüri* in the same line). *Chh* is of the *chchh* type as in modern Oriya and not of the *ksh* type as found in records like the Oriya supplement of the Veligalani grant of 1458 A.D.[4] The form of initial *i* is later than that in the Alagum inscription (line 10) of 1141 A.D.[5], the Bhubaneswar inscription (line 1) of 1218 A.D.[6] and the Nagari plates (lines 132-33) of 1230-31 A.D.[7] But it is found in some records of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.) such as the Puri inscription (No. 4, line 5) of 1237 A.D.,[8] while the earlier form is also noticed in later records like the Puri plates of 1395-97 A.D.[9] *Y* and *p* are written alike as in other medieval Orissan epigraphs. The numerical figures 1 and 2 in line 6 as well as 7 in line 2 are of the Telugu-Kannaḍa type while 3 is also of the same type sometimes found in the medieval records of Orissa.[10] On palaeographical grounds, the epigraph may be assigned to a date in the **thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D.** This suggestion is supported by the fact that it refers itself to the reign of **Vīra-Bhānudēva** who is undoubtedly one of the four kings of that name belonging to the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Of these four rulers, Bhānu I began to rule about 1264 A.D., Bhānu II about 1305 A.D. and Bhānu III about 1353 A.D., while Bhānu IV ascended the throne sometime before 1414 A.D. It is difficult to assign the record to any one of these four kings with precision ; but palaeography seems to point rather to Bhānu I or II or III than to Bhānu IV since Oriya inscriptions of the fifteenth century generally exhibit more developed Oriya forms of the letters.

The **language** of the inscription is old Oriya. Interesting from the **orthographical** point of view are words like *āiusva* (Sanskrit *āyushya*) in lines 4-5 and *vaïdya* (Sanskrit *vaidya*) in line 5. Contractions as in *paḍirāṅkra* in line 3 is often found in medieval Orissan records, though

[1] *History of the Bengali Language*, p. 249.
[2] *Ōdiyā Bhāshāra Itihāsa* ; cf. *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. XVII, p. 46.
[3] *Indian Linguistics*, op. cit., pp. 46-49.
[4] *JAS*, Letters and Science, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 13 ff.
[5] Above Vol. XXIX, pp. 44 ff., and Plate.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 235, and Plate.
[7] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff., and Plate.
[8] Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 203, and Plates.
[9] Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff., and Plate.
[10] Ibid., p. 64, note 2.

our inscription also has *rājāṅkara* in line 4. Similarly it employs both the forms *kapālē* (line 7) and *kapālaï* (line 8) as the locative of *kapāla*. Interesting is also the words *vījaē* (Sanskrit *vijaya*) in line 2 and *ṇrivansa* (Sanskrit *nirvaṁśa*) in line 8. The old dative form in °*dēvaṅkaï* in line 5 is of grammatical interest. It is found in the form of *ṅkaï* in such medieval records as the Puri inscriptions of the time of Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-38 A.D.).[1]

Tripathi reads the year of the date at the beginning of line 2 as *16* or *a 6* supposed to stand for the *aṅka* year 6. The year no doubt refers to the *aṅka* reckoning since the ordinary regnal reckoning was not popular with the Gaṅga kings during the period in question. It is, however, well known that 6 and numbers ending with 6 were omitted in the *aṅka* reckoning and therefore either of the readings 16 and 6 is impossible. At the beginning of line 2, we propose to read [*sr*]*ā* 7[2] *srāhi*. It seems that *srā* of *srāhi* was redundantly engraved before the numerical figure through oversight. After *srāhi*, Tripathi reads *Mīna-kṛishṇa 2*. But the figure read as 2 here is different from 2 in line 6. We are inclined to read the passage as *Mīna-kṛishṇa 3* since, as indicated above, 3 of this type is sometimes found in the medieval records of Orissa.

The date quoted in lines 1-2 of our record thus appears to be **Saturday** (*Sauri-vāra*), **the 3rd of the dark half of the solar month of Mīna in the 7th aṅka or 5th regnal year of Bhānudēva**. The 5th regnal year of Bhānu I, II and III appears to have corresponded to 1268-69, 1309-10 and 1356-57 A.D. respectively. Among these years, the details suit only **March 3, 1268 A.D.**, and therefore the king referred to may be **Bhānu I** although it is difficult to be definite on the point.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *svasti* and the passage *śrī-vira-Bhāṇudēvasya pravadhyamāna-vijaē-rājē samvata* [*sr*]*ā 7 Mīna-kṛishṇa 3 Saüri-vārē* (Sanskrit *śrī-Vīra-Bhānudēvasya pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājyē saṁvatsarē 7 śaradi Mīna-kṛishṇa 3 Sauri-vārē*) in lines 1-2. The above is followed in lines 2-4 by *Sūnapūra-kaṭaka-Pachhima-dēsa-adhīkāri sāmanta-paḍīrā-Visa-paḍirāṅkra adhikārē* (Sanskrit *Suvarṇapura-kaṭaka-Paśchima-dēś-ādhikāri-sāmanta-pratirāja-Viśva-pratirājasya adhikārē*). In the name *Visa-paḍirā*, *Paḍirā* is the family name ; but Visa's official designation was also *Sāmanta-paḍīrā*. Tripathi reads *sāmanta-pāḍīrāy-Isra-paḍisaṅkara* and takes the name of the officer as *Isra* (Sanskrit *Īśvara*) and his family name as *Paḍisa*. The last *akshara* of what we have read as *Visa-paḍirā* may possibly be also read as *sa* considering the form of the same *akshara* in *Saüri-vārē* in line 2 while the second *akshara* may also be *sra* or *su*. But the first *akshara* of the name is clearly *vi*. In any case, the passage quoted above from lines 2-4 refers to the tract under the government of a viceroy of the Gaṅga king, who enjoyed the designation *Sāmanta-paḍīrā* and ruled over the western province of the Gaṅga empire with his headquarters at **Sūnapūra**, i.e. modern Sonepur where the inscription has been found.

The following passage in lines 4-6 records the purpose of the document and reads : *śrī-vira-Bhāṇūdēvarājāṅkara āiusva-kām-ārthē śrī-Vaïdyanāthadēvaṅkaï Naēḍa-visaya-grāma vāraha data 12* (Sanskrit *śrī-Vīra-Bhānudēva-rājasya āyushya-kām-ārthē śrī-Vaidyanāthadēvāya Naēḍa-vishaya-grāmāḥ dvādaśa dattāḥ 12*). It is stated that twelve villages situated in the *vishaya* or district of **Naēḍa** were granted to the god Vaidyanātha for the longevity and the fulfilment of the desire of king Vīra-Bhānudēva. The names of the villages are not enumerated nor is the name of the donor specified. It seems that the king or his viceroy was the donor. The god Vaidyanātha

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[1] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 197 ff. Cf. *imānaṅkai* in lines 5-6 of No. 1 ; °*dēvaṅkai* in line 5 of No. 4. See also °*dēvaṅkayi* in line 4 of No. 3. This apparently exhibits the same case-ending under another spelling, though I offered a different suggestion while editing the inscription in question.

[2] The figure has some resemblance with certain forms of 7 illustrated by G.H. Ojha in his *Prāchīna Lipimālā*, Plate LXXI (Section II, last column), Plate LXXV (Section II) and Plate LXXVI (Section II). But the upper ends of the two vertical strokes here do not appear to be joined by a curve as in other cases.

is still worshipped in a temple on the river Tel near Sonepur. What we have read as *°i Naēḍa-visaya-grāma vāraha* has been read by Tripathi as *ina Eḍaviya-paṇamu vāra*, in which *ina* has been taken to be a local word meaning 'here' and the purpose of the document has been supposed to be to record the grant of twelve coins called *Eḍaviya-Paṇa* in favour of the god. But, in such a case, *ina* would be meaningless in the context. A coin called *Eḍaviya* (the last *akshara* is certainly *sa*)-*Paṇa* is also as yet unknown from any other source.

The next sentence in lines 6-8 reads *ēhā jē haraï harāuï tāhāra kapālē Sīva-tāla Vrahma-tāla Vishṇu-tāla tīni tāla paḍaï* (Sanskrit *etat yaḥ harati hārayati* [*vā*] *tasya kapālē Śiva-tālaḥ* [*cha*] *Brahma-tālaḥ* [*cha*] *Vishṇu-tālaḥ* [*cha*] *trayaḥ tālāḥ patanti*). The word *kapāla* has been used here in the literal sense of 'forehead' and the figurative sense of 'lot' and *tāla* (literally, 'the palm of the hand') apparently to indicate 'a slap'. A 'blow on the forehead' figuratively means in the East Indian languages 'the destruction of one's good luck' or 'one's ruin'. The idea here is that, if any person confiscates the gift land or causes its confiscation, his forehead would be struck by a blow each from the hands of the gods Śiva, Brahman and Vishṇu. Tripathi and others read *Rudra-tāla* in the place of *Vishṇu-tāla* without noticing that *Śiva-tāla* is mentioned side by side. The word *tāla* is translated by Tripathi as 'a bolt', although it means 'a bolt' only in the sense of 'the bolt or lock of a door'.

The last sentence of the inscription in line 8 reads: *tāhāra kapālaï nṛivansa hōi* (Sanskrit *tasya kapālē nirvaṁśaḥ bhavati*). To become *nirvaṁśa* means 'not to have any progeny', or 'to lose all of one's own children and their progeny', i.e. 'to have none in one's line to offer one a *piṇḍa* after death'. The sentence means to say that the loss of progeny would fall to the lot of one responsible for the resumption of the gift land. Tripathi reads *tāhāra kapāla ina hō vasa hōi* and translates the sentence as 'His forehead becomes subdued or ruined'. The *akshara hō* has been inadvertently introduced in the text while *vasa* (the reading is clearly *°vansa*) has been taken to stand for Sanskrit *vaśa*. The word *ina* (meaning 'here' according to Tripathi) has been left out in the translation. As a matter of fact this word does not occur in the inscription under study or in any other Oriya inscription known to me.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it testifies to the inclusion of the district around Sonepur in the dominions of the Imperial Gaṅgas in the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. We know that the Telugu-Chōḍa king Sōmēśvaradēvavarman III was ruling at Sonepur about the second half of the twelfth century.[1] He was also a devotee of the god Vaidyanātha (Śiva) whose temple may have been built by the Telugu-Chōḍas. It now appears that the Gaṅgas ousted Telugu-Chōḍa rule from that region. But it is difficult to determine as to which of the Gaṅga kings was responsible for the achievement.

The **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription are Sūnapūra, the location of which has already been indicated above, and the district of Naēḍa the name of which reminds us of the locality called Laida about 33 miles from Sambalpur.

## TEXT[2]

1 Svast[i] [||*] śrī-vira-**Bhāṇudēvasya** pravadhyamāna-vījaē-rājē **samvata**

2 [sr]ā[3] **7**[4] srāhi **Mīna-kṛishṇa 3**[5] **Sa**[6]**ūri-vārē Sūnapūra**-kaṭaka

[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.

[2] From impressions.

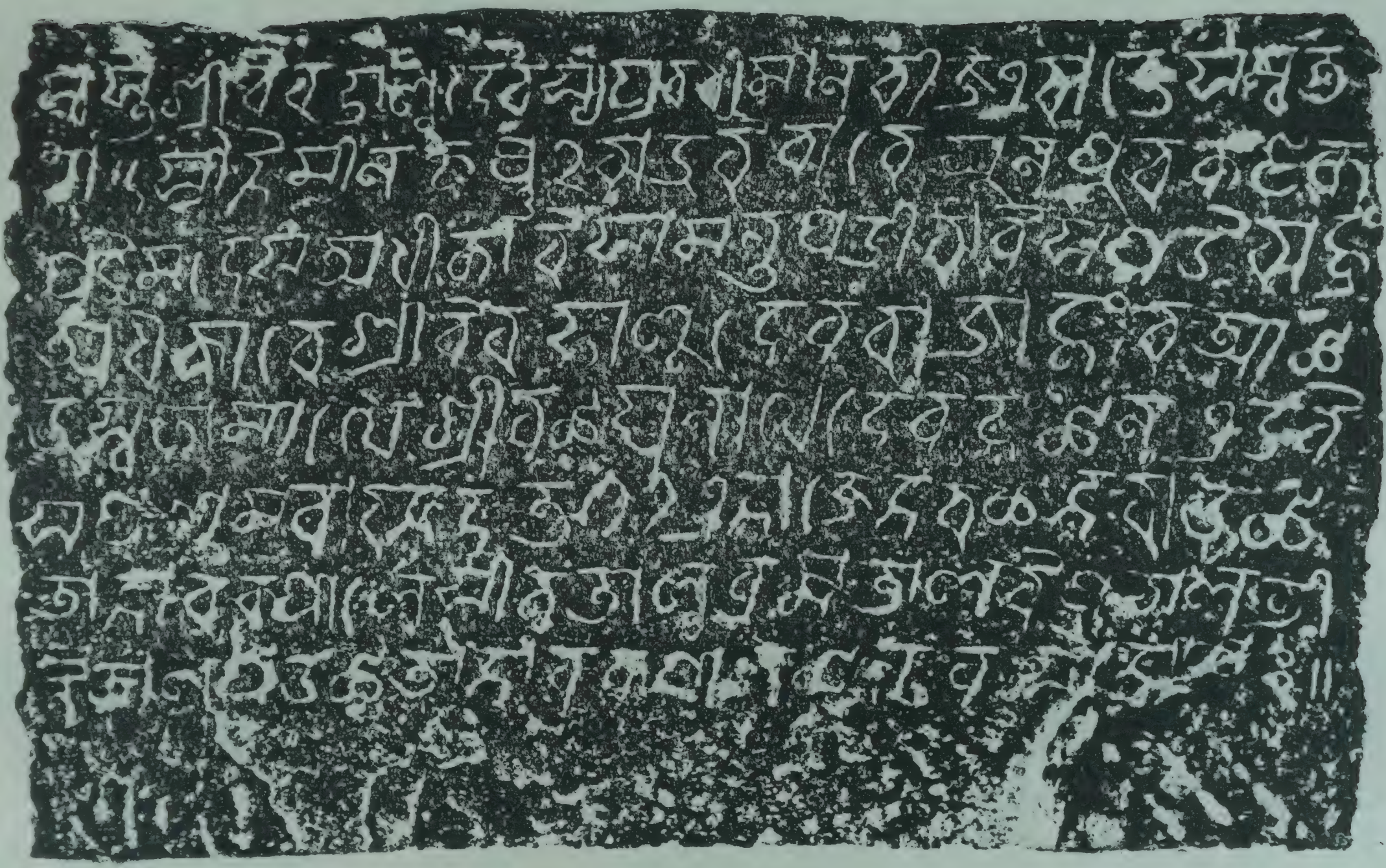
[3] This *akshara* is redundant.

[4] Tripathi reads *16* or *a 6*.

[5] Tripathi reads *2*.

[6] Originally *rā* had been written in the place of *sa* and it was later changed to *sa*.

# SONEPUR INSCRIPTION OF BHANUDEVA



Scale : Three-Eighths

3 **Pachhima-dēsa**-adhīkāri Sāmanta-paḍīrā Visa-paḍi[rā]ṅkra[1]

4 adhikārē śrī-vira-**Bhāṇudēvarājāṅkara** āi-

5 usva-kām-ārthē[2] śrī-Vaīdyanāthadēvaṅkaī[3] **Naēḍa**-vi-

6 saya-[gr]āma[4] vāraha[5] data 12 [|*] ēhā jē haraī harāui

7 tāhāra kapālē Sīva-tāla Vrahma-tāla Vishṇu[6]-tāla tī-

8 ni tāla paḍaī [|*] tāhāra kapālaī nṛivansa[7] hōi ‖[8]

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[1] Tripathi reads *paḍīrāy-Isra-paḍisaṅkara*.

[2] Tripathi reads °*kām-āthē* and corrects it to °*kām-ārthē*. He takes the expression to stand for Sanskrit *āyush-kām-ārthē*.

[3] This is for modern Oriya °*dēvaṅku* and Sanskrit °*dēvāya*.

[4] Tripathi reads *ina Eḍaviya-paṭamu*. The last *akshara* may be read as *mu* also.

[5] Tripathi reads *vāra*.

[6] Tripathi and others read *Rudra*.

[7] Tripathi reads *kapāla ina vasa*.

[8] The *visarga*-like sign before the double *daṇḍa* is a part of the mark of punctuation.

## No. 40—SILVER COIN OF BHAIRAVASIMHA

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

About the end of November 1957 I was passing through Patna where I met Prof. R. K. Choudhary of the G. D. College, Begusarai, Monghyr District, Bihar. Prof. Choudhary kindly showed me a silver coin with legend on both obverse and reverse. As I had little time to devote on the coin just then, I prepared plasticine moulds of both sides of it and returned it to the Professor. Some plaster casts of the coin were later prepared out of those moulds for my study.[1]

The coin is **round** in shape and has a diameter of one inch. Its weight is stated to be 10·52 grams or 162·37 grains. On both obverse and reverse of the coin there is a square made of raised lines, within a circular line of the same type. In the four semi-circular spaces between the arms of the square and the outer line, there is in each case a letter or one or more numerical figures between two angular ornamental designs. Inside the square the legend is written in raised letters in five lines diagonally arranged between the upper and lower angles on both the obverse and the reverse. The reverse legend is a continuation of the writing on the obverse. There are thirteen letters on the obverse and an equal number of them on the reverse. Of these thirteen letters arranged in five lines, line 3 in the centre has five *aksharas*, lines 2 and 4 have three each and lines 1 and 5 only one each. The same arrangement has been followed on both the sides.

The **characters** belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet as prevalent in Bihar in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D. The letters *r* and *ś* have been written both in the Dēvanāgarī and Gauḍīya fashions. The two types of *r* are very similar respectively to *n* and *v* as found in the legend, while *y* resembles *p*. Some letters of the legend have suffered from the effects of later punching by the shroffs.

The writting on the obverse and reverse reads as follows :—

| *Obverse* | *Reverse* |
|---|---|
| 1 **Ma-** | 1 **Tī-** |
| 2 **hārāja-** | 2 **rabhukti-** |
| 3 **śrī-Da[rppa]nārā-** | 3 **rāja-śrī-Bhaira-** |
| 4 **yaṇ-ātma-** | 4 **vasiṁha-** |
| 5 **ja-** | 5 **sya** [‖*] |

The legend may be translated as : " (*The coin is*) of the illustrious **Bhairavasiṁha**, the lord of **Tīrabhukti** (*and*) the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Darpanārāyaṇa**".

In the spaces outside the square on the obverse, we have respectively in the upper left, upper right, lower left and lower right :

| | |
|---|---|
| [*Śa*]- | *ka-* |
| *sa* | *1411* |

In the corresponding spaces on the reverse, there are similarly :

| | |
|---|---|
| *rā-* | *jya* |
| [*I*] | *5* |

[1] Partial and inaccurate readings of the legend on the coin have since appeared in *JNSI*, Vol. XX, pp. 55-61 (Plate IX, No. 5), where it has been wrongly attributed to king Rāmabhadra of Mithilā. It is stated that the coin belongs to a hoard discovered at Bairmo in the Dardhanga District of Bihar.

Of the writing on the reverse, the central slanting line of *jya* is not clearly made, while the left part of the figure for 1 is cut off. These writings no doubt quote the date of the issue of the coin under study, the obverse giving *Śaka-sa* (i.e. *Śaka-saṁvatsarē*) *1411* and the reverse *rājya* (i.e. *rājya-saṁvatsarē*) *15*, i.e. the regnal year 15. Thus the coin was issued by king Bhairavasiṁha of Tīrabhukti (i.e. Tirhut or Mithilā, i.e. North Bihar), who was the son of king Darpanārāyaṇa, in the **15th year of his reign**, which corresponded to **Śaka 1411 or 1489-90 A. D.** Bhairavasiṁha thus ascended the throne of Tirhut about Śaka 1397 or 1475-76 A.D.

There is no doubt that the king who issued the coin under study is identical with **Bhairavasiṁha** *alias* **Rūpanārāyaṇa** *alias* **Harinārāyaṇa** who was the son of **Narasiṁha Darpanārāyaṇa** of the Ōinvār dynasty of Tirhut, which flourished in the period between the middle of the 14th to the first half of the 16th century A.D. The coin is the only one of Bhairavasiṁha so far discovered and one of the very few of the Ōinvārs as yet published. As a matter of fact, very few of the Ōinvār rulers issued coins. Our coin throws some light on the rather obscure history of the king as well as of the local ruling family of medieval India, to which he belonged.

The history of the rulers of the Ōinvār dynasty of Tirhut is little known and their chronology full of confusion. The confusion is due to many factors such as the uncertainty about the initial year of the Lakshmaṇasēna Saṁvat or La. Saṁ. used in the dating of many of the literary records of the period and tract in question, the possibility of contemporaneous or conjoint rule for some years of the predecessor and successor in several cases, and the unreliability of some of the local traditions. Since the late medieval period, the La. Saṁ. is calculated as starting from 1119 A.D.; but as regards the earlier dates the initial year varies between 1108 and 1119 A.D.[1] For the sake of convenience, we have tentatively taken 1119 A.D. as the starting point of the era in our calculations in the following pages. Another great difficulty is that even when the La. Saṁ. year is mentioned together with the corresponding Śaka year and verifiable astronomical details are provided for a date, they are generally irregular according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. This is evidently due to the fact that the local almanacs from which the dates were quoted, were based on a defective calculation.

In the following lines, we are offering a sketch of Ōinvār history and chronology on the basis of the following works: (1) M. M. Chakravarti, History of Mithilā during the Pre-Mughal Period (*JASB*, N.S., Vol. XI, 1915, pp. 406-433; especially pp. 415-33); (2) R. K. Choudhary, The Oinwāras of Mithilā (*JBRS*, Vol. XL, pp. 99-121); (3) J. Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part IV, pp. 874-76, No. 2564; (4) G. A. Grierson, (*a*) Vidyāpati and his Contemporaries (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, 1885, pp. 182 ff.); (*b*) On some Medieval Kings of Mithilā (ibid., Vol. XVIII, 1899, pp. 57-58); (*c*) *An Introduction to Maithilī Language*; (5) S. N. Singh, *History of Tirhut*, 1915; and (6) U. Thakur, *History of Mithilā*, 1956, Chapter VI: The Oinavāras (pp. 290-339).

**Harisiṁha**, the last ruler of the Karnāṭa dynasty of Mithilā, was overthrown by Sulṭān Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluk Shāh (1320-25 A.D.) of Delhi about 1324 A.D.[2] Sometime later, about the middle of the fourteenth century, a Brāhmaṇa named **Kāmēśvara Ṭhākur**, who may have originally been the *Rājapaṇḍita* at Harisiṁha's court, obtained the Zamindari of a considerable part of the country from Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh (1351-87 A.D.). The dynasty founded by the Brāhmaṇa is called Ōinavāra (Ōinivāra) or Ōinvār after the village of Ōinī in the Muzaffarpur District, which one of his ancestors received from a Karṇāṭa king. The family is sometimes also named after

[1] *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 233 ff.

[2] I. Prasad, *Hist. Med. Ind.*, p. 266.

Sugaunā, Kāmēśvara's residence near modern Madhubani in the Darbhanga District. After a short time, Fīrūz Shāh gave Kāmēśvara's throne to the latter's son **Bhōgīśvara.**[1] According to some doubtful traditions, Bhōgīśvara ruled for 33 years and died in 1360 A.D.[2] Bhōgīśvara's son and successor was **Gaṇēśvara** who, according to Vidyāpati's *Kīrtilatā*, was defeated and killed by an enemy named Aslān, apparently a Musalmān, aided probably by certain members of the Ōinvār family. The date of this event is given in the work in a corrupt passage which may mean the 5th of the first (i. e. dark) half of Agrahāyana in La. Saṁ. 252 (1371 A.D.).[3] His eldest son Vīrasiṁha seems to have been ruling over a part of the country in La. Saṁ. 228 (1347 A.D.) when a manuscript of the *Liṅgavārttika* was copied in his territory.[4] That he was a ruler is also suggested by the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to him in the *Kīrtilatā*.[5] Sometime after Gaṇēśvara's death, his son **Kīrtisiṁha** became king with the help of Ibrāhim Shāh Sharqī (1401-40 A.D.) of Jaunpur. The next king was **Bhavasiṁha,** a younger son of Kāmēśvara, and he was succeeded by his eldest son **Dēvasiṁha Garuḍanārāyaṇa.** Since a manuscript of Śrīdatta's *Ēkāgnidānapaddhati*, composed at Dēvasiṁha's request, was copied on Monday, Pausha-śudi 9, La. Saṁ. 299 (1418 A.D.), he seems to have ascended the throne before that date.[6] According to a poem ascribed to Vidyāpati, Dēvasiṁha died on Thursday, Chaitra-vadi 6, La. Saṁ. 293 corresponding to Śaka 1324 (1403 A.D.)which is supposed to be a mistake for Śaka 1334 (1413 A.D.).[7] As Śrīdhara's *Kāvyaprakāśavivēka* was composed on Kārttika-vadi 10, La. Saṁ. 291 (1411 A.D.) when Dēvasiṁha's son **Śivasiṁha Rūpanārāyaṇa** is stated to have been ruling over Tīrabhukti, the son seems to have been reigning jointly with the father as *Yuvarāja* (or at least over parts of the kingdom) and to have been a patron of Śrīdhara. Dēvasiṁha ruled from Dēvakulī about 2 miles to the north of Darbhanga while Śivasiṁha had his headquarters at Gajarathapura or Śivasiṁhapura about 5 miles to the south-east of Darbhanga. Three spurious copper-plate charters of king Śivasiṁha, recording the grant of the village of Bisapī in favour of the poet Vidyāpati, bear respectively the dates V.S. 1455, Śaka 1321, and La. Saṁ. 293 equated with V. S. 1455, Śaka 1321 and San 807, i.e. probably 1399 A.D.[8] Śivasiṁha is described by Vidyāpati as the 'lord of the Five Gauḍas' and as one who subdued the king or kings of Gauḍa. This vague and conventional claim may suggest that, unlike his predecessors who owed allegiance to the Muhammadans, Śivasiṁha ruled for sometime as an independent monarch. The result, however, was fatal and, according to tradition, Śivasiṁha was defeated by the Musalmāns and carried away to Delhi.[9] The same source suggests that, after the tragic end of Śivasiṁha's reign, his queen **Lakhimādēvī** ruled for 12 years and was succeeded by **Padmasiṁha** who was the younger brother of Śivasiṁha (and ruled for 6 years according to one tradition)[10] and that Padmasiṁha's queen **Viśvāsadēvī** ruled for 12 years after her husband's

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[1] *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XI, 1915, p. 416.

[2] Thakur, op. cit., p. 297; *JBRS*, Vol. XL, p. 102.

[3] *JASB*, op. cit., p. 416 and note 2; *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, p. 297.

[4] Thakur, op. cit., p. 302.

[5] *JASB*, loc. cit. The same title was often enjoyed by the ministers of the Ōinvār rulers, e.g. Chaṇḍēśvara and Rāmadatta, probably because they were ruling over parts of the country as viceroys or enjoyed extensive *jāgīrs* together with regal titles.

[6] Ibid., pp. 417-18. Doubtful traditions assign Bhavasiṁha's accession to 1348 A.D. and Dēvasiṁha's to 1385 A.D. (Eggeling, op. cit., p. 875).

[7] Ibid., pp. 418-19; D. C. Sen, *Baṅgabhāshā-ō-Sāhitya*, 5th ed., pp. 216-17. Thakur (op. cit., p. 306) ascribes to M. M. Chakravarti the view that Dēvasiṁha ascended the throne in Śaka 1263 (1342 A.D.). But there is no such statement in Chakravarti's article referred to above.

[8] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 736, 1126 and 1470. The date of Śivasiṁha's accession is assigned by tradition to 1446 A.D. (*An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1913-14, p. 249; Eggeling, loc. cit.).

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 58.

[10] *JBRS*, Vol. XI, p. 120.

reign of one year. It is also believed that Lakhimā, accompanied by the poet Vidyāpati, took shelter at Purāditya's court at Rājabanauli where Vidyāpati wrote his *Likhanāvalī* in 1418 A.D. and copied the *Bhāgavata* in La. Saṁ. 309 (1428 A.D.).[1] The next king was **Harasiṁha**, younger son of Dēvasiṁha, and his son and successor was **Narasiṁha Darpanārāyaṇa** whose Kandaha inscription is dated Śaka 1375 (1453 A.D.).[2] Narasiṁha was succeeded by his son **Dhīrasiṁha Hṛidayanārāyaṇa** during whose rule a manuscript of Śrīnivāsa's *Sētudarpaṇī* (a commentary on the *Sētubandha*) and another of the Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* were copied respectively on Saturday, Kārttika-vadi 15, La. Saṁ. 321 (1440 A.D.), and in La. Saṁ. 327 (1446 A.D.).[3] For some years Dhīrasiṁha appears to have been ruling jointly with his father or at least over an area of the country. He was succeeded by his younger brother **Bhairavasiṁha Rūpanārāyaṇa-Harinārāyaṇa** who ruled from Baruāra in the Bachchhaurā Pargana of the Darbhanga District. According to some, he ascended the throne in 1496 A.D. when Vardhamāna composed his *Gaṅgā-kṛityavivēka* and Vāchaspati-miśra wrote his *Mahādānanirṇaya* (earliest copy dated in La. Saṁ. 392 or 1511 A.D.) during his rule, while it is also suggested that he died about 1515 A.D.[4] Bhairavasiṁha's successor was his son **Rāmabhadra Rūpanārāyaṇa** whose rule is placed by some before 1490 A.D. but by others in 1520-27 A.D.[5], although both the theories appear to be wrong. The *Tantrapradīpa* was composed by Gadādhara (a grandson of Dhīrasiṁha) during his reign, while certain manuscripts are known to have been copied at Gadādhara's instance on Friday, Śrāvaṇa-vadi 1, La. Saṁ. 372 (1491 A.D.) and on Wednesday, Kārttika-sudi 5, La. Saṁ. 374 and Śaka 1426 (1504 A.D.).[6] The known dates of Rāmabhadra's son and successor **Lakṣhmīnātha Kaṁsanārāyaṇa** offer some difficulty unless it is believed that he was ruling jointly with his father or at least over a part of the country. A manuscript of the *Dēvīmāhātmya* was copied during Lakshmīnātha's rule on Wednesday, Pausha-vadi 3, La. Saṁ. 393 (1512 A.D.).[7] Lakshmīnātha's Bhagirathpur inscription is dated in La. Saṁ. 394 (1513 A.D.).[8] About this time, Tirhut became a bone of contention between Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517 A.D.) of Delhi and Husain Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.) of Bengal; ultimately the latter's son Nuṣrat Shāh (1519-32 A.D.) invaded Tirhut, put the king (probably Lakshmīnātha) to death and appointed his brothers-in-law, 'Alā-uddīn and Makhdum-i-'Alam, governors of the country.[9] This account of the Muslim historians is corroborated by a stanza giving the date of Lakshmīnātha's death as Tuesday, Bhādra-sudi 1,

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[1] Cf. loc. cit. Traditions, referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.), assign the accession of Lakhimādēvī to 1449 A.D. and of Viśvāsadēvī to 1458 A.D., but omit Padmasiṁha. According to Vidyāpati's *Likhanāvalī*, the work was composed (in La. Saṁ. 299=1418 A.D.) at the request of king Purāditya Girinārāyaṇa of the Drōṇavāra family, who had killed a king named Arjuna and was ruling at Rājabanauli in Nepal. This Arjuna is identified with the son of Bhavasiṁha's son Tripurasiṁha and is believed to have contributed to the murder of Gaṇēśvara (*JBRS*, Vol. XL, pp. 117-19).

[2] *JBORS*, Vol. XX, pp. 15-19. Jayaswal wrongly interpreted the chronogram *śar-āśva-madana* as 1357. Traditions referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.) omit Harasiṁha and assign Narasiṁha's accession to 1470 A.D.

[3] *JASB*, op. cit., pp. 425-26; *JBORS*, Vol. X, p. 47. According to M. M. Chakravarti, La. Saṁ. 321, Kārttika-vadi 15, Saturday, corresponds to October 18, 1438 A.D. Traditions referred to by Eggeling (loc. cit.) assign Dhīrasiṁha's accession to 1471 A.D.

[4] Cf. Thakur, op. cit., pp. 333-34. Traditions assign Bhairavasiṁha's accession to 1506 A.D. and his successor's to 1520 A.D. (cf. Eggeling, loc. cit.).

[5] See *JASB*, op. cit., pp. 329-30.

[6] Ibid., op. cit.

[7] Ibid., p. 430.

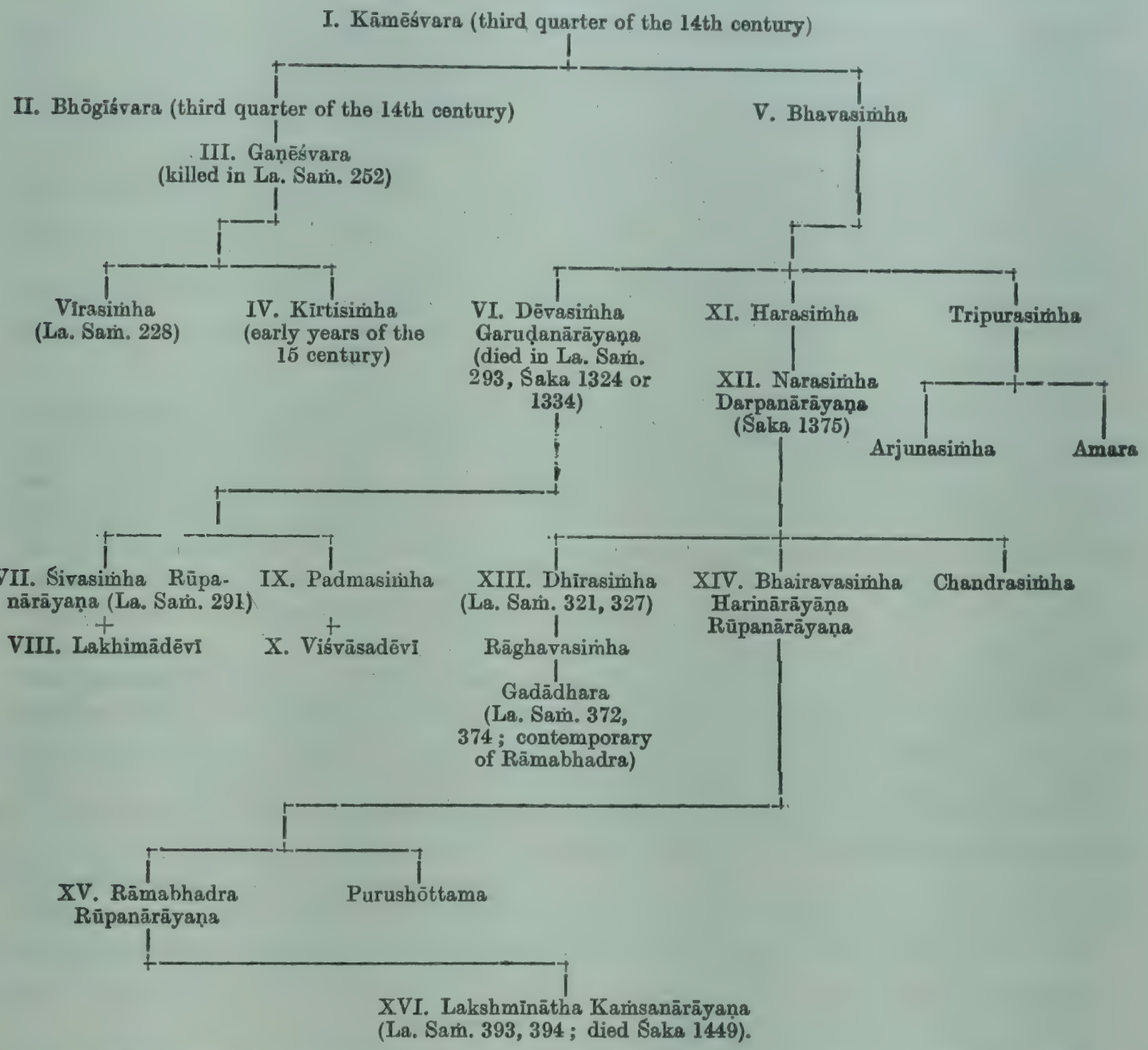
[8] *JBRS*, Vol. XLI, Part 3, pp. 271 ff. The date is given in the chronogram *vēda-randhra-Haranētra*.

[9] Badāunī, *Muntakhābut Tawārikh*, trans., Vol. I, pp. 415-17; *Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. II, pp. 145 ff.; *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 272; Thakur, op. cit., pp. 338-39.

Śaka 1449 (1527 A.D.), although according to a tradition followed by Eggeling he was ruling in 1532 A.D. and according to another followed by Grierson in 1542 A.D.[1]

The Ōinvār or Sugaunā Dynasty[2]

(middle of the 14th century to 1527 A.D.)




[1] Eggeling, loc. cit.; Grierson, *Introduction to Maithilī Language*, Part II, p. 96; Thakur, op. cit., p. 339 and note 2.

[2] The genealogy quoted by Grierson (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV., p. 196) represents Kāmēśvara as the son of Lakshmaṇa, grandson of Gōvinda, great-grandson of Viśvarūpa and great-great-grandson of Atirūpa. Udayasiṁha is mentioned as another son of Bhavasiṁha and Sarvasiṁha is represented as the only son of Tripurasiṁha. Ratnēśvarasiṁha (Raṭāya), Raghusiṁha Vijayanārāyaṇa and Brahmasiṁha Harinārāyaṇa are mentioned as brothers of Narasiṁha Darpanārāyaṇa. A brother of Chandrasiṁha was Durlabhasiṁha or Raṇasiṁha whose son was Viśvanātha Naranārāyaṇa. Rāmachandra and Pratāparudra are represented as the sons of Viśvanātha, and Ratnasiṁha as the son of Rāmachandra. Purushōttama seems to be mentioned as Garuḍanārāyaṇa. A brother of Lakshmīnātha Kaṁsanārāyaṇa was Balabhadra and his two step-brothers were Ratināth a and Bhavanātha Hṛidayanārāyaṇa. Mention is also made of Dhīrasiṁha's son Jagannnārāyaṇa whose sons were Madhusūdana, Śrīnātha, Kīrtisiṁha, Rudranārāyaṇa and Vīravara.

Besides the few facts about Bhairavasiṁha mentioned in the above sketch, some more are also known. It seems that he was originally ruling the kingdom (or part of it) jointly with his elder brother Dhīrasiṁha with the secondary name Rūpanārāyaṇa and that on his brother's death he succeeded to the throne with the name Harinārāyaṇa, his son Rāmabhadra then assuming the name Rūpanārāyaṇa. The reason why Rāghavasiṁha, son of Dhīrasiṁha, was deprived of his father's throne is unknown.

Many of the Ōinvār kings patronised men of letters. Bhairavasiṁha was also a great patron of learning and under his patronage Ruchipati wrote his *Anargharāghavaṭīkā*, Vāchaspati-miśra his *Vyavahārachintāmaṇi*, *Kṛityamahārṇava* and *Mahādānanirṇaya*, and Vardhamān-ōpādhyāya his *Daṇḍavivēka*. Vāchaspati was his *parishad* or *pārishada* (i.e. councillor) and Vardhamāna his *dharmādhikarcṇika* or judge. Vāchaspati's *Dvaitanirṇaya* was written at the request of Bhairavasiṁha's queen Jayā or Jayātmā, mother of *Rājādhirāja* Purushōttama who seems to have ruled a part of the kingdom under his father. Miśaru-miśra wrote his *Vivādachandra* and *Padārthachandra* at the instance of the wife of Chandrasiṁha who was a brother (probably step-brother) of Bhairavasiṁha. According to the *Mahādānanirṇaya*, Bhairavasiṁha excavated many tanks, gave away some towns and townships and performed a *Tulāpurushadāna*.[1]

Vidyāpati's *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* mentions Bhairavasiṁha as *śaury-āvarjita-pañcha-Gauḍa-dharaṇīnātha* and Vardhamāna's *Daṇḍavivēka* describes him as *Gauḍ-ēśvara-pratiśarīram=atipratāpaḥ Kēdārarāyam=avagachchhati dāra-tulyam*.[2] The vague claim of victory over the rulers of the Five Gauḍas, which is conventional and seems to point to the independent status claimed by Bhairavasiṁha, reminds us of the fact that the only other Ōinvār ruler with similar claims is Śivasiṁha who is called *Pañcha-Gauḍ-ēśvara*, i.e. lord of the Five Gauḍas, in Vidyāpati's songs and is described in the same poet's *Śaivasarvasvasāra* as *śaury-āvarjita-Gauḍa-mahīpāla* (i.e. one who conquered the king or kings of Gauḍa by his prowess) and in his *Purushaparīkshā* as one having earned fame in battles with the kings of Gauḍa and Gajjana.[3] These facts appear to show that amongst the Ōinvārs at least Śivasiṁha and Bhairavasiṁha aspired for independent status. Besides the Muslim rulers of Delhi, those of Jaunpur and Bengal were also each eager to spread his influence in Tirhut and the Ōinvārs, who owed allegiance to Delhi, had sometimes to submit to these powers as well.[4] But on occasions a few of them got an opportunity to assume independence temporarily as a result of quarrels amongst the said Muslim powers or of their weakness or preoccupations. It is interesting in this connection to note that, as feudatories of the Muslims, the Ōinvārs were not expected to issue coins in their own names. That Bhairavasiṁha ruled for sometime as an independent

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[1] For references, see *JASB*, op. cit., pp. 426-28.

[2] Ibid., p. 426, note 2; p. 427, note 4. Kēdārarāya, whom Bhairavasiṁha treated as his own wife (i.e. as a subordinate), may have been a general of the Muslim king of Bengal. The ruler of Tirhut probably defeated and humiliated him. The claim may be compared with the title *Ripu-rāja-gōpī-gōvinda* assumed by a medieval ruler of Sylhet (*Hist. Beng.*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 256).

[3] *JBBRS*, Vol. XL, p. 121, note 4; Thakur, op. cit., pp. 310-11. By *Gajjana* rulers, the successors of the representatives of the early Ghazna rulers at Delhi appear to be meant.

[4] We have seen how Kāmēśvara and Bhōgiśvara obtained rulership from Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq of Delhi and Kīrtisiṁha from Ibrāhim Shāh (1402-36 A. D.) of Jaunpur. Khwāja Jahān (1394-99 A. D.) of Jaunpur succeeded in extending his influence in Tirhut (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 251) and Husain Shāh (1458-79 A. D.) crushed the semi-independent landholders of that country before 1466 A. D. (ibid., p. 255). For a short time Iliyās Shāh (1343-57 A. D.) of Bengal occupied Tirhut (ibid., p. 176). Some of the songs attributed to Vidyāpati speak of Muslim rulers like Gyāsadīna Suratāna, Nāsira Sāha, *Pañcha-Gauḍēśvara Rāya* Nasarata Śāha and Ālama Śāha (*JBRS*, Vol. XL, p.p. 107-10). There is considerable difference of opinion about the identification of these rulers.

ruler of Tirhut is indicated by his issue of silver coins, one of which is now under study. It is also interesting to note that Śivasiṁha is the only other Ōinvār king whose coins have been discovered.

In 1913 three small gold coins, out of a lot discovered at the village of Pipra in the Champaran District, were received in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. They were noticed by R. D. Banerji in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, 248-49, Plate LXVIII, Nos. 1-3. The coins are round in shape with diameters varying between ·3 and ·325 inch and weights between 13·6 and 14 grains. As on the coin of Bhairavasiṁha under study, the legend on the Pipra gold coins runs on from the obverse to the reverse. The legend on the obverse reads *śrī-* and that on the reverse in two lines runs (1) *Śiva-* (2) *sya*. King Śiva, who issued these coins, has been rightly identified by Banerji with king Śivasiṁha of the Ōinvār dynasty of Tirhut. A similar coin was previously published by Cunningham in his *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 54, Plate VI, No. 18. Banerji seems to assign the copper coins[1] bearing the name of Champakāraṇya to the dynasty of Śivasiṁha ; but they were issued by the rulers of the Karṇāṭa dynasty of Simraon (Samaragrāma) and not by the Ōinvārs of Tirhut.

The **importance** of the coin published here is two-fold. In the first place, it shows, as already indicated above, that Ōinvār Bhairavasiṁha ruled for sometime as an independent monarch and signalised the achievement with the issue of some silver coins. Secondly, we learn for the first time from it that Bhairavasiṁha ascended the throne about 1475-76 A. D. and ruled at least for about 15 years down to 1489-90 A. D. The view assigning his accession to 1496 A. D. is thus certainly wrong.

## POSTSCRIPT

### Another Silver Coin of Bhairavasiṁha

Shortly after my paper on the silver coin of Bhairavasiṁha had been sent to the press, Mr. A. N. Lahiri, one of my Epigraphical Assistants, had occasion to visit Calcutta where he studied some coins in the cabinet of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum. In the course of his study, Mr. Lahiri luckily came across another silver coin of Bhairavasiṁha, closely resembling the one discussed above. On his return to Ootacamund, he kindly placed at my disposal the plaster casts of the coin, which he had prepared with the permission of Mr. R. C. Kar, Superintendent of the Archaeological Section.

This coin was examined by V. A. Smith and was noticed as No. 3 under the head ' Sundry Coins' at the last page (p. 333) of his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, 1906. He correctly gives the metal, weight and size of the coin respectively as silver, ·164 grains and ·9 inch. Unfortunately, Smith, who thought that the provenance of the coin might be Nepal, failed to read any part of the five-line (not four-line as supposed by him) legend on the obverse and the reverse. In the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, p. 259 (Plate LXIX, No. 31), R. D. Banerji made an unsuccessful attempt to read the legend.

The present coin (No. 2) was struck on a flan slightly smaller than that of Bhairavasiṁha's other coin (No. 1) dealt with above. As a result of this, some of the letters and numerical figures that can be seen on Coin No. 1 are cut off on Coin No. 2. The two coins, although they apparently bear the same date, were struck from two different dies. In some cases, the forms of the letters are different on the two specimens ; cf. *h* in *mahārāja*, *s* in *siṁha*, etc. As on Coin No. 1, some letters on Coin No. 2 are damaged owing to later punching by the shroffs ; cf. *ya* in

[1] See V. A. Smith, *JASB*, Vol. LXVI, 1897, Part I, p. 309 ; and *Catalogue* (*Indian Museum, Calcutta*), p. 293 ; C. J. Rodgers, *Catalogue* (*Lahore Museum*), p. 12, Plate IV.

*nārāyaṇa* and *ra* in *Tīrakbhukti*. Similarly, two forms of the letters *j*, *r* and *h* have been used in the legend on No. 2 as in that of No. 1. The *akshara śrī* before *Bhairava*, which exhibits the sign of later punching on coin No. 1, seems to be badly shaped on coin No. 2. In spite, however, of these differences, the arrangement of the letters and numerical figures in the legends on both the coins is the same. But, as indicated above, some of these letters and figures in the spaces outside the central square are cut off on Coin No. 2. The legend in the central squares on both sides of Coin No. 2 reads as follows :

| *Obverse* | *Reverse* |
|---|---|
| 1 **Ma-** | 1 **Tī-** |
| 2 **hārāja-** | 2 **rabh[u]kti-** |
| 3 [śrī]-**Darppanārā-** | 3 rāja-[śr]ī-**Bhaira-** |
| 4 **yaṇ-ātma-** | 4 **vas[iṁ]ha-** |
| 5 **ja-** | 5 sya [‖*] |

Of the letters and numerical figures in the spaces outside the square on the obverse, *Śa* in the upper left is partly visible while *ka* in the upper right is quite clear. *Saṁ* in the lower left is almost totally cut off, though only the lower parts of the figures **1411** in the lower right are lost. Similarly, in the spaces outside the central square on the reverse of the coin, it is difficult to recognise *rā* in the upper left and *jya* in the upper right, while the numerical figure in the lower left and that in the lower right are both cut off. The *akshara jya* is fully preserved but is not properly shaped.

# SILVER COIN OF BHAIRAVASIMHA

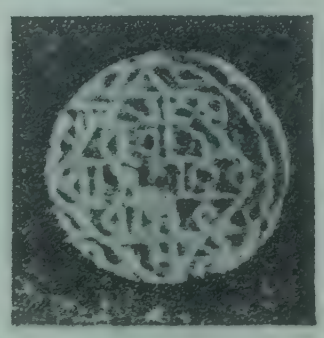
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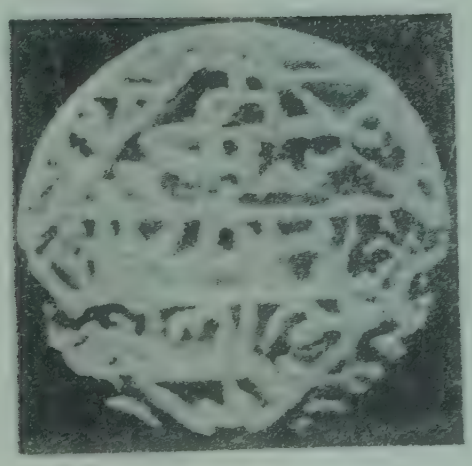
Enlarged Size





Actual Size

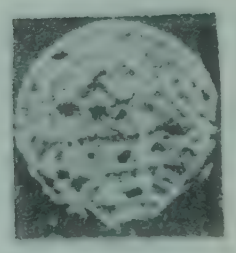
2





Enlarged Size





Actual Size

(from Photographs)

## No. 41—AIVARMALAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA II, SAKA 792

*( 1 Plate )*

S. Sankaranarayanan, Ootacamund

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on the neatly dressed portion of the rock above a natural cave on the hill called **Aivarmalai** in the village of Aiyampāḷaiyam in the Palni Taluk of the Madurai District. I edit it with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

This epigraph in seven lines is in the Tamil **language** and Vaṭṭeḻuttu **characters.** Unlike in the Ambāsamudram inscription[2] of Varaguṇa II, the letter *k* assumes the slanting form and the double *kk* is never written as a group. As in the Śuchīndram inscription[3] of Mārañjaḍaiyan, two forms of *t* are used, the one with ends of the two arms joined (cf. *Kāḻattu* in line 3) and the other with separated arms (cf. *°nūṟṟu=ttto°* in line 1 ; *amaitta* in line 6). Though the syllable *po* in *pon* (lines 6-7) resembles that in the Ambasamudram record, the syllable *pō* in *pōndaṇa* (line 2 ; cf. *mō* in line 6) is distinguished by the signs for *ē* and *ā* added to *p*.[4] A loop at the end added to the sign of medial *i* makes medial *ī*. The syllable *śva* in *Pāriśva* (line 4) is written in Grantha characters.

This inscription is of great importance as it is dated in the **eighth regnal year of Varaguṇa** equated with **Śaka year 792 expired,** and thus provides one of the two[5] most important dates in early Pāṇḍya chronology. It records a gift of 502 *kāṇam* of gold to the Jaina monk Śāntivīra-kkuravar of Kāḻam, who was a disciple of another Jaina monk named Guṇavīra-kkuravaḍigaḷ. The former is said to have renovated the figures of Pārśvanātha and the Yakshīs (*Iyakki*[6]*-avvaigaḷ*), probably attending on Pārśvanātha, at Tiruvayirai, i.e., Aivarmalai.[7] The gift is said to have been made for food offerings (*avi*) to the deities and for feeding (*śōṟu*) one Jaina ascetic (probably daily).

Though there is much disagreement on the identification of Varaguṇa mentioned in records like the inscriptions from Tiruveḷḷaṟai and Lālguḍi,[8] there can be no difference of opinion in ascribing the present inscription to **Varaguṇa II.** For the Śaka date of this record is too

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 705

[2] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 89 ff.

[3] *TAS*, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

[4] This seems to go against the view that the distinction between *po* and *pō* is an innovation later than the Ambāsamudram inscription (above, Vol. IX, p. 85).

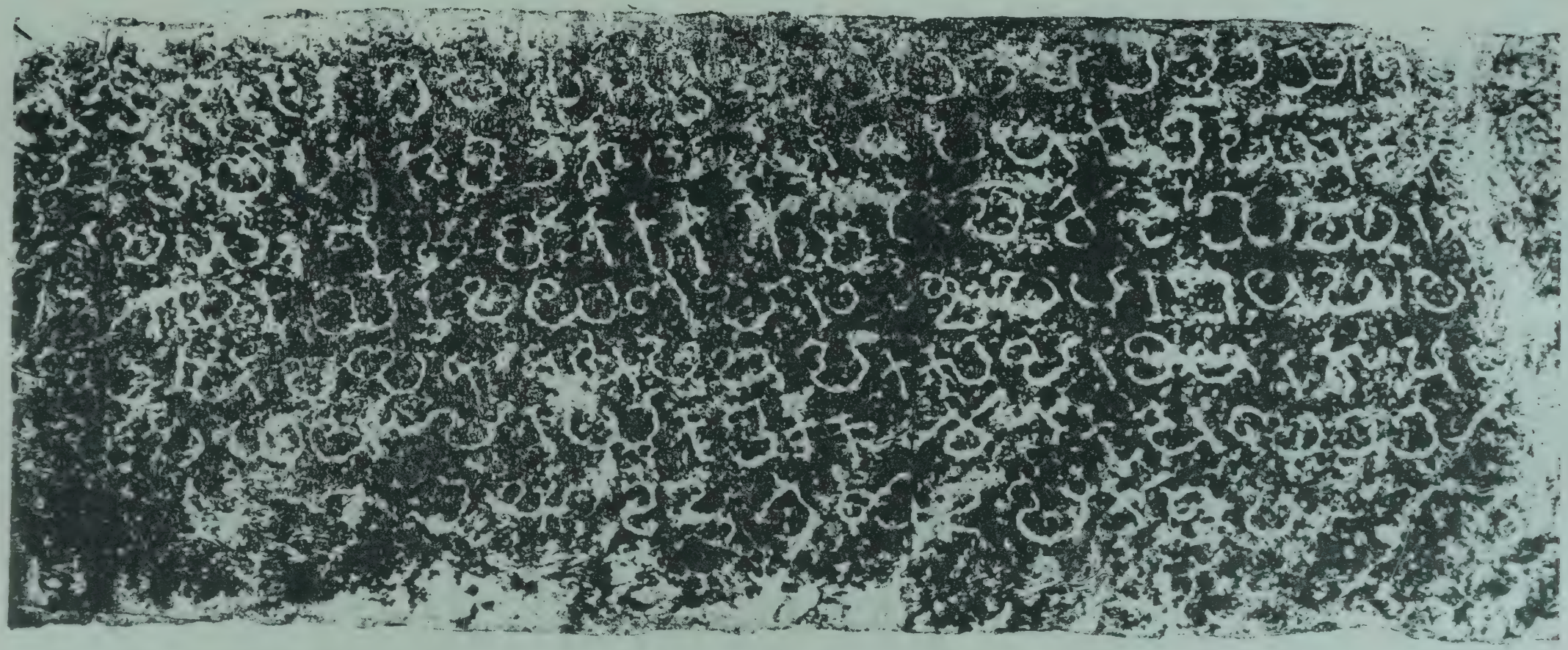
[5] The other is the Ānaimalai inscription of Mārañjaḍaiyan *alias* Parāntaka Varaguṇa I (cf. above, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.).

[6] Cf. the popular village deity called *Iśakki* in South India.

[7] *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 702, also, like early Tamil works (cf. *Padiṟṟuppattu*, verses 21, 70 and 79), refers to the Aivarmalai, from which it comes, by the same name. Thus the present record and other fragmentary inscriptions (*A. R. Ep.*, 1905 Nos. 691-703) from the place show that the hill Aivarmalai had been a Jaina hermitage in the 9th century A. D. But at present there is only a Gaṇēśa temple, and popular belief connects it with the Pañcha-Pāṇḍavas (*Aivar*).

[8] For conflicting views, see above, Vol. XI, p. 253 ; Vol. XXVIII, p. 39 on the one hand, and Vol. XX, pp. 48 ff., p. 50, note 5, on the other.

# AIVARMAIAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA II, SAKA 972



Scale : Three-Tenths

late for his grandfather[1] who has been identified[2] with Varaguṇa (I) of the Larger Śinnamanūr grant[3] and Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates[4] and for whom the Ānaimalai records offer the date Kali 3871 (expired)=A. D. 770.

With regard to the date of our record, the first thing to be borne in mind is that the Śaka year quoted, viz. 792, was expired (*pōndaṇa*). Thus Varaguṇa's eighth regnal year is coupled with Śaka 793 current (between March 870 A. D. and March 871 A. D.). He therefore ascended the throne sometime between March 862 and March 864 A.D. and not exactly between March 862 A.D and March 863 A.D. as has generally been believed.[5] The view assigning the king's accession to 861-62 A. D. overlooks the expression *pōndaṇa*.[6] Secondly, the eighth regnal year of the record should better be taken as current rather than expired. For the first regnal year of a king is likely to be counted from the first day of his accession and not from the date of the expiry of the first year.[7] But those who regard the Śaka year 792 of our record as current and at the same time the regnal year 8 as expired predate the king's accession by two years.[8] Our record seems to necessitate a reconsideration of the dates suggested for the records from Tiruveḷḷarai,[9] Lālguḍi[10] and Javantināthapuram,[11] all of which are dated in the 4+9th regnal year of Varaguṇa who has been identified with Varaguṇa I by some but with Varaguṇa II by others.

## TEXT[12]

1 **Śakara-yāṇḍu eḷu-nūṟṟu=ttoṇṇūṟṟ=iraṇḍu**

2 **pōndaṇa Varaguṇaṟku yāṇḍu eṭṭu** Guṇavīra-kku-

3 ravaḍigaḷ-māṇākka[r] Kāḷattu Śāntivīrak-

4 kuravar **Tiruvayirai** Pōriśva(Pārśva)-pa(bha)ṭāraraiyum=iyak-

5 ki-avvaigaḷaiyum pudukki iraṇḍukku=muṭ-

6 ṭā=vaviyum=ōr=aḍigaḷukku śōṟāga[13] amaitta po-

7 ṉ ai-nnūṟṟ=aindu kāṇam[14] [||*]

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[1] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 319.

[2] Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 39-44. The identification seems to be corroborated by the Perumbūḷḷi inscription of Varaguṇa II (above, p. 271).

[3] *SII.*, Vol. III, pp. 451 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, paragraph 25; above, Vol. VIII, p. 319; Vol. IX, p. 88. The actual date of the King's accession, however, cannot be determined without further evidence.

[6] Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 39. Our record does not presuppose 'that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year' (above, Vol. XI, p. 253) nor does it give room for the doubt that it 'may be either current or expired' (*QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 132).

[7] Cf. *JOR*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

[8] Above, Vol. XI, p. 253; *QJMS*, Vol. XLIII, p. 132.

[9] Two dates have been suggested. The one is the 22nd November 874 A. D. (above, Vol. XI, p. 253; Vol. XXVIII, p. 38.); but it is doubtful (cf. *QJMS*, Vol. XLII, p. 127; Vol. XLIII, p. 138). The other date viz. 7th November, 824 A. D., has been suggested by ascribing the record to Varaguṇa I (above, Vol. XX, p. 51). This also seems to require a reconsideration if we assign the Ānaimalai inscription to that king.

[10] The proposed date is the 6th December, 875 A. D. (loc. cit.; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 42) by taking the regnal year as expired.

[11] The date suggested is the 5th December, 875 A.D. (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 39).

[12] From impressions.

[13] Read *śoṟum=āga*.

[14] I am indebted to Mr. K. G. Krishnan for some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

## No. 42—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI

*(1 Plate)*

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

About the end of the year 1952, I visited Gwalior with the purpose of attending the Fifteenth Session of the Indian History Congress and examining the inscriptions preserved in the **Gwalior Museum.** Among the epigraphs copied by me in the said Museum two were stone inscriptions[1] belonging to the reign of the Yajvapāla king **Gaṇapati** (known dates between 1292 and 1300 A.D.) of Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State). These two epigraphs are edited in the following pages. They have both been noticed by several scholars. The first of them, stated to have been originally found at **Surwāyā** in the Shivapuri District of the former Gwalior State, was noticed by Hirananda Sastri in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04, Part II, pp. 286 f., and this notice was followed in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, No. 636, and H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh*, No. 163. But unfortunately Sastri's notice of the inscription contains some errors, the most important of which is that the epigraph does not record the benefactions of *Rāṇā* Adhigadēva of the Muchchhaka family but of *Rāṇaka* Chāchigadēva of the Lubdhaka dynasty. The other epigraph, found at **Narwar** in the same District, was noticed by A. Cunningham, *ASIR*, Vol. II, p. 315 ; F. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 81 ; M. B. Garde, ibid., Vol. XLVII, p. 241, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State*, V.S. 1971, No. 8; D. R. Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 642; and H. N. Dvivedi, op. cit., No. 174. It has been said that the eulogy in question was composed by Śiva, son of Lōhaḍa. Actually, however, the poet's name was Śivanābhaka who was the son of Lōhaṭa. The name of the person responsible for writing the letters on the stone is given as Amarasiṁha, though it is really Arasiṁha. There seems also to be some confusion about the week-day in the date of the record, which has sometimes been taken to be Friday, although it is actually Thursday. In any case, the published notices of both the inscriptions appear to be based on their inaccurate and incomplete transcripts since some of the interesting informations supplied by them have been altogether ignored.

The inscriptions contain each a eulogy recording the construction of a step-well during the reign of the Yajavapāla monarch Gaṇapati. An interesting feature of these epigraphs as well as some others[2] of the type belonging to the time of the Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura (modern Narwar) is that they speak of a number of people who settled in the Yajvapāla dominions from Gōpādri or Gōpāchala (modern Gwalior). This was no doubt the result of the extinction of Hindu rule and establishment of the hold of the Turkish Muhammadans at Gwalior.[3] A number of these displaced people appear to have been of Māthura Kāyastha origin. Some of them (or at least their ancestors) were probably servants of the Hindu kings of Gwalior and a good many of them appear to have been absorbed in the services under the Yajvapāla kings of Nalapura. The inscriptions also show that some of the Kāyasthas of the Māthura community were assiduous students of Sanskrit literature and composed poems of no mean order.

### *1. Surwāyā Inscription of V. S. 1350*

The inscribed stone is a squarish slab, the lines of writing being engraved on an excavated bed leaving a raised margin on all the four sides. There are 23 lines in the inscription, the last of

[1] These are Nos. 145 and 142 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

[2] See ibid., Nos. 139 and 141 ; below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 31 ff.

[3] See above, Vol. XXX, p. 148.

which is incised on the lower border. The writing in the excavated bed occupies an area about 16½ inches in length and 17 inches in height. The letters are neatly and carefully engraved and the preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory although a few letters are damaged here and there.

The **characters** belong to the Dēvanāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and resemble those in other records of the age and region in question.[1] The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and, with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end, the whole of it is written in verse. It is a *praśasti* written in 23 stanzas in different metres. The verses are consecutively numbered. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that consonants are only in some cases reduplicated after *r* and *anusvāra* is used in most cases in the place of class nasals and generally also of final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. The **date** quoted in line 22 is **V. S. 1350, Kārttika-vadi 7, Wednesday.** It corresponds to the **23rd September 1293 A.D.** The *saptamī tithi* began on that date at ·19 of the day.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the passage *Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*. Next follow the 23 stanzas of the *praśasti* in lines 1-22. Verses 1-3 contain adoration to the god Śambhu (Śiva), the goddess **Mahāruṇḍā** and the composition of good poets. Mahāruṇḍā was apparently a form of the Mother-goddess. Another epigraphic record[2] suggests that she was the family deity of the Yajvapāla kings. The goddess was possibly also worshipped at the city of Surwāyā (old Sarasvatīpaṭṭana)[3] which lay within the dominions of the Yajvapālas and where the record under study was found. Since the word *ruṇḍa* means 'a headless trunk', it is possible to connect Mahāruṇḍā with the well-known Chhinnamastā aspect of the Mother-goddess.

Verses 4 ff. describe the family of the hero of the *praśasti*. The first stanza of this section (verse 4) introduces the **Lubdhaka** family, the members of which are stated to have been always engaged in *pūrta-karman* (i.e. meritorious works such as feeding Brāhmaṇas, digging wells, planting groves, building temples, etc.). According to Sanskrit lexicons, the word *lubdhaka* means 'a hunter' ; but the name Lubdhaka in our record is no doubt the same as Lōdhā as found in contemporary inscriptions found in the same area.[4] Since the stanza further states that the Lubdhaka family belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, it could scarcely have anything to do with the hunters who represent one of the lowest strata of the society. The Lōdhās of the neighbouring Agra region are stated to be an agriculturist community.[5]

Verses 5-6 introduce Gōddhala of the Lubdhaka family, who was famous for his liberality, while verses 7-9 describe Padma who was the son of Gōddhala. While the father may be taken to have served many kings (*īśvaras*) who cannot be identified, the son is stated to have possessed immense wealth and to have been a great devotee of the god Śambhu (Śiva). Padma is also described as a protector of the people. Verse 10 introduces the lady Siyā who was the wife of Padma. The following three stanzas (verses 11-13) describe the two sons of Padma and Siyā. The elder of the two brothers was Kākali and the younger **Chāchiga** who enjoyed the title *Rāṇaka*. Chāchiga is described as a *dharma-putra* (i.e. one theoretically accepted as a son) of king **Gōpāla** who is no doubt the Yajvapāla king of that name. Yajvapāla Gōpāla, whose known dates range between 1279 and 1289 A.D., was the father of king Gaṇapati mentioned below. Verses 14 ff. describe the activities of Chāchiga who is stated to have visited the holy places of the gods **Kēdāra** and

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[1] Cf. ibid., pp. 145 ff. and Plate ; Vol. XXXI, pp. 323 ff. and Plates.

[2] Cf. No. 139 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B ; below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 39, text line 4.

[3] H. N. Dvivedi, op. cit., No. 150.

[4] Cf. ibid., No. 162 in the Gwalior Museum, dated V. S. 1349 (1293 A. D.), which records the excavation of a tank by *Mahatā* Jaitasiṁha of the Lōdhā community.

[5] Cf. Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v. ; cf. Wilson's Glossary, s.v.

**Sŏmēśa** (i.e. Sōmēśvara or Sōmanātha) as well as **Prayāga** and **Gayasīrsha** (i.e. Gayā) and to have offered *piṇḍa* to his dead ancestors at the last-named place. Verse 16 states that Chāchiga's activities in the various *tīrthas* and [fields of] battle absolved him from his debt to his master **Gōpāladēva.** The next stanza (verse 17) mentions the lady Sahajā who was the wife of Chāchiga.

Verse 18 records the excavation of a *vāpi* by Chāchiga. Since the following stanza (verse 19) refers to the sound of its waves, the word *vāpi* would appear to indicate here a tank rather than a step-well. But the inscriptions of the area in question use the word generally in the sense of a step-well. The reference to the waves, etc., in the description of the *vāpi* thus appears to be merely poetical exaggeration. Verse 20 states that Chāchiga also made a *vāṭikā* or garden apparently around the *vāpi* or in its neighbourhood. The garden is described as containing plants for both flowers and fruits. Verse 21 mentions *Rāṇaka* **Chachau** (apparently a colloquial form of the name *Chāchiga*) as a servant of **Gaṇapati,** no doubt the Yajvapāla king of the same name, who was the son and successor of Gōpāla. As already indicated above, the known dates of Gaṇapati range between 1292 and 1300 A.D. The stanza prays for the prosperity (*śubha*) of the *puṇya-sthāna* (i.e. sacred place) meaning the area containing the *vāpi* and the *vāṭikā*.

Verse 22 states that the poet **Jayasiṁha,** who belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community and was the son of Lōhaṭa, composed the eulogy. Lōhaṭa is also mentioned in several other contemporary epigraphs (including the one of V. S. 1355 from Narwar edited below) which were composed by another of his sons, named Śivanābhaka. The next stanza (verse 23), with which the *praśasti* ends, says that the eulogy was written by Maharāja who was the son of Sōmarāja of the same community of the Māthura Kāyasthas. The name of the writer is spelt as *Maharāja* in the same stanza occurring elsewhere also.[1] It should not therefore be regarded as a mistake for *Mahārāja* unless it is believed that *mahā* was changed to *maha* for the requirement of the metre. The word *likhita* in this stanza shows that Maharāja wrote the letters of the record on the stone in ink or a paint since, as stated in line 23 incised on the lower border of the inscribed slab, the engraver of the document was one Dēvasiṁha.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, the holy places of Kēdāra in the Himalayas and Sōmēśa or Sōmanātha, i.e. modern Pāṭan Sōmnāth in Kathiawar, as well as Prayāga near modern Allahabad in U.P. and Gayasīrsha, i.e. Gayā in Bihār, are well known. The community of the Māthura Kāyasthas received their name from the city of Mathurā headquarters of the District of that name in U.P.

## TEXT[2]

Metres : verses 1-11, 16-17, 19-20, 22-23 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 12, 15 *Upajāti* ; verse 13 *Indravajrā* ; verse 14 *Śālinī* ; verse 18 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 21 *Āryā*.]

1 Siddham[3] || Ōṁ[3] namaḥ Śivāya || Śriyaṁ diśatu vaḥ Śaṁbhōr=mūrddhni śaitā[ṁ]śavī kalā | Kāla-vyāla-kṛit-ānēka-jaga-[4]

2 d-vyāpatti-hā[r]iṇī || 1 Yā smṛit=āpi satāṁ haṁti manō-vāk-kāya-saṁbhavaṁ(vam) | aghaṁ sā tridaśair=vvaṁdyā **Mahāruṁḍā**

3 punātu vaḥ || 2 Sad-ānaṁda-mayīṁ vaṁdē su-rasāṁ sat-kavēr=giraṁ(ram) | na yatra niyamō Dhātuḥ prāgalbhyam=avalaṁva(ba)-

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[1] See No. 139 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B ; below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 40, text line 27.

[2] From impressions. This is No. 145 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* here to cover a little space at the end of the line.

4 tē || 3 || **Luvdha(bdha)kānā**[1]**m**=abhūd=vaṁśaḥ puṇyaḥ Kāśyapa-gōtrajaḥ | pūr[tt]ē[n]a karmmanā śaśvaj=jagat-saṁtōsha-pōsha-[2]

5 kaḥ || 4 Tatr=ājani janair=mānyaḥ puṇya-karmaṇi kōvidaḥ | Gōd[dha]lō mārgaṇ-ānaṁda-kaṁd-ōllāsa-nav-āṁvu(bu)daḥ || 5 ||

6 Kṛit-ānēk-ēśvara-prītir=a-kiṁpurusha-sēvitaḥ | anugra-mitrō yō bhā[ti] Rājarāja iv=āparaḥ || 6 Tasya Padm-ābhi-[3]

7 [dha]ḥ putrō va(ba)bhūv=ābhayadō nṛiṇāṁ(ṇām) | yatra sarvv-ātmanā chakrē Padmā padma iva [sth]itiṁ(tim) || 7 Anaṁta-vasunā yēna tāpa-śāṁ-

8 ti-kṛitā kṛita[ṁ](tam |) chaṁdrēṇ=ēva jagat=sarvvaṁ yaśaś-chaṁdrikayā śitaṁ(sitam) || 8 Manaḥ Śa[ṁ]bhu-smṛitau yēna karō vasu-visarjjanē | pa-

9 r-ōpakaraṇē vu(bu)ddhir=vvāṇī satyē niyōjitāḥ || 9 Prāṇēbhyō=[pi*] priyā tasya Siyā nām=ābhavat=priyā | satya-śīla-

10 kulais=tulyā patipa(va)tnī-dhuri sthitā || 10 Tasyām=utpāditau tēna sutau sukṛita-śālinā | sad-guṇair=iva yau puṇyai-

11 va(r=va)rddhishṇubhir=alaṁkṛitau || 11 Tatr=ādimaḥ Kākali-nāmadhēyaḥ kalāsu dakshō=jani nirvipakshaḥ | yasy=āṁtaraṁ[g]ē bhṛiśam=utta-

12 raṁgaiḥ puṇyair=agaṇyair=achalatvam=āpi || 12 Tasy=ānujaḥ śrēyasi jāṁgakō[4] **Gōpāla-**bhūmīpati-dharma-putraḥ | kshātrasya pātraṁ sa-

13 mabhūt=su-vidyaḥ śrī-rāṇakaś=**Chāchigadēva-**saṁjñaḥ || 13 Śrī-**Kēdāraṁ** śraddhay=ābhya-rchya samyak śrī-**Sōmēśaṁ** pūjayitvā cha kāmaṁ(mam |) snātvā

14 tīrthē pāvanē śrī-**Prayāgē** yēn=āpt=ōchchaiḥ pāvanatvasya sīmā || 14 Śraddhālunā yēna **Gay-āsurasya śīrshē** pitṛibhyō vimalaṁ vi-

15 tīrya | piṁḍaṁ kṛitā tṛiptir=anāśi-bhōgā samuddhṛitaṁ svaṁcha(svasya) [śa]taṁ kulānāṁ-(nām) || 15 Vidhāy=ānēkadhā kṛityaṁ tīrthēshu cha raṇēshu cha | śrīmad-**Gō-**

16 **pāladēvasya** yō vibhōr=anṛiṇō va(ba)bhau || 16 Sahaj-ākhyā priyā tasya samabhūt=sahajair=guṇaiḥ | chētō-har=ārthināṁ nityaṁ haraṁtī vasu-[5]

17 bhir=vyathāṁ(thām) || 17 Tēn=āsthiraṁ kalayatā vasu jīvitaṁ cha puṇy-ātmanā sakala-jaṁtu-kṛipā-parēṇa | sva-śrēyasāṁ satata-vṛi[ddh]i-karō=bhyupā-

18 yō matv=ēyam=achchha-śa(sa)lilā niramāpi vāpi[ḥ*] || 18 N=ānyō=sti mat-parō lōkē puṇya-hētur=it=īva yā | ta[ṭ]-āghāta-nadal-lōla-ka-

19 llōlair=adhigarjjati || 19 Phala-pushpa-nat-ānēka-śākhi-chchhanna-dig-antarā | adhvanya-śrāṁtihā tēna vāṭik=ēyaṁ cha kāritā ||

20 20 Śrīmad-**Gaṇapati-**nṛipatēr=bhṛityō yō rāṇakaś=**Chachau-**saṁjñaḥ | tasy=ānasva(śva)-ram=ētat=puṇya-sthānaṁ śubhaṁ bhavatu || 21 Śrīmān=Mā-[6]

21 thura-Kāyasthō Lōhaṭasy=āṁga-saṁbhavaḥ | **Jayasiṁha-**kaviś=chakrē praśasti[ṁ] ruchirām=imāṁ(mām) || 22 Māthur-ānvaya-Kāyastha-Sōma-

22 rāj-āṁga-janmanā | likhitā Maharājēna praśastir=iyam=uttamā || 23 **Saṁvat 1350 Kārttika-vadi 7 Vu(Bu)dha-vāsarē** || chha[6] [||*]

23 utkīrṇṇā Dēvasiṁhēna | kama[ṭhā]isaddhā[7]....

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[1] An unnecessary *anusvāra* above this letter is rubbed off by the engraver.

[2] There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* here to cover a little space at the end of the line.

[3] There is an unnecessary double *daṇḍa* here with a cancellation mark.

[4] There is a mistake here due to a syllable being dropped inadvertently. Read *jāṁghikō=bhūd°*.

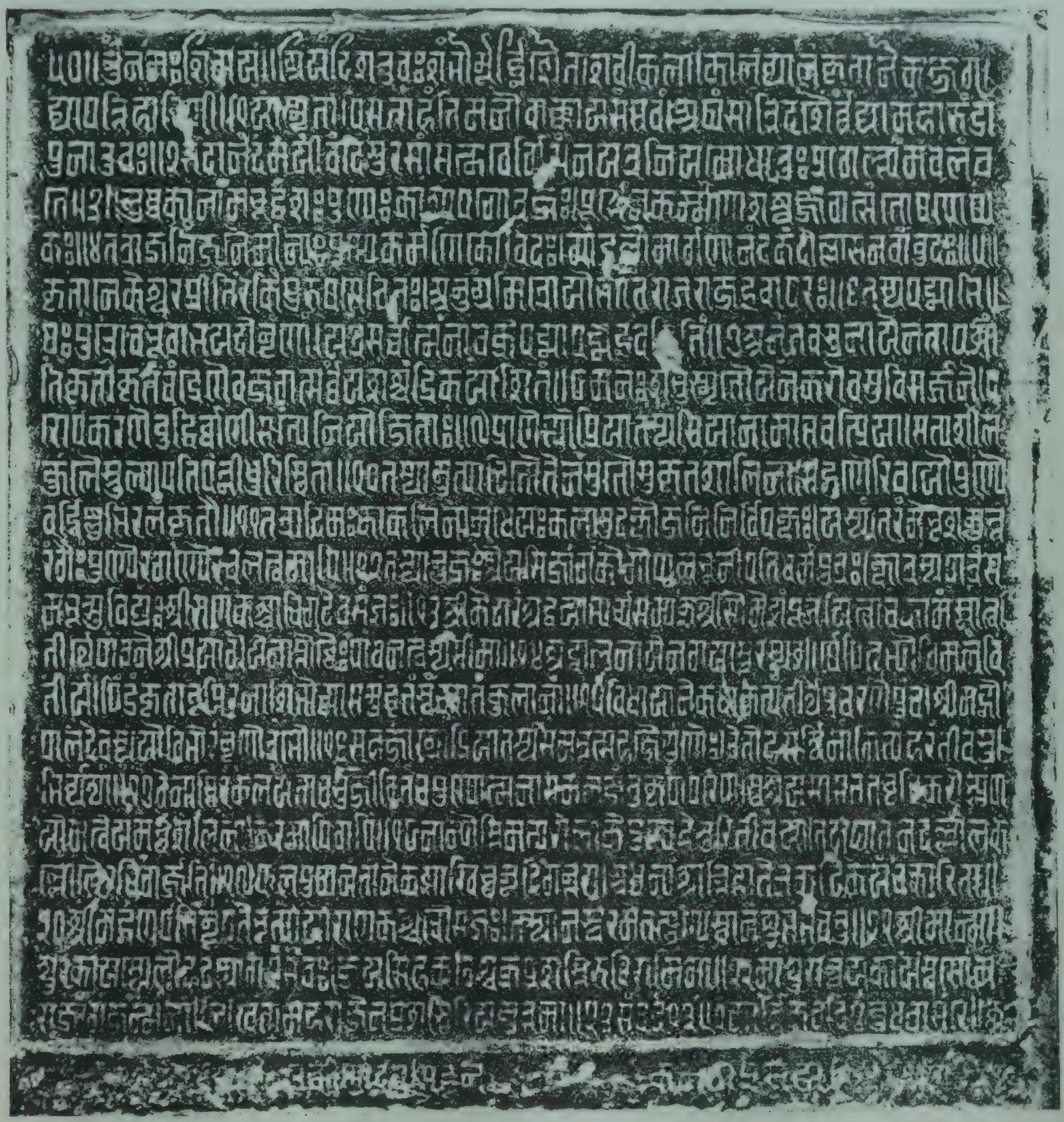
[5] There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* here together with a cancellation mark.

[6] This indicates the end of the writing (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 218).

[7] These may be two personal names, viz. Kamaṭhāi and Saddhā.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI—PLATE I

1. Surwaya Inscription of V.S. 1350



Scale : Two-Fifths

### *2. Narwar Inscription of V. S. 1355*

This inscription is engraved on a rectangular slab. There are 21 lines of writing in the record, which cover an area about 23 inches in length and 16 inches in height. The letters are as neatly and carefully incised as in the Surwāyā inscription edited above ; but the preservation of the writing is more satisfactory in the present case, the number of damaged letters being fewer.

The **characters** are similar to those of the Surwāyā inscription. There is little distinction between the sign indicating a final consonant and that of the medial *ū* mark. In some cases, the *daṇḍa* has been placed so close to the preceding letter as to look like an *ā-mātrā*. The **language** is Sanskrit and, like the Surwāyā inscription, it is written in verse with the exception of a few passages at the beginning and end. There are altogether 28 stanzas in various metres in the eulogy under study. The verses are numbered consecutively. The inscription resembles the other record in point of **orthography** ; but it exhibits several cases of the use of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of verses. Consonants are occasionally redoubled after *r*. The **date** of the record is quoted at the end. It is **V.S. 1355, Kārttika-vadi 5, Thursday,** which corresponds to the **25th September 1298 A.D.** The *pañchamī tithi* commenced on that date at ·38 of the day.

Like the Surwāyā inscription, the present record also begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the passage *Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*. Then come the 28 stanzas of the *praśasti*. Verses 1-2 contain adoration to Manmathasūdana (Śiva) and the Sun-god who is described as the husband of **Rannā**. In epic and Puranic mythology, the names of the Sun-god's wives are given as Saṁjñā, Chhāyā, Rājñī, Nikshubhā or Nishkumbhā, Suvarchalā, etc. The Prakritic name Rannā (probably derived from the name *Rājñī*) is not found in Sanskrit works. But there is evidence to show that Rannā was a popular deity regarded as the Sun's wife in the western parts of Northern India. An inscription of V.S. 1420, Chaitra-sudi 6, Sunday (March 10, 1364 A.D.), on the metal image of a goddess discovered in Gujarat, refers to the deity as Rannādēvī and describes her as the wife of the Sun styled Sāmbāditya,[1] a well-known aspect of the god. Our inscription actually speaks of the god as 'one whose abode is at **Śamīsthala**'. This seems to refer to a temple of the god at a place called Śamīsthala which is, however, difficult to identify. The place may have formed a part of Narwar or lay in its vicinity.

Verse 3 introduces the city of **Nalapura** (i.e. Narwar) which was the capital of the Yajvapāla kings mentioned in the following stanzas (verses 4-7). The kings mentioned are **Chāhaḍa ;** his son **Nṛivarman ;** his son **Āsalladēva ;** and his son **Gōpāla.** Among the epithets of Āsalladēva *tri-vidha-kshitīśa-chūḍāmaṇi* in verse 6 is interesting. The idea may be compared with that contained in the epithet *aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati* found in the string of royal epithets in many medieval records.[2] This epithet seems to represent a king as the lord of three-fold sovereignty, i.e. the three wings of sovereignty, viz., the cavalry, elephant force and infantry, while the passage quoted above from the record under study appears to refer to the supreme position of Āsalla among kings who were regarded as *Aśvapati* or *Gajapati* or *Narapati* according as they were strong in cavalry or elephant force or infantry. It seems that some kings considered themselves as sufficiently strong in all the three wings although their neighbours were inclined to apply to them any one of the three epithets with reference to the wing in which they were regarded as especially strong.

Verse 8 mentions Gōpāla's son and successor **Gaṇapati** who was the reigning monarch. Gaṇapati is here stated to have captured **Kīrtidurga,** while the next stanza (verse 9) continues

[1] See *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 406. A temple of Rannāditya or Raṇṇāditya existed at Pushkara according to certain inscriptions of the tenth century A.D. (cf. Nos. 510 ff. of *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57, App. B).

[2] See, e.g., the charters of the Gāhaḍavālas (above, Vol. IV, pp. 100-01, 119, etc.). Cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. c-ci.

the description of the same king. The Deogarh fort was built by Mahīdhara, Chief Minister of Chandēlla Kīrtivarman (c. 1070-98 A.D.), and was named as Kīrtigiri after the Chandēlla king.[1] The fort called Kīrtidurga may thus be the same as the fortress of Deogarh in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhansi District, U.P. The Chandēlla contemporary of Yajvapāla Gaṇapati is difficult to identify as his reign period falls between those of Bhōjavarman whose known date is 1288 A.D. and Hammīravarman who is known to have ruled in 1308 A.D.[2] When exactly Gaṇapati led an expedition against the Chandēlla kingdom cannot also be determined. There is no reference to his struggle with the Chandēllas in any other record, although Chandēlla Vīravarman's invasion of the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) kingdom in 1281 A.D. and his war with Gaṇapati's father Gōpala is referred to in several inscriptions.[3] It may be that Gaṇapati was a subordinate ally of the Muslim Sulṭāns of Delhi and helped the latter in their struggle with the Chandēllas.

Verse 10 introduces the fort of **Gōpāchala** (i.e., Gwalior) and verse 11 a Māthura Kāyastha family of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* originally residing there. The next stanza (verse 12) mentions Alhaṇa of the said family while verse 13 speaks of Alhaṇa's son Kānhaḍa who was a devotee of the god Kṛishṇa (Vishṇu). Verse 14 describes Kānhaḍa's son Vijahaḍa as a *mantrin* (minister) engaged in the service of a king. But the name of Vijahaḍa's master or the family to which he belonged is not mentioned. It is thus uncertain whether the king referred to had his headquarters at Gwalior or Narwar. Verse 15 mentions Vijahaḍa's wife Mēṇagā while the next stanza (verse 16) states that, having worshipped the river-goddesses **Gaṅgā** and **Yamunā** at **Prayāga** (near Allahabad, U.P.), Vijahaḍa got two sons who were named after the said deities as Gāṅgadēva and Yāmunadēva.

Verses 17-18 describe Gāṅgadēva and his wife Lōṇā and verse 19 refers to their four sons. The next stanza (verse 20) gives the names of the four sons of Gāṅgadēva as Palhaū, Harirāja, Śivarāja and Haṁsarāja. Verse 21 describes Palhadēva, no doubt the same as Palhaū, as his master's favourite, and verse 22 states that he constructed a *dharma-sthāna* (i.e., a sacred place) for the merit of his brother Harirāja who was dead. Verses 23 ff. disclose the nature of this *dharma-sthāna*. The first stanza of the section (verse 23) records the excavation of a *vāpī*. As already indicated above, the word *vāpī* is generally used in the inscriptions of the Malwa-Rajasthan region in the sense of a step-well, although the description in the present case, as in the Surwāyā inscription, seems to suggest a tank rather than a step-well. This may be due to an amount of exaggeration in the description as in the Surwāyā inscription edited above. Verse 24 adds that a *chaitya* (i.e., shrine) for the god Śambhu (Śiva) and his consort, the goddess Umā, was also constructed apparently in the vicinity of the *vāpī*. Verse 25 speaks of the plantation of a *kēli-vana* or pleasure garden full of fruit trees and flowering plants probably around the *vāpī*. Verse 26 prays for the permanence of the *dharma-sthāna* (i.e., the sacred place consisting of the *vāpī*, *chaitya* and *kēli-vana*) created by Palhaū or Palhadēva for the merit of his deceased brother Harirāja.

Verse 27 introduces a family of Kāyasthas (*Lipikṛit-kula*) hailing from **Gōpādṛi** (Gwalior) in which Māthura Dāmōdara is stated to have been born. The family thus belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community. The son of Dāmōdara was *Kōśādhipa* (i.e., treasurer) Lōhaṭa. The name of the king whom Lōhaṭa served as a treasurer is not mentioned. Whether he was a

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 163.

[2] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 736.

[3] Cf. above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 226ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 403ff. The Buḍherā (Shivapuri District) pillar inscription of V.S. 1351 and Śaka 1216 (1294 A.D.) is stated to mention *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Padmarāja of Kīrtidurga. See Dvivedi's List, No. 170; ***Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State***, V.S. 1988, No. 23. Really, however, there is no mention of a king named Padmarāja in the inscription which is a record of the time of Yajvapāla Gaṇapati. See below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 166 ff.

king of Gwalior or Narwar is also not clear.[1] There is, however, no doubt that Lōhaṭa mentioned here is the same as the Māthura Kāyastha of the same name mentioned in the Surwāyā inscription edited above. Lōhaṭa's son Śivanābhaka, described as a master of *pada* (vocabulary, etymology or grammar), *pramāṇa* (logic), *kavitā* (poetry) and *sāhitya* (literary composition or the science of rhetoric), is stated to have composed the *praśasti* or eulogy under study. It will be seen that the Surwāyā inscription was composed by Śivanābhaka's brother Jayasiṁha. This Māthura Kāyastha family hailing from Gwalior and settled at different places (such as Surwāyā and Narwar) in the Yajvapāla dominions thus produced a number of scholars. The same stanza is also found in several other *praśastis*[2] composed by Śivanābhaka with the third foot differently worded.

Verse 28 states that the eulogy was written (i.e., written on the stone to facilitate the work of the engraver) by Arasiṁha who also belonged to the Māthura Kāyastha community and was the son of Abhinanda. A prose passage following the above stanza states that the record was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* (architect) named Dhanauka.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Nalapura, Gōpādri or Gōpāchala and Prayāga are well-known. We have suggested the identification of Kīrtidurga with the fort of Deogarh in the Jhansi District, U.P., although it is not quite certain. Śamīsthala, as indicated above, cannot be satisfactorily identified.

## TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1, 5, 12-13, 17, 24-25 *Upajāti* ; verse 2 *Pajjhaṭikā* ; verses 3, 20 *Āryā* ; verses 4, 7, 10-11, 15, 18-19, 22-23, 26, 28 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verses 8, 14 *Gīti* ; verse 9 *Upagīti* ; verse 16 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Indravaṁśā*) ; verse 21 *Śragdharā* ; verse 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 Siddham[4] || Ōṁ[4] namaḥ Śivāya || **Svabhāva-piṁgāḥ** śaśi-raśmi-śubhrā bhujaṁga-ratn-āṁkura-nīla-bhāsaḥ | rakshaṁtu vō **Manmathasūdanasya** jayaḥ(ṭāḥ) śi(si)t-āvda(bda)-stha-surāyudh-ābhāḥ || 1 A-kalitam=api yaḥ

2 kalayati kālaṁ nija-gaty=aiv-āmita-mahim=ālam | **Rann-ōśaḥ** kṛita-timira-nirāśaḥ pātu Raviḥ sa Sa(Śa)mīsthala-vāsaḥ || 2 Āstē puṇyair=labhyaṁ pura[5]-ratnaṁ **Nalapuraṁ** śuschi(chi) śrīmat | iya-

3 m=api vahati sa-garvvā sat-pālyā vasumatī yēna || 3 Tatrāṁ(tr=ā)jani jagad-vaṁdyaś= **Chāhaḍaḥ** pṛithivīpatiḥ | pratāp-ānala-dagdh-āri-bhūbhṛid-vaṁśō nay-āśrayaḥ || 4 Abhūn=nṛipas=tasya sutō **Nṛivarmā**

4 vyarthīkṛit-āśēsha-vipaksha-karmā | ajaśrarmē(sram=ē)v=āhita-sādhu-sa(śa)rmmā yaśaḥ-parābhūta-Manushyadharmmā || 5 **Āsalladēvas**=tri-vidhaḥ(dha)-kshitīśaḥ(śa)-chūḍā-maṇir=bhūmipatis=tatō=bhūt | āpū-

5 ritaṁ yasya bhṛiśaṁ yaśōbhirvra(r=bra)hmāṁḍam=āpat=tanut-ākhya-dōsham || 6 Śrī-**Gōpālō** nṛipas=tasmād=abhūt=tais=tair=[n]ijair=guṇaiḥ | gām=imām=akhilām=uchchair= yaḥ pupōsha dudōha [cha |( || 7)] .

6 7 **Ga[ṇa]pati**-nṛipatis=tasmān=nidhir=ēkas=tējasām=ajani | ādāya **Kīrtti-durggaṁ** chakrē kīrttīr=anaśvarīr=iha yaḥ || 8 Tasmin=gamayati sakalāṁ vasudhā[ṁ*] ma(sa)tāṁ pālanais=tōshama(sham) |

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[1] No. 146 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B, seems to suggest that Lōhaṭa's master was Yajvapāla Chāhaḍa of Nalapura. Cf. below, Vol. XXXIII, p. 68,69 (text line 14, note 9).

[2] See, e.g., Nos. 139 and 141 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B. Cf. below, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 13ff.

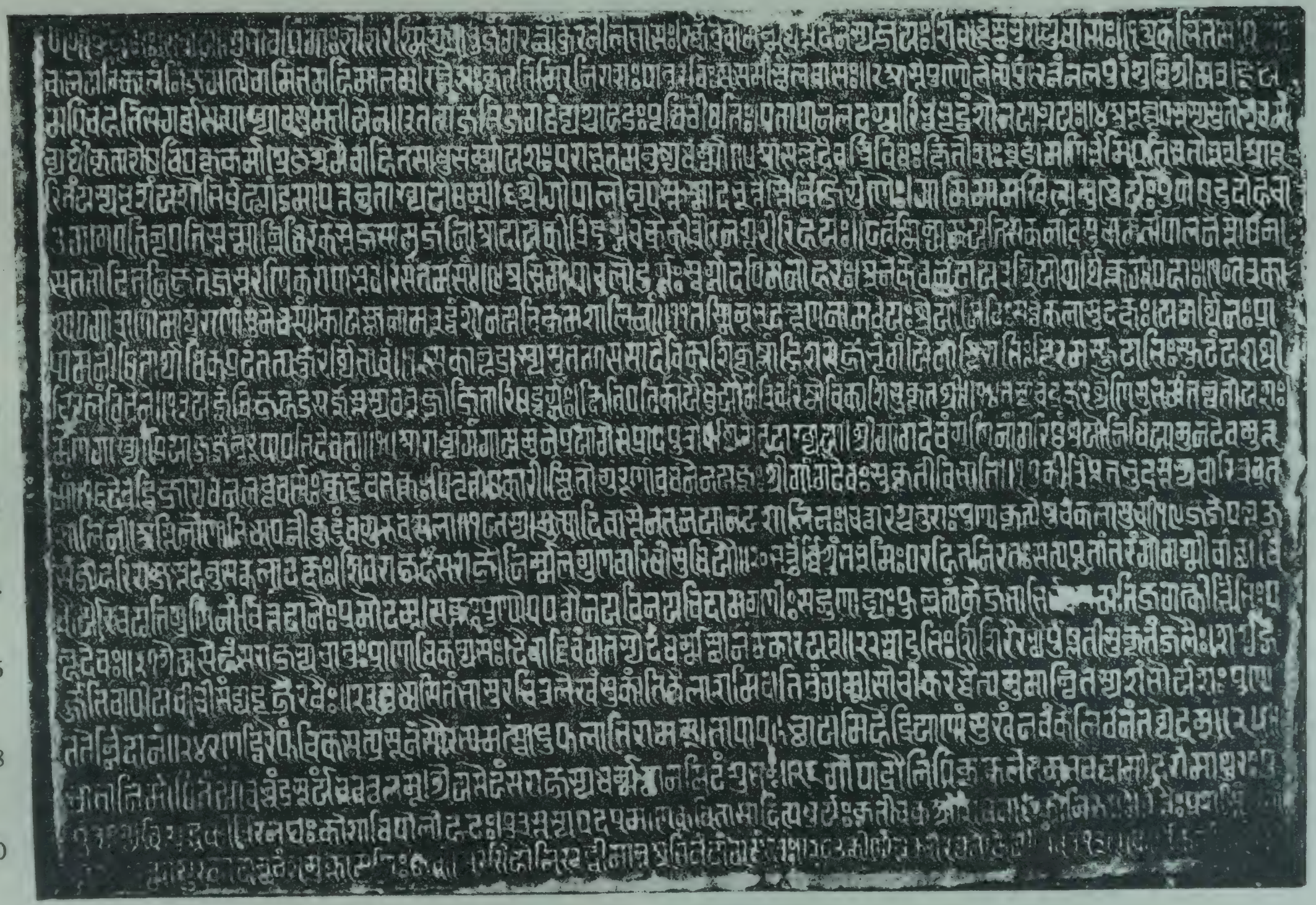
[3] From impressions. This is No. 142 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1952-53, App. B.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] An *anusvāra* above *pu* seems to be rubbed off by the engraver.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GANAPATI—PLATE II

2. Narwar Inscription of V.S. 1355



Scale : Two-Fifths

7 satat-ōdita-nija-tējas-taraṇi-kar-āpāsta-saṁtamasāṁ(sām) || 9 Asti **Gōpāchalō** durggaḥ svarggād=api manō-haraḥ | anēkē dhanadā yatra śriyō=py=arthi-klagā(m-ā)pahāḥ || 10 Tatra Kā-

8 śyapa-gōtrāṇāṁ **Māthurāṇāṁ** su-mēdhasāṁ(sām) | Kāyasthānām=abhūd=vaṁśō naya-vikrama-śālināṁ(nām) || 11 Tasminū(nn=a)bhūd=Alhaṇa-nāmadhēyaḥ śrēyō-nidhiḥ sarvva-kalāsu dakshaḥ | yam=arthinaḥ prā-

9 pya manīshit-ārth-ādhika-pradaṁ tatyajur=arthi-bhāvaṁ(vam) || 12 Sa Kānhaḍ-ākhyaṁ suta[1]m āsasāda vikāśi-Kṛishṇ-āṁhri-śa(sa)rōja-bhṛiṁgaṁ(gam) | yēn=āsthirābhiḥ sthiram=asphuṭābhiḥ sphuṭaṁ yaśa[ḥ*] śrī-

10 [bh]ir=alaṁ vitēnē ||13 Ya(Ja)jñē Vijahaḍa-sa[ṁ*]jña[2]s=tasya va(ta)nūjō jit-āri-shaḍ-varggaḥ | kshitipati-kāryē dhuryō maṁtri-varishṭhō vikāśi-sukṛita-śrī[ḥ] ||14 Tasya chaṁdra-kara-śrēṇi-subhagaṁ tanvatō yaśaḥ |

11 M[ē]ṇag-ākhyā[3] priyā jajñē=nurūpā pati-dēvatā ||15 Ārādhya **Gaṁgā-Yamunē Prayāgē** sa prāpa putrau prathitau tad-ākhyayā | śrī-Gāṁgadēvaṁ guṇināṁ garishṭhaṁ śrēyō-nidhiṁ Yāmunadēvam=utta-

12 māṁ(mam) ||16 Dēva-dvij-ārādhana-lavdha(bdha)-varṇṇaḥ kutuṁva(ba)-bhaktaḥ pitṛi-tōsha-kārī | sthitō gurūṇāṁ vaçhanē nayajñaḥ śrī-Gāṁgadēvaḥ sukṛitī vibhāti || 17 Kīrtti-pūta-bhuvas=tasya chāritra-vrata-

13 śālinī | asti Lōṇ-ābhidhā patnī kuṭuṁva(ba)-guru-va[t]salā || 18 Tasyām=utpāditās=tēna tanayā naya-śālinaḥ | chatvāraś=chaturāḥ puṇya-kṛityēshu cha kalāsu cha || 19 Jajñē Palhaū-

14 saṁjñō Harirājas=tad-anu sat-kalā-dakshaḥ | Śivarāja-Haṁsarājau nirmmala-guṇa-vāridhī sudhiyau || 20 Bharttur=vviśraṁbha-bhūmiḥ para-hita-niratāḥ satya-pūt-āṁtaraṁgō vāgmī vāṁchchhā(chh-ā)dhi-

15 kair=yō rachayati guṇināṁ vitta-dānaiḥ pramōdam | saktaḥ puṇy-ōpapatvau(ttau) naya-vinaya-vidām=agraṇīḥ sad-guṇ-āḍhyah phullat-paṁkēja-bhābhir=[dhavala]yati jagat=kīrttibhiḥ Pa-

16 lhadēvaḥ || 21 Śrēyasē Haṁsarājasya bhrātuḥ prāṇ-ādhikasya saḥ | daivād=divaṁ gatasy=ēdaṁ dharmma-sthānam=akārayat || 22 Svādubhiḥ śiśirair=achchhairpu(chchhaiḥ pu)-shṇatī sukṛitaṁ jalaiḥ | śaśvad=ga

17 rjjati vāp=īyaṁ vīchī-saṁdya(gha)ṭṭajai ravaiḥ || 23 Sudhā-sitaṁ bhāsura-chitra-lēkhaṁ su-kāṁti Kailāśa(sa)m=iv=āti-tuṁgam | sō=chīkarach=chaityam=Um-ānvitasya Śaṁbhōr=yaśaḥ-puṇya-

18 tatēr=nnidānaṁ(nam) || 24 Raṇa[d*]-dvirēphaṁ vikasat-prasūna[ṁ] saurabhyama(va)t=svādu-phal-ābhirāmam | tāp-āpaha-chchhāyam=iḥ=ēṁdriyāṇāṁ sukhaṁ navaṁ kēli-vanaṁ tath=ēdam || 25 ||

19 Bhrātā(trā) nirmāpitaṁ yāvach-chaṁdra-sūryaṁ [bha]vatv=alam | śrēyasē Haṁsarājasya dharmma-sthānam=idaṁ śubham || 26 **Gōpādrau** Lipikṛit-kulē samabhavad=Dāmōdarō **Māthuraḥ** pu[4]

20 putras=tasya viśuddha-kīrttir=anaghaḥ kōś-ādhipō Lōhaṭaḥ | putras=tasya pada-pramāṇa-kavitā-sāhitya-dhuryaḥ kṛitī chakrē śrī-**Śivanābhakō** nirupamair=vṛittaiḥ praśastiṁ śubhāṁ(bhām) |[|] [27*]

21 27 Śrīman-**Māthura-Kāyastha**-vaṁśa-muktā-maṇiḥ k[ṛit]ī | Arasiṁhō=likhad=dhīmān Abhinaṁd-āṁgasaṁbhavaḥ || 28 utkīrṇṇā sūtradhāra-Dhanaukēna || **Saṁvat 1355 Kārttika-vadi 5 Gurau** [!]

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[1] An unnecessary *anusvāra* above the letter was rubbed off by the engraver.
[2] There is an unnecessary mark above this letter.
[3] An unnecessary *anusvāra* above this letter seems to be cancelled. The intended name may be Mēnakā.
[4] This *akshara* is redundant.

# INDEX

By B. R. Gopal, M.A., Ootacamund

[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to footnotes, and *add.* to additions. The following other addreviations are also used : *au.*=author ; *ca.*=capital ; *ch.*=chief ; *Chron.*=Chronicle ; *ci.*=city ; *co.*=country ; *com.*=composer ; *de.*=deity ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *engr.*=engraver ; *ep.*=epithet ; *f.*=family ; *fe.*=female ; *feud.*=feudatory ; *gen.*=general ; *gr.*=grant, grants ; *hist.*=historical ; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions ; *k.*=king ; *l.*=locality, *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure ; *m.*=male ; *min.*=minister ; *mo.*=mountain ; *myth.*=mythological ; *n.*=name ; *N.*=Northern ; *off.*=office, officer ; *pl.*=plate, plates ; *pr.*=prince, princess ; *prov.*=province ; *q.*=queen ; *rel.*=religious ; *ri.*=river ; *S.*=Southern, *s.a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *Tel.*=Telugu ; *t.d.*=territorial division ; *tit.*=title ; *tn.*=town ; *tk.*=taluk ; *vi.*=villag e ; *W.*=Western ; *wk.*=work ; *wt.*=weight.]


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